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REV. CHARLES G. SOMMERS, *Pastor of the South Baptist Church, New York.*
REV. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS, *Pastor of the Amity Street Baptist Church, New York.*
REV. LEVI L. HILL, *Pastor of the Westkill Baptist Church, Lexington, Greene Co., N. Y.*

VOLUME I.

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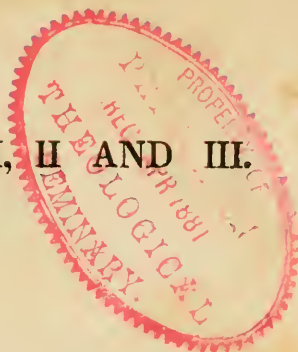
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GENERAL INDEX OF VOLS. I, II AND III.



VOLUME I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF BAPTISM. By THOMAS WESTLAKE, - - - -	1	BACKUS' HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS	89
WILSON'S SCRIPTURE MANUAL, -	29	THE WATERY WAR, - - - -	182
SCRAPS, - - - -	38-40	PENGILLY'S SCRIPTURE GUIDE TO BAPTISM, - - - -	190
BOOTH'S VINDICATION OF THE BAPTISTS, - - - -	41	FULLER ON COMMUNION, - -	220
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. 38; 71-84: 283-321.		BOOTH'S PÆDOBAPTISM EXAMINED	325
		COX ON BAPTISM, - - - -	491

VOLUME II.

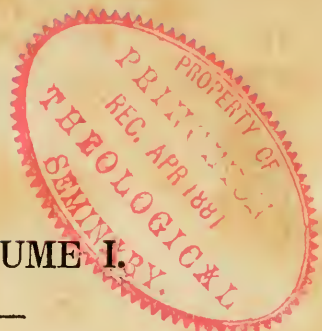
GRACE ABOUNDING TO THE CHIEF OF SINNERS. By JOHN BUNYAN, - -	1	EXPOSITION OF GENESIS. By ANDREW FULLER, - - - -	118
PRACTICAL USES OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM. By ANDREW FULLER, - -	48	BUNYAN'S HOLY WAR, - - -	262
THE BACKSLIDER. By ANDREW FULLER	54	REVIEW OF FOSTER'S ESSAY ON DECISION OF CHARACTER, - - -	365
THE DISCOURAGEMENTS AND SUPPORTS OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY. By ROBERT HALL, - - - -	73	THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST WORTHY OF ALL ACCEPTION. By ANDREW FULLER, - - - -	375
ADDRESS TO THE REV. EUSTACE CAREY. By ROBERT HALL, - - -	86	A DIALOGUE ON CLOSE COMMUNION. By G. F. DAVIS, - - - -	412
HALL ON MODERN INFIDELITY, -	97		

VOLUME III.

ESSAY ON DECISION OF CHARACTER. By JOHN FOSTER, - - - -	1	A MEMOIR OF THE REV. ROBERT HALL, A. M. By O. GREGORY, LL.D. F. R. A. S.	225
ORIGIN OF INFANT BAPTISM AND COMMUNION. DR. CHATIN, - - -	21	STRICTURES ON SANDEMANIANISM. By ANDREW FULLER, - - - -	279
THE TRAVELS OF TRUE GODLINESS. By BENJAMIN KEACH, - - -	22	MEMOIRS OF THE LATE REV. SAMUEL PEARCE, A. M. - - - -	341
HELP TO ZION'S TRAVELLERS. By ROBERT HALL, - - - -	60	THE COVENANT OF CIRCUMCISION, NO JUST PLEA FOR INFANT BAPTISM. By W. T. BRANTLY, - - - -	398
THE DEATH OF LEGAL HOPE. By ABRAHAM BOOTH, - - - -	118	REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY. By A. L. COVELL, - -	405
COME AND WELCOME TO JESUS CHRIST. By JOHN BUNYAN, - - - -	150	TERMS OF COMMUNION. By S. H. CONE	412
PROFESSOR RIPLEY'S REVIEW OF DR. GRIFFIN'S LETTER ON COMMUNION	213		



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CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF BAPTISM. BY THOMAS WESTLAKE.

Preface, - - - - - 1

CHAPTER I.

Baptism a Positive Duty, - - - - 1

CHAPTER II.

Meaning of the Words Baptize and Baptism, 2

CHAPTER III.

The Design of Baptism; or the Blessings represented by it, - - - - 5

CHAPTER IV.

The Design of Baptism more fully Expressed by Immersion than by Sprinkling, - - 6

CHAPTER V.

The Practice of John the Baptist, of the Apostles, and of the Church in succeeding ages, - 7

CHAPTER VI.

Reasons, Rise and Prevalence of Sprinkling instead of Immersion, - - - - 8

CHAPTER VII.

Neither Precept nor Example for Infant Baptism in the New Testament, - - - - 9

CHAPTER VIII.

No Evidence of Infant Baptism before the latter end of the second, or the beginning of the third Century, - - - - 10

CHAPTER IX.

The Rise and Grounds of Infant Baptism, - 12

CHAPTER X.

The most popular Arguments in favor of Infant Baptism briefly considered, - - - - 25

A SCRIPTURE MANUEL, OR A PLAIN REPRESENTATION OF THE ORDINANCE OF BAPTISM. BY SAMUEL WILSON.

Biographical Sketch of the Author. By Rev. S. H. Cone, - - - - - 29

Preface, - - - - - 30

Scripture Manual, - - - - - 30

SCRAPS. ANECDOTE OF PRESIDENT DUNSTER. ANECDOTE OF A PÆDOBAPTIST JUDGE. ANECDOTES OF THE REV. EDMUND BOTSFORD. - - - 38 to 40

A VINDICATION OF THE BAPTISTS. BY ABRAHAM BOOTH.

Preface, - - - - - 41

SECTION I.

Baptists not chargeable with laying an unwarrantable stress on the ordinance of Baptism, - 41

SECTION II.

The General Grounds on which we refuse Communion at the Lord's Table to Pædobaptist believers, - - - - - 47

SECTION III.

Arguments against Free Communion at the Lord's Table, - - - - - 50

SECTION IV.

Several passages of scripture considered, which are produced in favor of Mixed Communion, - 58

SECTION V.

The Temper required of Christians towards one another not contrary to our Practice—Our conduct freed from the charge of Inconsistency—No Reason to exalt the Lord's Supper, in point of Importance, as superior to the ordinance of Baptism, - - - - - 61

SECTION VI.

Reflections, - - - - - 70

BIOGRAPHIES OF DISTINGUISHED BAPTISTS.

John Asplund, - - - - - 38
Samuel Harris, - - - - - 71
John Gano, - - - - - 74
Lewis Lunsford, - - - - - 82
Samuel Stillman, D. D. - - - - - 84
William Webber, - - - - - 283
Peter Werden, - - - - - 284
John Williams, - - - - - 285
Elijah Baker, - - - - - 286
Isaac Backus, - - - - - 288
Robert Carter, - - - - - 290
James Chiles, - - - - - 291
Lemuel Covey, - - - - - 291

Elijah Craig, - - - - -	292
Morgan Edwards, - - - - -	293
Benjamin Foster, - - - - -	296
Joseph Cook, - - - - -	297
Daniel Frisloe, - - - - -	301
Oliver Hart, - - - - -	302
Dutton Lane, - - - - -	305
James Manning, - - - - -	306
Richard Major, - - - - -	307
Daniel Marshall, - - - - -	308
Eliakim Marshall, - - - - -	310
Silas Mercer, - - - - -	311
Joshua Morse, - - - - -	312
Joseph Reese, - - - - -	314
Shubael Stearns, - - - - -	315
Gardner Thurston, - - - - -	316
Jeremiah Walker, - - - - -	319
Saunders Walker, - - - - -	321
John Waller, - - - - -	321

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN NEW ENGLAND, FROM 1602 TO 1804; CONTAINING A VIEW OF THEIR PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE, DECLENSIONS AND REVIVALS, OPPRESSION AND LIBERTY: WITH A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTISTS IN THE SOUTHERN PARTS OF AMERICA. By ISAAC BACKUS. A. M. - - - - - 89

THE WATERY WAR: OR A POETICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE EXISTING CONTROVERSY BETWEEN PÆDOBAPTISTS AND BAPTISTS, ON THE SUBJECTS AND MODE OF BAPTISM. By JOHN OF ÆNON, - 182

THE SCRIPTURE GUIDE TO BAPTISM: OR, A FAITHFUL CITATION OF ALL THE PASSAGES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WHICH RELATE TO THIS ORDINANCE: WITH THE SACRED TEXT IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED, AND THE SENSE SUPPORTED BY NUMEROUS EXTRACTS FROM THE MOST EMINENT AND LEARNED WRITERS: TO WHICH IS ADDED A SHORT EXAMINATION OF THE RISE AND GROUNDS OF INFANT BAPTISM. By R. PENGILLY, - 190

CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN TWO LAYMEN ON STRICT AND MIXED COMMUNION; IN WHICH THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE LATTER PRACTICE, ARE STATED, AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE, IN THE WORDS OF ITS MOST POWERFUL ADVOCATE, THE REV. ROBERT HALL. By J. G. FULLER, - 220

PÆDOBAPTISM EXAMINED, ON THE PRINCIPLES, CONCESSIONS, AND REASONINGS OF THE MOST LEARNED PÆDOBAPTISTS. By ABRAHAM BOOTH.

Preface, - - - - - 325

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Nature, Obligation, and Importance of Positive Institutions in Religion, - 331

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Signification of the Terms, Baptize and Baptism, - - - - - 345

CHAPTER III.

The Design of Baptism; or the Facts and Blessings represented by it, both in regard to our Lord and his Disciples, - - - - - 378

CHAPTER IV.

The Practice of John the Baptist, of the Apostles, and of the Church in succeeding Ages, in regard to the Manner of administering the Ordinance of Baptism, - - - - - 393

CHAPTER V.

The present Practice of the Greek and Oriental Churches, in regard to the Mode of Administration, - - - - - 418

CHAPTER VI.

The Design of Baptism more fully expressed by Immersion, than by Pouring or Sprinkling, 419

CHAPTER VII.

The Reasons, Rise, and Prevalence of Pouring, or Sprinkling, instead of Immersion, - - - - - 422

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Neither Express Precept, nor Plain Example, for Pædobaptism, in the New Testament, - 439

CHAPTER II.

No Evidence of Pædobaptism, before the latter end of the Second, or the beginning of the Third Century, - - - - - 463

CHAPTER III.

The high Opinion of the Fathers, concerning the Utility of Baptism, and the Grounds on which they proceeded in administering that Ordinance to Infants, when Pædobaptism became a prevailing Practice, - - - - - 479

EXAMINATION OF DR. DWIGHT'S DISCOURSES ON BAPTISM, CONTAINED IN HIS SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED. By F. L. COX, D. D. LL. D. - - - - - 491

A

GENERAL VIEW OF BAPTISM:

EMBRACING

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS;

WITH

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE MODE, SUBJECTS,
AND HISTORY OF BAPTISM.

BY THOMAS WESTLAKE.

"God is not pleased with any thing in *worship*, which is not his own. That which pleases God must come from God; what he appoints that he approves, and nothing else."—*Greenhill, on Will-worship.*

P R E F A C E .

THIS Treatise is designed for the use of such persons as may not have leisure to turn over huge volumes of Church History, or inclination to follow polemic writers through the dark maze of controversy. Those who wish further to pursue the subject, will be amply gratified in the perusal of the various authors referred to in this publication.

N. B. A Pædobaptist lately asserted, in conversation with the author, "That baptism is an indifferent thing; a mere trifle. That sprinkling is baptizing—That infants are the subjects of baptism—That baptism came in the room of circumcision—That there is as good a warrant in the Bible for sprinkling infants, as there is for admitting women to the Lord's table—That all the martyrs were Pædobaptists; and, that there were no Baptists in the world till they sprang up in Germany, a few years since." These assertions, with many others of a similar import, gave birth to this plain defence of Scriptural Baptism.

VOL. 1.—A.

CHAPTER 1.

Baptism is a Positive Duty.

Moral duties arise from the nature of things; they are discoverable, in some respects, by the light of reason; and they are universally and immutably binding. Such, for instance, is the great duty of love to God. This was the duty of Adam before he fell; it is incumbent upon us in our state of depravity; and it will be for ever obligatory on all intelligent beings. This duty which arises from the fitness there is in things, approves itself to every enlightened mind: and the obligation to the discharge of it can never be superseded. But the duty of baptism does not necessarily arise from the nature of things: reason in its most perfect state, could not discover its propriety; it is not incumbent upon all men; and there was a time when it was not upon any, because it was not then instituted. It is from the Sovereign will of the Great Head of the Church, that baptism derives all its authority; and this Sovereign will is expressed in positive commands. Were it not, we could not possibly be acquainted with it: for that which solely depends on the good pleasure of his will, cannot be known unless re-

vealed. That which is duty, merely because the Supreme Legislator requires it, must be comannded. See *Dore's Answer to Edwards*.

It hath been said, "That, as baptism is not a moral duty, it is only an indifferent thing—a mere trifle." Such assertions are awfully profane. "To suppose it an indifferent thing is to degrade the Author of it, the Lord of glory as an indifferent person. If baptism be a *trifle*, the blessed Jesus who observed and enjoined it is a trifler. All duties derive their importance, in one view, from the authority and dignity of him who appointed them. To diminish the importance of a duty, is, so far, to degrade him who made it a duty. If the least command of parents, or masters of families be treated with indifference, the slight terminates on the parents or masters themselves. Shall Jesus be thus slighted? God forbid!"

Some have said, "It would be a sin in them to be baptized." Why? Because they have (as they say) been baptized with, or received the Holy Ghost. The Apostle Peter thought otherwise: "Can any man (says he) forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost, as well as we? And he *commanded* them to be baptized in the name of the Lord." Acts x. 47. The venerable John Wickliff was, in this instance, of the same opinion with the Apostle Peter: "Persons (says he) are first to be baptized in the blood of Christ, before they are baptized in water; without which, their baptism in water profits not. . . . Believers after the example of Christ, should be baptized in pure water. . . . It is not lawful for believers though they have received the baptism of the Spirit, to omit the baptism of water; but that as opportunity and circumstances may concur, it is necessary to receive it."—*Danvers, on Bap.** p. 292.

Those of God's called people, who live in the neglect of this ordinance, would do well to remember, that baptism is enjoined by the same authority, by which other duties are enjoined. It is, therefore, in this respect, of equal importance with all other duties. The same divine Oracle that says "Pray without ceasing—Do this in remembrance of me," says also, "Repent and be baptized—Arise and be baptized." The blessed Redeemer is still saying to all those who slight any of his commands, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say? . . . Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you. . . . If ye love me keep my commandments." Surely, if our adorable Lord be worthy of regard in any

thing, he ought to be regarded in every thing.

CHAPTER II.

On the Meaning of the words Baptize, and Baptism.

ROBINSON: "Whether John the Baptist and the Apostles of our blessed Lord, baptized by pouring on water, or by bathing in water, is to be determined chiefly, though not wholly, by ascertaining the precise meaning of the word Baptize. A linguist determines himself, by his own knowledge of the Greek language, and an illiterate man by the best evidence he can obtain from the testimony of others. To the latter it is sufficient to observe, that the word is confessedly Greek, that native Greeks must understand their own language better than foreigners, and that they have always understood the word baptism to signify dipping; and therefore, from their first embracing of Christianity to this day, they have always baptized by immersion. This is an authority for the meaning of the word baptize, infinitely preferable to that of European lexicographers; so that a man, who is obliged to trust to human testimony, and who baptizes by immersion, because the Greeks do, understands a Greek word exactly as the Greeks themselves understand it; and in this case, the Greeks are unexceptionable guides; and their practice is, in this instance, safe ground of action."—*Hist. of Bap.* p. 5.

"Greatly as the Greeks were divided in speculative opinions, and numerous as the congregations were, which dissented from the established church, it is remarkable, and may serve to confirm the meaning of the word baptize, that there is not the shadow of a dispute, in all their history, in favor of sprinkling. Because they were Greeks, they all thought to baptize was to baptize; that is, to dip was to dip. . . . The bulk of the dissenters among them, have always baptized by immersion, and never baptized any but on their own profession of faith."—*Researches*, p. 92.

"*Baptize* is a dyer's word, and signifies to dip, so as to color. Mahommed in the Koran, calls baptism *divine dying*; or the tinging of God. A celebrated orientalist says, Mohommed made use of this compound term for baptism, because in his time Christians administered baptism, as dyer's tinge, by immersion, and not as now (in the west) by aspersion."—*Hist. of Bap.* p. 6.

GERMAN TESTAMENT; *Matt.* iii. 1: "In those days came *Johannes Der Tauffer*;" John the dipper.—The same text in DUTCH:

* MR. DANVERS, and the various other authors mentioned in this Treatise, have produced ample authorities for all the Historic Sketches here recited, to whom for brevity's sake, the reader is referred.

"In those days came *Johannes En Dooper*;" John the dipper.

The Syrians, the Armenians, the Persians, and all Eastern Christians have understood the Greek word baptism to signify dipping, and agreeably to their own versions, they all, and always administer immersion as baptism.

C. BULKELY: "As to the formal and exact nature of the action or outward solemnity itself, it plainly appears to consist in immersing or plunging the whole body under water. This, as it stands opposed both to sprinkling and pouring according to all the observations, that I have had an opportunity of making, appears to be the *proper* and *distinct*, the *constant* and *INVARIABLE* meaning of the word in its original Greek." *Econ. of the Gos.* p. 481.

BOSSUET: "To baptize signifies to plunge, as is granted by all the world." p.

SALMASIUS: Baptism, is immersion: and was administered in ancient times, according to the force and meaning of the word. Now it is only *rantism*, or sprinkling: not immersion, or dipping." p.

H. CLIGNETIUS: "Baptism is so called from immersion, or plunging into; because in the primitive times those that were baptized were entirely immersed in the water." p.

STAFFERUS: "By Baptism we understand that rite of the New Testament church commanded by Christ, in which believers, by being immersed in water, testify their communion with the church." p.

DIODATI: Baptized: viz. plunged in water—In Baptism, being dipped in water according to the ancient ceremony, it is a sacred figure unto us, that, sin ought to be drowned in us by God's Spirit." p.

SELDEN: "In England, of late years, I ever thought the parson baptized his own fingers, rather than the child." p.

ZEPPERUS: "If we consider the proper meaning of the term, the word baptism signifies plunging into water, or the very act of dipping and washing. It appears therefore, from the very signification and etymology of the term, which was the custom of administering baptism in the beginning; whereas we now, for baptism, rather have *rantism*, or sprinkling." p.

POOL'S CONTINUATORS: "To be baptized, is to be dipped in water; metaphorically to be plunged in affliction." p.

WIRSIUS: "It cannot be denied, that the native signification of the word baptize is to plunge or to dip." p.

BAILEY: "Baptism, in strictness of speech, is that kind of washing, which consists in dipping: and when applied to the Christian institution, so called, it was used by the pri-

mitive Christians *in no other sense* than that of dipping; as the learned Grotius and Casaubon well observe." p.

VENEMA: "The word baptize, is no where used in the Scripture for sprinkling." p.

G. WHITEHEAD: "Sprinkling infants, I deny to be baptism, either in a proper or a scriptural sense. For sprinkling is rantism, and not baptism."

T. LAWSON: "Such as *rantize*, or sprinkle infants, have no command from Christ, nor example among the apostles, nor the first primitive Christians, for so doing . . . The ceremony of John's ministration, according to divine institution, was by dipping, plunging, or overwhelming their bodies in water, as Scapula and Stephens, two great masters in the Greek tongue, testify—as for sprinkling, the Greeks call it *rantismos*, which I render *rantism*: for 'tis as proper to call sprinkling rantism, as to call dipping baptism. This linguists cannot be ignorant of, that sprinkling and dipping are expressed by several words, both in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. 'Tis very evident, if sprinkling had been of divine institution, the Greeks had their *rantismos*; but as dipping was the institution, they used *baptismos*: so maintained the purity and propriety of the language . . . To sprinkle young or old, and call it baptism, is very incongruous; yea, as improper as to call a horse, a cow; for baptism signifies dipping. However, rantism had entered into, and among the professors of Christianity; and to gain the more acceptance, 'tis called baptism."—*Quakers, as quoted by Mr. Booth, in Pedobap. Examined.*

"The antiquity of immersion as baptism, is fixed upon too firm a basis to be removed, as may be shown from the consent and testimony of the most approved ancient and modern writers."—*Hist. of Religion*, vol. iv. p. 194.

Of the Places where Baptism was Wont to be Administered.

John baptized in the river Jordan: *Matt.* iii. 6. Do persons use to sprinkle others in a river? would a man appear wise who went into a river to sprinkle another? Can we think that John would act so imprudently? But if he immersed the people, all is clear, wise, and natural.—Our adorable Redeemer was baptized in the same famous river. *Matt.* iii. 13—17. Would he be *sprinkled* in a river? If he were immersed, a river was quite convenient, and proper for the purpose. But if he were sprinkled, we should think it would have been performed in any place; in a parlör, a kitchen, a syn-

agogue, the temple, any where rather than in a river. Common sense, and all history will confirm this. I think no man can produce an instance from any history, of people going into a river to be sprinkled. John was baptizing in Enon, *because there was much water there*: John iii. 23. Observe the reason; *because there was much water there*. Is this reason satisfactory if he sprinkled the people? Would that require much water? Would not one small rivulet be sufficient? But the reason is a good one, if he *immersed* the people. He then wanted much water. There was much water at Enon, and therefore he baptized at that place.* As Philip and the Eunuch went on their way they came to a certain water. And he commanded the chariot to stand still; and they went both down into the water; both Philip and the Eunuch; and he baptized him. And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip: Acts, viii. 26—39. Here a plain reader will ask as before, Why did they both go down into the water? Was it prudent if the Eunuch was only sprinkled? Would two wise men go into the water for such a purpose? If sprinkling were baptism, would not Philip have sprinkled the Eunuch? And can we suppose, that, in these circumstances, Philip would have gone into the water to have done this? See Taylor, on *Bap.*

Of Metaphorical Baptism.

1 Cor. x. 1, 2. "All our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea." The Apostle refers to the state of the Israelites, *Exod.* xiv. 21, 22. A bright cloud was over them. The sea became dry land; and they went into the midst of it on dry ground. The waters were a wall to them on both sides. In this situation, they surrendered themselves to the direction of Moses, who, by divine appointment, was engaged to conduct them to the promised land: Moses was

* Some Pædobaptists observe, that this passage should be translated "*Many waters*"; that is, say they, many purling rills.—*Many waters*, is, no doubt, a literal translation of the original words; and they are thus rendered with great beauty in *Revcl.* xix. 8; "I heard, as it were, the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings," &c. But if these many waters were merely *little tinkling streams*, and not the rushing of a mighty confluence of waters, what a preposterous association in this comparison! and what a ridiculous introduction of them in company with the *voice of a great multitude*, and the *tremendous roar of the artillery of heaven*! !

an eminent type of Christ, as a prophet and lawgiver. *Acts* iii. 22, 23. And as the people surrendered themselves to the conduct of Moses, so a believer, in the ordinance of baptism, humbly surrendered himself to Christ, as the Saviour, Lawgiver, and Head of the Church, to be conducted by him to the Canaan above. Consider the situation of the Israelites. They were in the midst of the sea; and the cloud over them. Thus they resemble a person immersed or covered in the water, when he is baptized.

1 Pet. iii. 20, 22. "The long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing: wherein a few, that is, eight souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." The ark was God's ordinance, and not a man's invention; so is baptism, it is from heaven, and not of men. The ark while it was preparing, was the scorn and derision of men; so is baptism; it was rejected by the Scribes and Pharisees, as it still is by multitudes. The ark, when Noah and his family were shut up in it by God, represented a burial; and their coming out of it was a figure of the resurrection. Just such a figure is baptism, both of the resurrection from the dead, and of the resurrection of saints to walk in newness of life. Those who were baptized in the apostles' days, did not attend to that ordinance in order to put away the filth of the flesh, as many Pædobaptists have erroneously asserted; but to answer a good conscience towards God. And here, by the way, it may not be improper to remark, that as infants could not attend to baptism, in order to answer a good conscience towards God, of course, infants in the Apostles' days, were not baptized.

Rom. vi. 4; *Col.* ii. 12. "Buried with Christ in baptism." It is generally allowed, that the Apostle here alludes to the manner of baptizing by immersion. Nor is it easy, in any other way, to account for the expression. That immersion resembles a burial, none will deny; but will this be asserted of sprinkling? If not, the apostle cannot here allude to sprinkling. Consequently, not sprinkling, but immersion is Christian baptism.*

"I have (says the blessed Redeemer) a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" *Luke* xii. 50. Now what could he mean by this? Did he mean that sufferings were to be

* BISHOP HODLY. "If baptism had been then (in the first days) performed, as it is now among us, (the Pædobaptists,) we should never have so much as heard of this form of expression, of *dying and arising again*, in this rite,"

sprinkled, or poured out partially upon him? That would lead to the notion that they were comparatively few and small. Is it not more reasonable and more emphatic to think our Lord meant, that he was to be *overwhelmed* in distress? In common language, afflicted persons are sometimes figuratively spoken of as in *deep affliction*, and *over head-and-ears in trouble*, or in debt. Thus also was Christ plunged into sorrow; and thus he speaks of himself by the Spirit of prophecy. "I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me." Ps. 92. 2. O! how was he overwhelmed in affliction, when he said, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death;" when he sweat, as it were, great drops of blood, falling from him to the ground: and when he cried out with a loud voice, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" His former baptism in water was an emblem of these sufferings: And to signify his belief of them, the baptized person, being plunged in water, reasons thus with himself; "This is cool and refreshing water; but I have deserved everlasting fire; instead of being baptized in water, why am I not overwhelmed in the tormenting lake? Because Jesus my Lord waded through the depths of divine wrath, that he might bring to me salvation. I was sinking lower and lower into guilt; but such was his love to my soul, that he plunged himself into the abyss of misery, to snatch me as a brand out of the fire. Blessed be God for his unspeakable gift.*

Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

CASSAUBON: "To baptize, is to immerse—and in this sense the Apostles are truly said to be baptized; for the house in which this was done was filled with the Holy Ghost, so that the Apostles seemed to be plunged into it as into a fish pool."*

LEIGH: "Baptize; that is, drown you all over—dip you into the ocean of his grace; opposite to the sprinkling which was in the law."*

ABP. TILLOTSON: "It [the sound from heaven, Acts ii. 2.] filled all the house. This is that which our Saviour calls 'baptizing with the Holy Ghost.' So that they who sat in the house were, as it were, immersed in the Holy Ghost, as they who were buried with water, which is the proper notion of baptism."* *In Booth's Reply to Williams.*

"Thus modern pædobaptists, who practised sprinkling. Let us now hear one of the ancients, who wrote in the Greek lan-

guage, and practised immersion. Cyril of Jerusalem, who lived in the fourth century, speaks in the following manner. "As he who is plunged in water and baptized, is encompassed by the water on every side; so are they that are wholly baptized by the Spirit. There [under the Mosaic economy] the servants of God were partakers of the Holy Spirit; but *here* they were perfectly baptized, or immersed, of him."* *In Booth's Reply to Williams.*

GROTIUS: "That this rite [baptism] was wont to be performed by immersion, and not by perfusion, appears both from the propriety of the word, and the place chosen for its administration, and the many allusions of the Apostles, which cannot be referred to sprinkling." *Stennett's Ans. to Rus.*

Now let the *honest* reader judge, whether an immersion *in* water, is the *true* import of the word *baptism*; or, whether sprinkling *with* water be the genuine sense of the word *baptize*.

CHAPTER III.

The design of Baptism; or, the Blessings represented by it.

CHRYSOSTOM: "To be baptized and plunged into the water, and then to emerge or rise out of it again, is a symbol of our descent into the grave and of our ascent out of it. And therefore Paul calls baptism a burial, when he says, we are therefore buried with him by baptism into death." *In Stennett's Ans. to Russen.*

W. TYNDALE: "The plunging into the water signifieth that we die and are buried with Christ as concerning the old life of sin which is in Adam. And the pulling out again signifieth that we rise again with Christ in a new life.

ABP. CRANMER: "The dipping into the water doth betoken, that the old Adam, with all his sin and evil lusts ought to be drowned and killed by daily contrition and repentance." *Hist. of Bap. p. 443.*

SCUDDER: "Baptism doth lively represent the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, together with your crucifying the affections and lust; being dead and buried with him unto sin, and rising with him to newness of life, and to hope of glory."

PICTEUS: "That immersion into, and emersion out of the water, practised by the ancients, signify the death of the old, and the resurrection of the new man."

PETER MARTYR: "As Christ, by baptism, hath drawn us with him into his death and burial; so he hath drawn us out unto life. This doth the dipping into the waters,

* Dr. Campbell (tho' a pædobaptist) in his Translation of the four Evangelists renders Luke xii. 50: "I have an immersion to undergo, and how am I pained till it be accomplished."

and the issuing forth again, signify, when we are baptized."

BR. NICHOLSON: "The ancient manner in baptism, and putting the person baptized under the water, and then taking him out again, did well set forth these two acts; the first his dying, the second his rising again.—Into the grave with Christ, we went not, for our bodies went not, nor could be buried with his; but in our baptism, by a kind of analogy or resemblance, while our bodies are under the water, we may be said to be buried with him."

MANTON: "The putting the baptized person into the water, denoteth and proclaimeth the burial of Christ, and we by submitting to it are baptized with him or profess to be dead to sin; for none but the dead are buried. So that it signifieth Christ's death for sin, and our dying unto sin."

BENIGLIUS: "He that is baptized puts on Christ, the second Adam; he is baptized, I say into a whole Christ, and therefore also into his death: and it is like as if, that very moment, Christ suffered, died, and was buried for such a man; and such a man suffered, died, and was buried with Christ."

S. CLARK: "*We are buried with Christ, &c.* In the primitive times, the manner of baptizing was by immersion, or dipping the whole body into the water. And this manner of doing it, was a very significant emblem of the dying and rising again, referred to by St. Paul, in *Rom. vi. 4.*"

T. GOODWIN: "The eminent thing signified and represented in baptism, is not simply the blood of Christ, as it washeth us from sin: but there is a further representation therein of Christ's death, *burial*, and *resurrection*, in the baptized's being first buried under water, and then rising out of it; and this is not in a bare conformity unto Christ, but in a representation of communion with Christ, in his death and resurrection. Therefore it is said, *we are buried with him in baptism*; and, *wherein you are risen with him.*"

AUGUSTIN: "If sacraments carry no resemblance of the things wherof they are sacraments, they are no sacraments at all."

MASTRICHT: "Similitude and analogy, between the sign and the things signified, and necessarily supposed in every sacrament."

"These learned authors are almost unanimous in considering baptism as principally intended, by the great Legislator, to represent the *death burial* and *resurrection* of Christ; the *communion* his people have with him in those momentous facts; and their *interest* in the blessings thence resulting. To confirm and illustrate which, they agree in applying the declarations of Paul,

recorded in *Rom. vi. 4*; and *Col. ii. 12*: Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of his father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. Buried with him in baptism, wherein also you are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.—Now if such be the chief design of the ordinance; if these passages of holy writ be pertinently applied; and if there be any correspondence between the sign and the things that are signified by it; immersion must be the mode of administration. In *Booth's Pædobaptism examined.*

CHAPTER IV.

The design of Baptism more fully expressed by Immersion, than by Sprinkling.

MASTRICHT: "Immersion—was used by the Apostles and primitive churches, because it is not only more agreeable in warm countries, but also more significant."

CAVE: "The party to be baptized, was wholly immersed, or put under water; whereby they did more notably and significantly express, the three great ends and effects of baptism."

ALSTEDIUS: "The rite of immersion, which is intimated by the very word baptism, certainly bears a greater analogy to the thing signified."

PICTETUS: "It was usual in ancient times for the whole body to be immersed in water—and it must be confessed that such a rite most happily represented that grace by which our sins are as it were drowned, and we raised again from the abyss of sin."

WITSIUS: "It must not be dissembled, that there is in immersion a greater fruitfulness of signification, and a more perfect correspondence between the sign and the thing signified; as we shall show, when we come to that part of our subject."

M. MORUS: "Baptism was formerly celebrated by plunging the whole body in water, and not by casting a few drops of water on the forehead; *that* representing death and the resurrection much better than this." In *Pædobap. Examined.*

Being taught, therefore, by these learned pædobaptists, that the radical idea of the term baptism—the chief design of the ordinance—the apostolic example—and the emphasis of signification, are all in favor of immersion, we must stand acquitted of blame, in the judgment of all impartial men, and our conduct appear worthy of imitation whilst we strenuously adhere to the practice

of it in all our administrations of that holy rite.

CHAPTER V.

The Practice of John the Baptist, of the Apostles, and of the Church in succeeding ages, in regard to the Manner of administering the ordinance of Baptism.

MOSHEIM, speaking of the disciples of John the Baptist, says, "they were initiated into the kingdom of the Redeemer by the ceremony of *immersion*, or Baptism." *Eccles. Hist. Cent. 1. Part I. Chap. 3.*

In another place he says. "The sacrament of baptism was administered in this [the first] century without the public assemblies, in places appointed and prepared for that purpose, and was performed by *immersion of the whole body* in the baptismal font." *Cent. 1. Part II. Chap. 4.*

CONFESSION OF HELVETIA: "Baptism was instituted and consecrated by God: and the first that baptized was John, who *dipped* Christ in the water in Jordan."

MAGDEBURG CENTURIATORS: "The Son of God was *dipped* in the water of Jordan, by the hand of John the Baptist." *In Pædobaptism Examined.*

DR. GREGORY: "The initiatory rite of baptism was [in the first century] publicly performed, 'by *immersing* the whole body, &c.'" *Hist. of the Church, vol. 1. p. 53.*

DUTCH TESTAMENT: "*Mat. 3. 5. 6:* 'Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, &c. and were *gedopt* in de Jordaen'; and were dipped in the Jordan.—*Acts viii. 8:* and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the Eunuch *ende hy doopte hem*; and he dipped him.—*Acts ix. 18:* and he received sight forthwith, *ende stout op, ende wert gedoopt*; and stood up, and was dipped."

WOLFIIUS: "That baptismal immersion was practised in the first ages of the Christian church, many have shown from the writings of the ancients—Some learned christians therefore have judged, that the same rite of immersion should be recalled into practice at this day, lest the mystical signification of the ordinance should be lost." *p.*

CHAMBERS: "In the primitive times this ceremony was performed by immersion: as it is to this day in the oriental churches, according to the original signification of the word." *p.*

ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES: *Buried with him, &c. Col. 3. 12.* In this phrase the Apostle seemeth to allude to the ancient manner of baptism, which was to dip the

parties baptized, as it were to bury them under the water for a while, and then to draw them out of it, and lift them up, to represent the burial of our old man, and our resurrection to newness of life." *p.*

T. LAWSON: "John the Baptist, that is John the *dipper*; so called because he was authorized to baptize in water.—Such as rhanitize, or sprinkle infants have no command from Christ, nor example among the Apostles, nor the first primitive Christians for so doing."*

R. BAXTER: "It is commonly confessed by us of the anabaptists, as our commentators declare, that in the Apostles times the baptized were dipped overhead in the water, and that this signified their profession, both of believing the *burial* and *resurrection* of Christ; and of their own *present* renouncing the world and flesh, or dying of sin and living to Christ, or rising again to newness of life, or being *buried* and risen again with Christ, as the Apostle expoundeth, in the forecited texts, *Col. ii. 12. Rom. vi. 4.*" *p.* Quaker. In Pædobap. Ex.*

CALVIN: "Here we perceive how baptism was administered among the ancients; for they immersed the whole body in water. Now it is the prevailing practice for a minister only to sprinkle the body or the head." *Com. on Acts. viii. 38.*

J. WESLEY: "*Buried with him*—Alluding to the ancient manner of Baptizing by immersion." *Note on Rom. vi. 4.*

JOSEPH MEDE, on *Tit. iii. 5*, frankly owns, "There was no such thing as sprinkling, used in baptism in the Apostles times, nor many ages after them." *1*

THE BP. OF MEAUX acknowledges, "That it may be made to appear by the acts of councils, and by the ancient rituals that for thirteen hundred years baptism was administered by immersion throughout the whole church, as far as possible." *2.*

WHITBY: "Immersion was religiously observed by all Christians for thirteen centuries." *3.*

1. 2. 3. In Stennett's Ans. to Russen.

ROBINSON: "Immersion in the church of Rome stood by law established till the latter end of the eighth century. Then, pouring was tolerated in case of necessity."

"In this country, sprinkling was never declared valid, ordinary baptism, till the assembly of divines in the time of Cromwell, influenced by Dr. Lightfoot, pronounced it so."

"Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry the eighth—Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward the sixth—and Princess Elizabeth, afterward Queen Elizabeth, were all baptized by immersion."—*Hist. of Bap. p. 525.* *132. 120.*

"In Scotland, immersion was the only rite known as baptism, till the latter end of the twelfth century." *Bap. Register* vol. 4, p. 660.

ROBINSON: "Learned men of the Roman Catholic community—laugh at such as affect either to render the word baptism sprinkling, or give a high antiquity to the practice."

"Sixteen years after the establishment of the dutch church in Austin-Friars, London, [which was about the year 1548,] the congregation published a catechism, either composed, or recommended by John a Lasco, the pastor of the said church, in which are the following questions and answers. Q. What are the Sacraments of the church of Christ? A. Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Q. What is Baptism? A. It is a holy institution of Christ, in which the church is dipped in water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Five ancient mockeries of baptism afford evidence in our favor. "In an history of the Razzantine theatre, it is said, that in the year 297, the players, on a theatre at a city of Asia, diverted the pagan spectators with a mock baptism. For this purpose they provided a large bathing tub, filled it with water, and plunged Gelasius into it, to the no small diversion of the company."

"It is also recorded of one Porphyry, a pagan player, that he grew to such an height of impiety, that he adventured to baptize himself in jest upon the stage, on purpose to make the people laugh at Christian baptism, and so to bring both it and Christianity into contempt: and for this purpose he plunged himself into a vessel of water which he had placed on the stage, calling aloud upon the Trinity, at which the spectators fell into great laughter. But to the goodness of God to this profane miscreant! it pleased God to shew such a demonstration of his power and grace, upon him, that this sporting baptism of his became a serious lover of regeneration to him, inasmuch that of a graceless player he become a gracious christian; and not long after he received the crown of martyrdom."—*Hist. of Bap.* p. 433. 327. 415.

A review of the preceding quotations, reminds us of what Mr. Toplady said to a friend of his when he was about leaving Broad-Hembury.—His friend said "Sir what would you advise me to do when you are gone from hence, as I cannot attend the ministry of him who is to be your successor?" Go, said Mr. T., to Collumpton and hear good old father Gillard—"Gillard," said his friend, "he's a baptist"—no matter for that, replied Mr. T., *The Baptist have the best end of the Staff.*

CHAPTER VI.

Reasons, Rise, and Prevalence of Sprinkling instead of Immersion.

The first instance on ecclesiastical record, of pouring or sprinkling is that of Novatian, in the year 251. Which case is thus described in Eusebius. "He [Novatian] fell into a grievous distemper, and it being supposed that he would die immediately, he received baptism, being sprinkled with water on the bed whereon he lay, if that can be termed baptism." *In Padobap. Examined.*

ROBINSON: "The administration of baptism by sprinkling was first invented in Africa in the third century, in favor of clinics, or bed-ridden people; but even African catholics, the least enlightened, and the most depraved of all catholics, derided it, and reputed it no baptism." *Hist. of Bap.* p. 449.

By the twelfth canon of the council of Neocaesarea, these clinics were prohibited priesthood. Yea, so imperfect was this baptism esteemed, that Bp. Taylor tells us; "It was a formal and solemn question, made by Magnus to Cyprian, whether they are to be esteemed right Christians who were only sprinkled with water, and not washed or dipped."

ROBINSON: "The absolute necessity of dipping in order to a valid baptism; and the indispensable necessity of baptism in order to salvation were two doctrines which clashed. Therefore a thousand ingenious devices have been invented to administer baptism by sprinkling in extraordinary cases. It would shock the modesty of people unused to such a ceremony to relate the law of the case. Suffice it, therefore to observe, that if the hand or foot only of a babe dying with its mother in the birth be sprinkled, it is (as they say) baptism, and the child is saved. Father Jerome Florentine, of Lucca, published a fourth edition of a middle sized quarto, to explain, confirm, and direct the baptism of infants *unborn*. A book is seldom seen graced with so many recommendations.—Even in the present times an humane doctor of divinity and laws of Palermo, in 1751, published at Milan, in the Italian tongue, a book of 320 pages in quarto, dedicated to all the guardian angels, to direct priests and physicians how to secure the eternal salvation of infants by baptizing them, when they *could not be born*. The surgical instruments and process cannot be mentioned here; and the reader is come to a point in the history of infant sprinkling, where English modesty compels him to retire." *Hist. of Bap.* p. 430.

HAMELIUS: "Whereas the sick, by reason of their illness, could not be immersed

or plunged (which properly speaking, is to be baptized;) they had the salutary water poured upon them, or were sprinkled with it, &c."

TURRETTINUS: "Immersion was used in former times and in warm climates. But now, especially in cold countries, when the church began to extend itself towards the north, plunging was changed into sprinkling, and aspersion only is used."

R. BAXTER: "We grant that baptism then [in the primitive times] was by washing the whole body; and did not the difference of our cold country, as to that hot one, teach us to remember, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, it *should* be so here."

BP. BURNET: "The danger of dipping in cold climates may be a very good reason for changing the form of baptism to sprinkling." *In Pædobap. Exam.*

MR. WALL: "The way that is now ordinarily used we cannot deny to have been a novelty, brought into this [the] church [of England] by those that had learned it in Germany or at Geneva. And they were not contented to follow the example of pouring a quantity of water (which had there been introduced instead of immersion) but improved it (if I may so abuse the word) from pouring to sprinkling; that it might have as little resemblance of the ancient way of baptizing as possible." *Def. of the Hist. of Inf. bap. p. 403.*

By the quotations here produced from eminent pædobaptists we are taught; "That, to be immersed or plunged, is (properly speaking,) to be baptized—That immersion was used in former times—That the danger of dipping in cold climates is a good reason for changing the form of baptism to sprinkling—That pouring is a novelty imported from Germany or Geneva—and, That sprinkling bears *no resemblance* to the ancient way of baptizing." From which it is evident that antiquity is in our favor—That the form of baptism, as administered by our opposers, has been changed—And that (according to their own confession) they have not kept this ordinance, as it was delivered to them.

Some of those who have written in favor of infant sprinkling, have suggested, that there is something indecent attached to the administration of baptism; this shocking thought, is no less than charging indecency on Him who was perfectly holy as Man, and infinitely holy as God: had these men been of the tribes of Israel; had they lived under the former dispensation, how would they have complained of the danger, and the indecency connected with circumcision?

The coldness of the climate, is pleaded, as a reason *for changing the form of baptism to sprinkling*; and yet thousands in

the nations often bathe to refresh their bodies, or to cure them of disorders; but if to be baptized in water is directed to as an ordinance of the adorable Redeemer, then it is, to our opposers, a grievous yoke which they cannot bear.

They would do well, we think, "to remember, that to change a divine ordinance is represented in Scripture, as a crime of great enormity. Paul commends the Corinthians because they *kept the ordinances as he had delivered them* to that church. Awful threatenings are denounced by the prophet Isaiah, xxiv. 5: and one of the crimes on account of which threatenings are denounced is, "they have changed the ordinance." Whatever ordinance is intended, the lesson we are taught is that to change an ordinance is a great sin. When the two of the sons of Aaron made a change in one single circumstance, in the offering of incense, there went out fire from the Lord, and devoured them. For, saith Jehovah, "I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified;" *Lev. x. 1—3.* This passage is sufficient to make one tremble at the thought of altering, in any degree, a sacred institution, or of conforming to such an alteration, when it is made by any man, or number of men in the world."

We shall conclude this chapter in the words of Ephraim, the Syrian: "The truth written (says he) in the sacred volume of the gospel, is a *perfect rule*. Nothing can be taken from it, nor added to it, without great guilt." *Paley's Evid. vol. 1. p. 237*

CHAPTER VII.

Neither Precept, nor Example, for Infant baptism in the New Testament.

BP. BURNET: "There is no express precept, or rule, given in the New Testament for the baptism of infants."

FULLER: "We do freely confess, that there is neither express precept nor precedent, in the New Testament for baptizing infants."

LUTHER: "It cannot be proved by the sacred Scripture that infant baptism was instituted by Christ, or begun by the first christians after the apostles." *p.*

CELLARIUS: "Infant baptism is neither commanded in the sacred Scripture, nor is it confirmed by apostolic example." *p.*

MAGDEBURG CENTURIATORS: "Examples prove that adults, both Jews and Gentiles, were baptized. Concerning the baptism of infants, there are indeed no examples of which we read." *p.*

S. PALMER: "There is nothing in the

words of the administration of this rite, respecting the baptism of infants: there is not a single precept for, nor example of this practice through the whole New Testament." *p.*

W. PENN: "There is not one text of Scripture to prove that sprinkling in the face was the water baptism, or that children were the subjects of water baptism, in the first times."*

T. LAWSON, has produced Zuinglius and Melancthon, as expressing themselves to the same effect. He also tells us the Oxford divines, in a convocation held 1647, acknowledged; that without the consentaneous judgment of the universal church they should be at a loss, when called upon for proof, in the points of infant baptism."*

J. PHILIPPS: "The practice of sprinkling infants, under the name of baptism, hath neither precept nor precedent in the New Testament."*

R. BARCLAY: "As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice, is to be found in all the Scripture."* *Quaker. In Pædobap. Examined.*

A. BOOTH: "Such being the concession of our learned opposers, and such the harmonious testimony of impartial friends, I am reminded of the following apostolic declaration, which may be here applied. "We have no such commandment—We have no such custom." The Apostle, it seems gave no command for the baptizing of infants; and therefore a precept cannot be found. They had no such custom, and therefore an example of it is not recorded in the history of their practice."

But, though there is no precept for, nor example, nor intimation of infant baptism in the New Testament, yet a certain pædobaptist Doctor hath found a text in the Old Testament, which as he says, affords "an unwarrantable argument to prove its validity." His text—*Canticles* vii. 2: "Thy navel is like a round goblet, which wanteth not liquor." His comment: "And by the by, (says he,) there is a great controversy solved, namely, between us and the anabaptists, who are against the baptizing of children, because they are not come to years of understanding. Let it be remembered, from what is suggested to us here, that infants (according to the notion which prevailed in those days) receive nourishment by the navel, though they take not in any food by the mouth; yea, though (according to the opinion of those times) they did not so much as use their mouths. So it is no good objection against baptizing infants, that they are ignorant, and understand not what they do; and that they are not able to take in the spiritual nourishment after the ordinary way; if it may be done (as 'tis said here)

by the navel, by that federal knot or link which ties 'em fast to their Christian and believing parents; which, according to the best divines is an unanswerable argument to prove the validity of infant baptism; for they belong to the covenant as they are the offspring of the faithful; and thence are pronounced holy by the Apostles. And here also we see further the congruity of the expression here used by the wise man; for the use of the navel is not only to convey nutriment to the fœtus; but to fasten the fœtus to the mother: which denotes that intimate union and conjunction with the church of Christ, our common mother, that is made by the baptismal performance." *Dr. Edwards on Cant.* vii. 2.

We shall make no reflections on this mighty "Solution of the controversy;" but leave our opposers to please themselves with the delicacy, and logic of their champion.

CHAPTER VIII.

No Evidence of Infant baptism, before the latter end of the Second, or the beginning of the Third Century.

SALMASIUS and SUICERUS: "In the two first centuries no one was baptized, except, being instructed in the faith and acquainted with the doctrine of Christ, he was able to profess himself a believer."

CURCELLEUS: "The baptism of infants, in the two first centuries after Christ, was altogether unknown; but in the third and fourth was allowed by a few. In the fifth and following ages it began to obtain in divers places. The custom of baptizing infants did not begin before the third age after Christ. In the third ages no trace of it appears—and it was introduced without the command of Christ."

CHAMBERS: "It appears that in the primitive times none were baptized but adults." *In Pædobap. Exam.*

TERTULLIAN, speaking of the work of the Apostles, says, "Their business was first to preach, afterwards to dip, or baptize: and that those who were ready to enter upon Baptism, should give themselves to frequent prayers, fastings, &c." 1.

JEROM, speaking of the ministerial work, ordained by the commission of Christ, says, "First, they teach all nations, and when they are taught, dip them in water." 2.

The apostolic fathers make no mention of baptizing infants—Barnabassays, "They are blessed, who fixing their hope on the Cross, have gone down into the water." And a little after—"We descended into the water full of sins and defilements, and come up out of it, bringing forth fruit,

having in our hearts the fear and hope which is in Christ." 3.

TERTULLIAN, describing the manner of baptizing used in his time, says, "Men's minds were hardened against it because the person [to be baptized] was brought down into the water without pomp, without any new ornament or sumptuous preparations, and dipped at the pronouncement of a few words. And there is no difference, (says he) whether one is washed in a sea or in a pool, in a river or in a fountain, in a lake or in a channel; nor is there any distinction to be made between those whom John dipped in Jordan, and those whom Peter dipped in the Tiber." 4. 1. 2. 3. 4. *In Stennett's Ans. to Russen.*

BP. BARLOW: "I do believe and know that there is neither precept nor example in Scripture for Pædobaptism, nor any just evidence for it for about two hundred years after Christ." *Letter to Mr. John Tombs.*

WALAFRIDUS STRABO: "In the primitive times the ordinance of Baptism was administered only to those who through perfection of body and mind, understood what profit they received by baptism; what was to be professed, what to be believed; and lastly, what was to be observed by those that were born again in Christ." *Davye, on Bap. p. 63.*

ROBINSON: "Not one natural infant of any description appears in this church (Rome) during the first three centuries, and immersion was the only method of baptizing. Professor Boehmer, with his usual accuracy, makes a just distinction in regard to the places of baptism. The place of administering baptism, says he, was, not the church but a river in which people were dipped, in the presence of witnesses.

"There is no trace of infant baptism among the catholics of Spain earlier than the year 517. In this year, it is said, Lender consulted Pope Gregory on the propriety of trine immersion, and Gregory's answer was inserted in a council held at Toledo in 633, where it was determined that baptism should be administered by single immersion." *Researches, p. 130. 215.*

"It is very evident, that the baptism of natural infants was not so early, nor even so general as hath been by many imagined. The Fathers should be allowed to expound themselves, and Clement's hymn makes it appear with the utmost evidence that by infant, and little infant, he did not mean either a babe, or a minor, but a Christian of any age. His whole book called the Pedagogue is additional evidence, and he expressly says: Paul defines an infant, in the epistle to the Romans, where he informs them: "I would have you wise to that which is good, and simple concerning evil." We, adds Clement, are a choir of such in-

fants. Agreeably to this notion, at the close of his book of Pedagogy, supposing himself and his companions united in a choir by Jesus, the Pedagogue of all his disciples, he proposes a hymn of praise to be sung by all the church, to the honor of their common benefactor, the only teacher, and the perfect pattern of spiritual infancy, that is, of innocence. In this hymn Jesus is represented as the King of his children, who nourishes his family of little infants, by administering to their tender mouths the milk of heavenly wisdom. No Christians have imitated the style of this Father so exactly as the Moravians. Their collection of hymns abounds with the phraseology. A part of one runs thus:

VER. 1.

'Ye *children*: where do you dwell? where is your ground?

Where is the best care for such *little ones* found?

6.

What is now to *children* the dearest thing here?

To be the Lamb's *lambkins*, and *chickens* most dear:

Such *lambkins* are nourished with food which is best:

Such *chickens* sit safely and warm in the nest.

8.

But how when the *children* the mother's heart grieve?

That's bad: but yet therefore she does not them leave;

And when they come crying, quite sorry within,

Then does the *child* Jesus forgive them all sin.

11.

That's well; but one also must do something here!

For this does the mother the *children* prepare!

And many, yet *sucking* the milk from the breast,

Have gone to the heathing, and have him confest.'

The word *infant*, as used by the ancients, was of wider extent than is now generally supposed.—"Servants are called the master's infants—Foot soldiers are the infantry under the command of general officers—The children of the house of Spain are called infants—In the Gothic laws a man's *infants* were disqualified for sitting as jurymen in his law suits, for being his *tenants* they would be tempted to be partial.

"Few writers have been so often quoted in the controversy concerning infant baptism as Tertullian, and yet the subject is not so much as mentioned by this Father.

They are *boys* and not *babes*, of whose baptism he writes."

Br. VICTOR's account of the church at Carthage, agrees with the above assertion. He says, "There were in the church at Carthage, when Eugenius was bishop, a great many little *infants*, readers, who rejoiced in the Lord, and suffered persecution with the rest of their brethren."

In another place he says, "There was in the church at Carthage a man named Theucarius, who used to read, and was master of the singers—twelve of these were *little infants*. There were also *little infants*, who in time of persecution ran up and down the streets crying, We are Christians; We are Christians; We are Christians: and as they repeated this three times, both catholics and arians thought they held the doctrine of the Trinity: the latter knocked them on the head, and the former registered them for martyrs. There were seven monks put to death; Maximus, a *little infant*, was one. The officers pitied his youth, and tried to persuade him to recant. No, said he, nobody shall persuade me to leave my father abbot, and my brethren. Do you think you can seduce me because I am young—If I deny Christ before men, he will deny me before his Father in heaven.

CARDINAL BELLARMINE observes, "They were all led into the mistake by applying to natural infants what Origen had said only of youths and adults. Origen's infants were capable of repentance and martyrdom: but the infants of the reformers were incapable of either." *History of Baptism*, p. 564. 152. 164. 171. 172. 339.

"During the first three centuries Christian congregations all over the east subsisted in separate independent bodies, unsupported by government, and consequently without any secular power over one another. All this time they were baptized churches, and though all the Fathers of the four first ages, down to Jerom, were of Greece, Syria, and Africa, and though they gave great numbers of histories of the baptism of adults, yet there is not one record of the baptism of a child till the year 370, when Galates, the dying son of the emperor Valens, was baptized, by order of a monarch, who *swore* he would not be contradicted. The age of the prince is unknown." *Researches*, p. 55.

T. LAWSON: "See the author of rhanthism, that is, sprinkling; not the Apostles, but Cyprian, not in the days of Christ, but some two hundred and thirty years after.—Agustine, the son of the virtuous Monica, being instructed in the faith, was not baptized till about the thirtieth year of his age. Ambrose, born of christian parents, remained instructed in Christian principles, and was unbaptized till he was chosen bishop

of Milan.—Jerom, born of Christian parents, was baptized when about thirty years old. Nectarius was chosen bishop of Constantinople before he was baptized. [Gregory Nazianzen, born in 318, whose parents were Christians, and his father a bishop, was not baptized till about thirty years of age. Chrysostom, born of Christian parents, in 347, was not baptized till near twenty-one years of age.*] Basil, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were Christians, was not baptized till the twenty-eighth year of his age:† and Constantine the great also, the son of Constance and Helena, (both eminent Christians,) born in the year 305; was solemnly baptized in Jordan, after the example of Christ, by Eusebius, of Nicomendia, a little before his death. *Millar's Hist. of Christi. vol. 1. p. 392. *In Pædo. Ex. †Hist. of Bap. p. 69.*

The quotations here produced from eminent pædobaptists, and the various historic facts here recited, abundantly prove, that baptized believers, in those days did not baptize their infants.

CHAPTER IX.

The Rise, and Grounds, of Infant Baptism.

ROBINSON: "The baptism of babes first appeared in the most ignorant and impure part of the catholic world, Africa. It was not the offspring of critical learning or sound philosophy, for it sprang up among men destitute of both; nor did any one ever take the African fathers for philosophers or critical investigators of the sacred oracles of God; and if they be all taken for moral men, they are overprized, for in spite of their vain boast of an orthodox faith they were pagans and blasphemers, who worshipped idols in secret, and dedicated their children to demons. There was no crime that they did not practice; perjury, debauchery of every species, oppression, tyranny and wickedness of every kind, so that the people groaned for a revolution. When, in the time of Augustine, the Vandals surrounded Carthage to besiege it, the members of the church were lying in luxury at the play, or at some public amusement, and the poor were more wretched and more wicked than they had ever been under the Romans.

"There was a ferocity in the manners of the old Carthaginians, and their history is full of examples of the cruel insensibility, with which they shed the blood of citizens as well as foreigners. This ferocity they carried into their religion. When Agatho-

cles was upon the point of besieging Carthage, the inhabitants imputed their misfortune to the anger of Saturn, because instead of children of the first quality, which they used to sacrifice to him, they had fraudulently substituted the children of slaves and strangers. To make amends for this pretended crime, they sacrificed *two hundred children* of the best families of Carthage to that god. A brazen statue was set up, its two arms, brought almost together, were extended downwards over a fierce fire. The mothers kissed and decoyed their children into mirth, lest the god should be offended with the ungracefulness of his worshippers. The priests were habited in scarlet, and the victims in a purple vest. The children were laid upon the arms of the statue, and rolled from thence into the fire, and a rough music drowned their shrieks lest mothers should hear and relent." *Hist. of Bap. p. 182. 185.*

Among such a people as is above described, lived Fidus, the first on record who proposed the baptism of infants. And though, as Mr. Wall intimates, he was but an indifferent man for a bishop, yet he might be shocked at such horrid abominations. It is more than probable that Fidus bethought himself of baptizing these little ones, as an expedient to save them from the arms of the brazen statue, and from the devouring flame. If so, he ought to be canonized for his humanity, if not for a saint.

The Pædobaptists, from their commencement to the present day, have universally ascribed a degree of utility and importance to baptism which divine Revelation does not warrant. This, however strange it may appear at first sight, hath been one of the principal causes of its being so generally practised.

AUGUSTIAN: "Not only persons who are come to the use of reason, but also little children, and infants newly born, if they die without baptism, do go into everlasting fire." *See Darye on Bap. p. 67.*

ANSELM: "Children should be baptized, that they may be freed from original sin, and be rendered saints and holy ones."

BERNARD: "Without baptism children cannot be saved." *Danvers, on Bap. p. 120.*

CHURCH OF WITTENBURGH: "We believe and confess, that baptism is that sea, into the bottom whereof, God doth cast all our sins."

CHURCH OF ROME: "Sin, whether contracted by birth, from our first parents, or committed of ourselves, by the admirable virtue of this sacrament [baptism] is remitted and pardoned. By baptism we are joined and knit to Christ, as members to the head. By baptism we are signed with a character which can never be blotted out

of our souls, it opens to every one of us the gate of heaven, &c."

COUNCIL OF TRENT: "If any one shall say that baptism is not necessary to salvation, let him be accursed."

DODWELL: "It is by baptism the soul is rendered immortal." *In Pædobaptism Exam.*

The LUTHERANS in their Augustian Confession, made 1530, declare, that baptism is necessary to salvation; and that God's grace is conferred thereby. They also condemn the Baptists, for not baptizing infants, and for holding, that children are saved without it." *Danvers, p. 128.*

CHURCH OF ENGLAND: "Baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL: Here lies a babe, that only cry'd
In baptism to be wash't from sin, and dy'd.
Jan. 17, 1666. *Hackett's Epitaphs, p. 124.*

VOSSIUS: "It is manifest, that in baptism we are born again, adopted, received into the covenant of grace; and upon that receive remission of sins, are renewed by the Holy Spirit, and made heirs of the heavenly kingdom."

J. AMBROSE: "By baptism we are washed, we are sanctified we are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God."

MR. GEE: "This sacrament of baptism doth confer on the persons baptized the grace of remission, of adoption, and sanctification."

WATERLAND: "Baptism alone is sufficient to make one a christian; yea, and to keep him such even to his life's end."

BURKITT, speaking of infants under the notion of lambs, calls baptism Christ's earmark, by which Christ's sheep are distinguished from the devil's goats.

HOLLAZIUS: "By baptism is applied to us, calling grace—illuminating grace—regenerating grace—justifying grace—indwelling grace—and glorifying grace."

M. HENRY: "Baptism wrests the keys of the heart out of the hands of the strong man armed, that the possession may be surrendered to him whose right it is—the water of baptism is designed for our cleansing from the spots and defilements of the flesh."

G. WHITEFIELD: "Does not this verse [John iii. 5.] urge the absolute necessity of water baptism? Yes, where it may be had; but how God will deal with persons unbaptized we cannot tell."

J. WESLEY: "If infants are guilty of original sin, in the ordinary way they cannot be saved, unless this be washed away by baptism."

DR. WILLIAMS: "Jesus Christ was

equally liable to ceremonial pollution with the Jews in common; and, when baptized, he was legally purified. Baptism ratifies the promises, and authenticates divine Revelation. Baptism gives a legal title to read the Scripture, to all the contents of that sacred volume, and to all the means of conversion. The obligation to repentance, to holiness, and to obedience, results from being baptized, &c.

BP. BEVERIDGE: "Put off your baptism no longer. It was your parents' fault that you were not baptized before; it is your own if ye be not baptized now. And therefore be advised to fit yourselves for it, as soon as possible, lest as ye have hitherto lived, so you die too without it, and so be damned forever." *Serm. on Bap.*

From these quotations, it appears that infant baptism prevailed, and still prevails, on the supposition of its being *absolutely necessary to salvation*.* Were any of the baptist to talk or write as above, their conduct would be exploded with the keenest ridicule.

The difficulty of providing for the children of the priests was another article that forwarded the baptism of infants. "They provided sinecures and even cures for them in their childhood. Pope Gregory reprov'd the bishop of Liege, for marrying some of his bastards into noble families, and portioning them by assignments of church estates; for procuring benefices for others, who were minors; for conferring both cures and sinecures on them himself; for giving a prebend in his church to the brother of a nun; and for portioning two daughters by the same nun with ecclesiastical money—Rathierius wrote to Martin, bishop of Ferrara, on the same subject, and reprov'd him for selling orders to children, of which he had made a perpetual practice. There are letters of Atto to his clergy, wherein he describes the manner of ordaining little boys, and uses precisely the same argument against the practice, as the baptists do against the baptizing them. It seems, the infants, as he calls them, were trained by the rod to give answers to questions in public, which they could hardly utter, and not a word of which they understood. No step could be taken towards pensioning these little ones before they were baptized. They were therefore taught very early to make the responses. A presbyter of twelve years of age, or as they called them, little infant presbyters were very common. Pope John the Xth, created a child of no more than

five years of age, bishop of Rheims: And Pope John the XIIIth, (who was wont to drink healths to the devil,) created a boy but ten years old, bishop of Tudertinat. This abuse was not local, it prevailed over the whole catholic world. *Hist. of Bap. p. 309. Hist. of Popery vol. 1. p. 317. 319.*

"Thus, was the order of the church subverted, by giving those the name who had not the thing, and by transferring the whole cause of Christianity from the wise and pious few to the ignorant and wicked multitude, who, being supposed Christians, interfered in religion, degraded the community, invaded the offices, and converted the whole into a worldly corporation."

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Misrepresentation, and Persecution, have also greatly promoted the cause of Infant-baptism.

The DONATISTS were persecuted for not administering baptism to Infants, and for holding that infants are saved without it.

AUGUSTIN, writing against one of them, says, "Thou acknowledgest that children are guilty of original sin, yet absolvest them without the *laver of regeneration*, and permittest them to go into the kingdom of heaven. These things are very perverse, and against the catholic faith."—"To another person who seems to be his friend, he writes thus: "Firmly do thou hold, and by no means doubt, that not only men who are come to the use of reason but also children, whether beginning to live in their mothers' womb, and then dying, or being newly born; if they die without baptism, do go into everlasting fire. And if thou know any teach contrary hereunto, shun him as the plague, reject him as an heretic, and as an enemy of the Christian faith; let him be *anathematized* by all catholic christians." See *Darve, on Bap. p. 64—76.*

Augustin procured a law to *compel* Christians to Baptize their infants, in a council at Mela in Numidia in the year 416.

ROBINSON: "About the year 590, a council was held at Toledo in Spain. The king produced the articles of his faith, which he and the queen, the bishops and some nobles subscribed. Here unity of faith, and uniformity of worship were introduced anathemas were plentifully denounced, and the vengeance of heaven and earth was threatened to overwhelm all, who did not accede to the faith and the measures of the council. The former creed was disowned, and a *curse* was denounced against *anabaptism*. In return for these favors, the prelate graced the king with the title of *catholic*, which descended to his successors." *Researches, p. 208.*

*To this general rule there is an exception: For, we have met with those, who, when they could not prove infant-sprinkling to be a gospel ordinance, have, with an irreverent air told us (as in chapter the first,) that "baptism is an indifferent thing: a mere trifle." So that baptism, according to our opposers, is either almost a *Saviour*; or, an *indifferent thing*;

Extracts taken from JEFFREY of Monmouth, FULLER, and FABIN; *by* H. DANVERS.

In the country of the Britains, Christianity flourished, which never decayed even from the Apostles time: among whom, was the preaching of the gospel, sincere doctrines, and living faith, and such form of worship, as was delivered to the churches by the Apostles themselves. They, even to death itself, withstood the Romish rites and ceremonies. About the year 593, the English Saxons completed their conquest of the Britains. In 596, Gregory bishop of Rome, sent Austin the monk into England, to bring the Saxons into a conformity to the church of Rome: for as long as the British churches possessed the country, they were kept sound in the faith, and pure in the worship, order, and discipline of Christ.—Austin endeavoured to reduce the Britains, as well as the Saxons, to a conformity to the church of Rome; at which time, the old Britains were principally in Wales, where Bangor on the north, and Cair-Leon on the south, were the two principal seats, both for learning and religion: in Bangor was a college containing two thousand one hundred Christians, who dedicated themselves to the Lord, to serve him in the ministry, as they became capable; to whom was attributed the name of monks of Bangor. Yet did they no ways accord with the popish monks of that, or the following age; for they were not reduced to any ecclesiastical order; but were for the most part, lay-men, who labored with their hands, married, and followed their calling; only some of them, whose spirits the Lord fitted and inclined to his more immediate service, devoted themselves to the study of the Scripture, and other holy exercises, in order to the work of the ministry: who sent forth many useful instruments: many of whom Austin got to a council he kept about Worcestershire; where he propounded to them the embracing the Romish rites, and to join with him in preaching and administering in their way; *which they refused*. Then he said to them, Since you will not assent to my *hests* generally, assent you to me specially in three things: The first in your keeping Easter-day in the form and time as it is ordained [at Rome.] The second, that you give *Christendom* to children. And the third, that you preach to the Saxons, as I have exhorted you: and all the other debate, I shall suffer you to amend and reform among yourselves. *But, they would not*. To whom then Austin said, That if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receive war with their enemies; and suffer by their hands the revenge of death; and which Austin accomplished accordingly, by bring-

ing the Saxons upon them, and to their utter ruin. And thereupon, that faith that had endured in Britain, for near four hundred years, became near extinct throughout the land."

HUMPHREY LOYDE: "In Denbigh-shire, near the castle of Holt, is seen the rubbish and reliques of the monastery of Bangor, while the glory of the Britons flourished; in the same were two thousand one hundred monks, very well ordered and learned, divided into seven parts daily serving God; amongst whom those that were unlearned, by their handy labor, provided meat, drink, and apparel for the learned, and such as applied themselves to their studies; and if any thing was remaining, they divided it among the poor. That place sent forth many hundred of excellently well-learned men.—And afterwards by the envy and malice of Austin, that arrogant monk, and the most cruel execution of his minister Ethelfred [the pagan king of Northumberland] these worthy men were destroyed, the whole House, from the very foundation, together with their Library (more precious than gold) was razed down and demolished by fire and sword."

From these extracts, we find, that the College at Bangor was laid in ruins—it's valuable Library was reduced to ashes—and a great number of God's People were massacred; for no other reason but because these primitive believers would not keep Easter with the Pope—because they would not baptize infants—and, because they would not preach in conjunction with an antichristian Monk.

SEBASTIAN FRANK: "About the year 610, childrens-baptism was held in many places of little esteem, owing to the learned endeavors of Adrianus and others; therefore the popes set themselves to uphold it; and particularly at the council of Bracerene, in 610 it was ordained, concluded, and published, that young children must be baptized; as being necessary to salvation, upon penalty of damnation. *Danvers on Bap. p. 282.*

Ina, one of the kings of the West-Saxons, about the year 700, decreed; that every family possessed of goods to the value of twenty pence, should pay one penny a year to blessed saint Peter and the church of Rome. He also prescribed a *penalty* for deferring the baptism of infants beyond thirty days, and a much greater when they died unbaptized. *Toulmin's Hist. of Taunton, p. 6.*

The emporor Charlemagne, also, levied a heavy fine on the parent, who, except he had a licence from the priest, did not baptize his child within a year after his birth. *Hist. of Bap. p. 426.*

In 1050; Pope Leo the III, in his decre-

tal Epistle to the bishop of Aquitain commanded that young children should be baptized, because of original sin.

In 1070: Pope Gregory the seventh, decreed, that those young children whose parents are absent or unknown, should be baptised; *Danvers on Bap. p. 249.*

DEYLINGIUS: "If Christian parents defer the baptism of their infants; or seized by the spirit of anabaptism—will not have them baptized at all; then by the authority of the magistrate, the infant must be taken from the parents, and when initiated by baptism, returned to them." *In Pædobaptism Examined.*

In 1022, Heriburtus, Lisonius, and Stephanus, with eleven more, were burnt at Orleans in France, for opposing infant-baptism.

At Goslar, in the time of the emperor Henry the III, several persons were put to death for opposing infant baptism.

In 1095, at Parenza in Italy, many who opposed infant baptism, were condemned, and suffered death.—Peter Ablardus, a learned man, and a great opposer of infant baptism, was imprisoned and martyred at Rome.

In 1105, several persons were banished out of the bishopric of Tryers for opposing infant baptism. *Danvers, on Bap. p. 234. 235. 257.*

Peter de Bruys, [an itinerant baptist] who made the most laudable attempt to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel: and after having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years continuance, was burnt at St. Giles's in 1130, by an enraged populace, set on by the clergy, whose traffic was in danger from the enterprising spirit of this new reformer."

"Henry his successor, [who also opposed the church of Rome in the article of infant baptism] left Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, travelled to Mans, and being banished thence removed successively to Poitiers, Bordeaux, and the countries adjacent, and at length to Tholouse in 1147, exercising his ministerial function in all these places with the utmost applause from the people, and declaring, with the greatest vehemence and fervor, against the vices of the clergy, and the superstitions they had introduced into the church. At Tholouse he was warmly opposed by St. Bernard, by whose influence he was overpowered notwithstanding his popularity and obliged to save himself by flight. But being seized in his retreat, by a certain bishop he was carried before pope Eugenius the III, who presided in person at a council then assembled at Rheims, and

who, in consequence of the accusations brought against Henry, committed him, in 1148, to a close prison, where, in a little time after this he ended his sufferings."—*Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. 12. Part II. Chap. 5. See also Stennett's Ans. to Russen, p. 83.*

TWISK'S CHRON.; *century the eleventh, p. 423*: "It appears that in this age, the baptism of believers was asserted and practised by the Waldenses and Albigenses." *Danvers, on Bap. p. 72.*

CASSANDER, the historian, though a pædobaptist, declares, that the *greatest part* of the Albigenses were opposers of infant baptism. *In Stennett's Ans. to Russen.*

DUTCH MARTYROLOGY, *p. 307—320*: "The Waldenses and Albigenses, do cast far from them all the sacraments of the Romish church, and among those, they do wholly reject that of infant baptism: but for that baptism, according to Christ's appointment, they have a very high value and esteem." *Danvers's Reply to Willis, p. 130—131.*

The Albigenses, alias Waldenses, were a sect of reformers about Tholouse and the Albigois, in Languedoc, in the twelfth century. Peter Valdo was one of their principal leaders, who sold his goods and distributed the money among the poor—he *baptized only the adult*—and in other things was remarkable for opposing the church of Rome. *Hist. of Religion, vol. 4. A. L. B.*

In 1179; Pope Alexander the III, in the Lateran council, *anathematized* the Waldenses, for denying baptism to infants.

In 1181, Pope Lucius held his general council at Verone, wherein the Albigensian sect were *damned* for daring to preach, without apostolical approbation, and for teaching otherwise about the eucharist *baptism*, and other sacraments of the church, than the church of Rome preacheth and observeth. *Danvers's on Bap. p. 257. 252.*

"The first means the popes used to extirpate the Waldenses, before they came to open force, was with spiritual thunder-bolts and anathemas, severe constitutions and decrees, to render them odious to the princes and people of the earth, prohibiting all manner of society and communion with them, sentencing them as unworthy the least public charge, honor, profit, or inheritance; nay, not so much as to have a burial place among other Christians, confiscating their goods, disinheriting their children, and razing their houses to the ground. Which sentences are to this very day to be seen, together with several pope's letters, containing the strict commands they laid on kings, princes, magistrates, consuls, and people, to enquire after them, and root them out without mercy; giving their accusers a third part of their property." *Hist. of Popery, vol. 1. p. 427.*

In 1182 many of the Waldensian faith suffered death in Flanders under the earl Philip Elzates, for opposing infant baptism.

Pope Innocent the III, in 1199, writes his decretal Epistle to the Abp. of Arles respecting the Albigenian sect, to which Baronius in his annals writes this preamble; "Among the Arlatenses were heretics who excluded infants from baptism, counting them incapable of that heavenly privilege; therefore did Innocent write this epistle to the Abp. of Arles, to confute and confound them. Wherein having given many arguments to enforce the baptizing of infants, he makes this decree, viz. That since baptism is come in the room of circumcision, therefore not the elder only, but also young children, which of themselves neither believe nor understand, *shall* be baptized, and in their baptism original sin *shall* be forgiven them." *Danvers on Bap.* p. 258. 253.

This pope, in order to confute and confound these Waldenses, promised full pardon of all sin, and paradise for ever, to all that would bear arms against them for forty days; by which promise he assembled a vast army; who, in six months, or thereabout, butchered two hundred thousand of these pious and zealous opposers of the Roman antichrist. *Hist. of Relig.* vol. 1. p. 206.

In 1200, many of the Waldenses, who opposed the church of Rome in the business of infant baptism, were burnt in Germany by Coradus van Morpurgh.

In 1230, many of the Waldenses, suffered death in the bishopric of Tryers, for opposing infant baptism.

In 1232, nineteen persons were burnt, witnessing against infant baptism in the bishop of Tholouse. At Marseilles in France, four monks who had been converted from the Romish religion, were by John XXII, burnt for opposing infant baptism. *Danvers, on Bap.* p. 258. 235.

In 1336, four baptized persons; three men and one woman, apprehended and thrown into prison at Zicrixsee; and afterwards, tortured upon the rack till the blood ran down to their feet: On the fourth of July they were beheaded—their bodies were burnt, and their heads were set upon stakes. *Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 74.

At Crema in Austria, in the bishopric of Passau, many of the Waldenses were burnt for opposing infant baptism in 1315. A pious woman named Peronne, of Aubiton in Flanders, was burnt in the profession of this faith, witnessing against infant baptism in 1373. At Montpellier in France, was burnt in 1417, Katherine van Thaw, a pious matron, witnessing to the same truth. At Ausburg in Germany, in 1517, were burnt several godly and learned men of the Wal-

densian faith, for opposing infant baptism. *Danvers, on Bap.* p. 226.

About the year 1522, an Edict was published against the baptists, at Zurick; in which there was a penalty of two guilders set upon all such as should withhold (what they call) baptism from their children.

In 1529; nine men, three women, and two boys, for being what their opposers call rebaptized; that is, for being baptized, were put to death near Gant. *Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 57. 77.

In 1527; Leonard Skooner, a baptist minister, was beheaded at Rottenburgh in Germany, and seventy more of the same persuasion, were at the same place put to death.—Felix Mans, a faithful servant of Christ, [and one of the first reformers in Switzerland] owning the same faith, was, in the same year drowned at Zurick. *Danvers on Bap.* p. 236.

About this time, John Wadon and two other baptized persons were roasted to death by a slow fire at the Hague. *Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 57.

One Simon who kept a stall in the marketplace of Bergen-op-zoom, being a baptist refused to kneel to the sacramental bread, as it was carried before his shop; for which offence he was imprisoned, condemned to death, and burnt without the town. His wonderful constancy and courage in suffering, made such an impression upon the lord of the place, who had caused him to be persecuted, and had seen his end, that as soon as he had reached his home, he fell into a violent fit of sickness both of body and mind: during which he did nothing but cry out, oh Simon! oh Simon! The monks endeavored to pacify and comfort him but all in vain. He died soon after in awful despair. *In Rec's Ans. to Walker,* p. 215.

In 1528; the learned Dr. B. H. Pacimontanus, of the town of Waltazar, was burnt at Viana for preaching and writing against infant baptism. *Preface to Crosby's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 19.

In 1532; a woman, for being baptized, was thrown into the Lake of Harlem. Her husband, and two other men were burnt at the Hague. In 1533; a man, named Sikke Snyder, was beheaded at Leuwarden, for a like offence. *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 36.

In this year the harboring of baptist ministers, was forbidden in Holland; and a reward of twelve guilders was promised for every one of them that should be apprehended 1. In 1535; Three men and two women, for being baptized, were put to death at Horn. The men were beheaded, the women were thrown into the sea, with great stones fastened about their necks. 2. In 1539; a man and his wife with their eldest son, for being baptized, were put to

death at Munnikedam in North Holland. 3. 1. 2. 3; *Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 60. 69. 78.

An abstract of the bloody Edict of the emperor Charles V, made June the 10th, 1535; against the Anabaptist or Waldensian Christians:

"Commanding all persons to renounce those persuasions and practices and to refrain the publishing the same, by preaching or otherwise, upon penalty of the forfeiture of *life and goods*, without mercy: the men to be burnt, the women to be drowned, and all that conceal, harbor, and do not in their places, prosecute the law against them, to suffer the same penalty. And that those that discover them, to have the third part of their estates: forbidding all mediation or intercession, upon severe punishment; because they shall never partake of mercy, nor shall their execution be delayed. In 1556; Philip II, king of Spain, renewed and enlarged that bloody edict that his father Charles V had before enacted." [This cruel edict was in full force for about forty-five years. During which period, thousands were burnt, drowned, banished, &c. for no other reason but because the objects of it conscientiously adhered to scriptural baptism.] Dr. Featly, that bitter enemy of the baptists, tells us, out of Gaffius, p. 182; "That in Ponton, Cologne, Germany, Swedenland, &c. *many thousands* of this Sect, who defiled their first baptism by a second, were baptized the third time in their own blood." *Danvers on Bap.* p. 267. 131.

In 1536, two men, and a woman, for being baptized, were beheaded, and burnt at Ziriczee. *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 59.

About the year 1547, one Richt Haynes, a Frisian woman, who had been baptized, was taken out of her house, bound with cords though big with child, and hurried away to prison at Leuwarden, where she was delivered of a son, who was marked on the arms with his mother's bands. As soon as she was out of child-bed, they put her to the rack, to make her discover those of the same persuasion; and tormented her so grievously, that she lost the use of her hands; notwithstanding which she accused no person; at last she was thrust into a sack and drowned. *Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 85.

In 1569, Peter Paterson, a baptized believer was burnt at Amsterdam. One of his friends of the same faith, named William Jenson, resolved to see him die, and had the courage to exhort him to fight manfully for the truth. He also was apprehended, and after he had been put twice to the rack, they caused him to expire in the midst of the flames.

Many of the Baptists were put to death

in 1551. One of them being upon the scaffold at Ghent, cried out: "Inhabitants of Ghent, we do not die like the Heretics, or Lutherans, who hold a pot of beer in one hand and the Bible in the other, and disgrace the Word of God by drunkenness, but we die for the Truth." The above martyr was not the only person that charged the Lutherans, and the Reformed of those days with immorality. Mr. Brandt the historian says, "The cruelties of the church of Rome, made her every day more odious: but most of those who had embraced the Reformation, lived such an unchristian life, that their conduct gave Erasmus occasion to say: I am afraid that paganism will succeed pharisaism." *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 21. 75. 51.

A very venerable old man, suffered this year:—His hair was white, his body lean with age, his manners irreproachable, such as naturally sprang from a heart possessed with the fear of God. He was about seventy-five years old, when he became a baptist. Whilst he sat bound like an innocent sheep prepared for the slaughter-house, encompassed by a number of the burghers, waiting for the criminal magistrate, who was to pronounce sentence of death against him; one of the officers spake thus to him, in the hearing of the people: Good Father, why do you continue thus obstinate in your accursed error: do you think there is no such a place as hell? Sir, said the old man, *I believe a hell most certainly; but I know nothing of the errors you mention.* Yes, said another, you are in an error, and in so dreadful a one, that if you die in it, you will be damned forever. Are you sure of that? said the old man: Yes, replied the officer, it is as sure as any thing in the world. If it be so, said the old man, then are ye murderers of my soul. At which the officer cried out to the prisoner: What do you say, you impudent fellow? Are we the murderers of your soul? The old man answered; Do not be angry, Sir, at the sound of truth. You know, that faith is the gift of God, that neither I, nor any other person, can extort this saving gift out of God's hand; God bestows his gifts on one man early, on another late, just as he called the husbandmen into the vineyard. Suppose now, that I have not as yet received this gift, as you have: ought you to punish me for that misfortune? Might not God, in case you suffered me to live, impart to me as well as to you, this wholesome gift in a week, a month, a year? If, then, you hinder me from sharing therein, by depriving me of this time of grace, what are you otherwise than murderers of my soul? These plain arguments urged by this good old man, did so move the hearts of the town's people that stood about him, that

there was no small murmuring among them; insomuch that the officer of justice hurried away the prisoner to the Court, where they condemned him to death, and beheaded him the same morning, to the great discontent of many of the Burghers, who were forced to behold this lamentable tragedy in silence. *Brandt's Hist. vol. 1. p. 92.*

In 1553: at Dixmude, in Flanders, one Walter Capel (a baptized believer) was condemned on the account of his religion. He was a very generous man, and bountiful to the poor, among whom he had often fed a poor simple creature that was maintained by the alms of the town and passed for a changeling. When he was sentenced, this poor man cried out to the judges; "Ye are murderers; ye spill innocent blood. The man has done no ill, but always given me bread." And whilst the martyr was at the stake, he would have thrown himself into the fire if he had not been hindered. Nor did his gratitude die with his patron, for he went daily to the gallows field, where the half-burnt carcass was fastened to a stake, and there he stroked the flesh of the dead man with his hand, saying: "Ah poor creature, you did no harm, and yet they have spilt your blood. You gave me my belly-full of victuals." And some time after when the flesh was all consumed, he went again to the stake, pulled away the bones, and laying them upon his shoulders carried them to the house of one of the burgomasters, with whom as it happened, several other of the magistrates were then present; and casting them at their feet, cried out in a snarling tone: "There you murderers, you have first eaten his flesh; eat now his bones. *Hist. of Popery, vol. 2. p. 605.*

Algerius, a learned man of Padua, for opposing infant baptism, had scalding oil cast upon his body, and burnt to ashes at Rome, in 1557. *Danvers on Bap. p. 257.*

A copy of the Sentence passed at Dort, on George Wippe, who had been a Burgo-master at Menin.

"Whereas George Wippe born at Menin in Flanders, has presumed to be rebaptized, and has entertained ill opinions, according to the evidence that has been given against him before the magistrates, and his own confession, he is therefore condemned, to the honor of God, and for an example to the public to be drowned in a barrel, and after that his body is to be carried to the place of common execution, and there fastened to the gallows, and his estate forfeited to the Town's Treasury." *Decreed the 4th of August, in 1558.*

The hangman, who was to perform this sentence, refused to do it, saying, that he would rather lay down his office than be

guilty of the death of so good a man; by whose bounty his wife and children had been often fed; who had often done good to him and others, and never done wrong to any.—Thereupon he was remanded back to prison, where he continued seven weeks longer, till at last they caused him to be drowned privately, and in the night by another hand. *In Ree's Ans. to Walker, p. 215.*

In 1560; eighteen baptized persons were put to death on account of their religion, at Antwerp, Gant, and Terveer; seven of whom were women. Some of the above were privately murdered in the prisons for fear of tumult.

Among the various persons that suffered death in 1563, was one John Gerrits Ketelaar. This man relates in one of his letters, that he had been inhumanly tortured to make him confess who it was that baptized him; but that he bore it all without the least murmuring or complaint. He wished he could describe what he felt whilst on the rack; adding, That the Word of God and his Saviour's bitter sufferings for sinners, made so deep an impresion on his mind that he thought on nothing else. *Brandt's Hist. vol. 1. p. 136. 148.*

In 1569, Richard Williamson of Asperen, who had been lately baptized, being pursued in the winter by an officer of justice, ran away. The ice broke under the man who pursued him. Williamson, perceiving the danger his enemy was in, came back, helped him to get out of the water, and saved his life at the hazard of his own. The officer, being moved with his generosity, was willing to let him go; but the burgo-master, who came at that very moment prevented it: so that the officer, being afraid that his gratitude might endanger his life, carried the poor man to jail. He was condemned; and was burnt alive on the sixteenth of May. *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist. vol. 1. p. 122.*

Among the many persons that were burnt in the Low-Countries in this year, was one Flekwyk. He had a long dispute, on several articles of faith, with Cornelius, a friar of Dort, who after his way attempted his conversion. Among other arguments which he made use of, he told Flek. That unless he would embrace the catholic religion, and cause his children to be baptized, he ran the risk of being burnt alive. To which the other replied, "He might run the same risk perhaps, though he should renounce his faith, and suffer his children to be christened." The friar then gave him to understand, that in such a case they would allow him the sword. "But," said Flek. "to what purpose? we never meddle with the sword." The friar replied, you know what I mean, you shall

only be beheaded. Then Flek. asked "Whether if he sincerely owned that he had erred in the faith, and caused his children to be baptized, he should not, according to the meaning of the friar, become a good Christian?" It was answered, yes, in all respects. "And could you papist," says Flek., "spill the blood of such a good Christian, without thinking it a great sin?" The friar replied, That as he had been an Apostate and an Anabaptist, he ought to die. The prisoner rejoined, "That the man of whom Christ speaks, who had a hundred sheep, did not cut the throat of the lost one, as soon as he had found it, but laying it upon his shoulders, carried it home with great joy." After this they had another dispute: at the close of which, the friar called him a blasphemer, a belzebubian, an anabaptist, an infernal trinitarian, and an enemy to the mother of God. He concluded with wishing that he might broil in hell-fire: and said that he was enough to make a hundred thousand Doctors of Divinity stark and staring mad. He was burnt on the tenth of June. *Brandt's Hist. vol. 1. p. 282.*

In 1572, one of the brethren, who was a painter on glass, was imprisoned at Dort. The magistrates made no haste to put him to death; and even one of them had his picture drawn by him. This gentleness displeased the monks: they declared, even in the pulpits, that the magistrates kept that heretic in prison, only to have pictures made for them. At last, he was burnt to satisfy these sons of antichrist. Being at the stake, he unbuttoned his waistcoat, and showing his bloody breast (for he had been put to the rack,) he cried out: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist. vol. 1. p. 142.*

About the year 1577, many persons for being baptized were put to death at Antwerp. An account of one of them must at present suffice. Raphael van de Velde had been grievously tortured on the rack, yet would he not discover any of his brethren. He writes thus in one of his letters: "I thought in myself, O Lord, how shall I be able to undergo these torments! but then it came into my mind that the torments of hell are more grievous, and will last for ever. I therefore took courage and called upon God—O help me in this extremity, and let me not involve my neighbor in the same distress; and the Lord inspired me with so much resolution, that I chose rather to die on the rack." And a little after, he says: "The Lord continually freed me from pain: for when I was tortured that I thought it was impossible to bear it, my limbs became benumbed. To God be thanks, and praise, and glory!" In another letter which he wrote to his wife;

after thanking her for her kindness to him, he recommends her and their son to God, in the following expressions: "I send you this letter, my dearest, against our approaching separation. It was God that joined us, and it is he that parts us. To him I recommend you and your child, as to a faithful Husband and Father. Do you continue faithful to him, and he will take care both of your soul and body." With such tranquillity were those people wont to abandon all that was dear to them here below, for the sake of a good conscience. *Brandt's Hist. vol. 1. p. 326.*

About the year 1600; the clergy of Friesland declared against the baptists; and one of their ministers was banished out of the province. *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist. vol. 1. p. 226.*

MR. REES informs us, that in and about the Low Countries *only*, more than five hundred and seventy baptized persons were put to death, *merely* on account of their religion; besides an Assembly of these people, which was betrayed at Rotterdam in 1544: a few of whom made their escape but *all* that were taken were put to death; [The men were beheaded, and the woman were thrown into a boat and thrust under the ice, and so drowned.] The historian observes, 'That in the judgment of charity, there appeared in those, not only equal firmness of mind, and the traces of a good spirit, but they had such divine transports, and solid assurances before their exits, as eminently attended our British martyrs:*

CARDINAL HOSIUS, one of the pope's presidents at the council of Trent, says, 'If the truth of religion were to be judged of, by the readiness and cheerfulness which a man of any sect shews in suffering, then the opinion and persuasion of no sect can be truer or surer than that of the anabaptists: since there have been none for these *twelve hundred years past*, that have been more grievously punished, or that have more cheerfully and stedfastly undergone, and even offered themselves to the most cruel sorts of punishment, than these people. **In Rees's Ans. to Walker, p. 206. 220.*

'The Martyrology of the foreign Baptists is a large Book in Folio; and the account it gives of the number of their martyrs and confessors, as well as of the cruelties that were used towards them, very much exceeds anything that has been done in England. *Hist. of Relig. vol. 4. p. 194.*

J. A. VELUANUS, a Flemish writer of the sixteenth century, says, 'That some Judges put the baptists to death, to keep their places; and that if they had lived in the time of Christ and his Apostles, they would have condemned them to death, rather than

lose their offices.' *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 76.

From the *Dutch Mart.* Fol. 774.—*Fox's Acts*, p. 867. 868. 869. and 918. We learn; that, in the time of Henry IV, and Henry VI, The followers of Wickliff and Lollard were cruelly persecuted, and many of them were put to death because they would not baptize their infants, and for saying that infants are saved without it. *Junius's Loyal Address.* p. 44.

In the reign of Henry VIII, about eighteen of the baptists suffered martyrdom—and sixteen men and fifteen women were banished from this country, for opposing infant baptism. *Danvers, on Bap.* p. 306.

In October 1538; a commission was sent to Cranmer, Stokesly, Sampson and others, to enquire after the baptists—to proceed against them—to restore the penitent—to burn their books, and to deliver the obstinate to the secular arm. *Burnet's Hist.* vol. 3. lib. 3. p. 159.

In the time of Edward VI, many persons [for opposing infant baptism and for being what their opposers call rebaptized, that is for being baptized] were converted in Paul's church before the bishops of Canterbury and Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. May, Dr. Cole and others; and being (as they said) convicted, some were dismissed with admonition, and some sentenced to bear the Faggot at Paul's cross. *Heylin's Hist. of the Refor.* p. 73.

Joan Boker, and George van Paris, were burnt in this reign.—Mr. Strype says, that Boker, was a great disperser of Tindal's New Testament; and was a great reader of Scripture herself. Which book also she dispersed in the Court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was more particularly acquainted with Mrs. Ann Ascue. She used, for the more secrecy, to tie the books with strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into the Court.* By this it appears, that she hazarded her life, in dangerous times, to bring others to the knowledge of God's word. **Eccles. Mem.* vol. 2. p. 214. Mr. Neal says, that Paris was a man of a strict and virtuous life, and very devout; he suffered with great constancy of mind, kissing the stake and faggots that were to burn him. *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. 1. p. 55.

In queen Mary's time, we find that several of the baptists were imprisoned, who gave the following grounds against infant baptism, viz. First, because antisciptural. Second, because commanded by the pope. Third, because Christ commanded teaching to go before baptism. *Fox's Acts and Man.* vol. 3. p. 606.

In queen Elizabeth's time, in 1575, a congregation of baptists were taken at their meeting near Aldgate; twenty-seven of

whom were shut up in a dungeon, and one of them died in it, four recanted, two were burnt in Smithfield, and the rest were banished. *Stow's Chron.* p. 678. 679. *Roche's Ab. of Brandt's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 167.

In this reign, a proclamation was put forth, commanding all the baptists to depart the kingdom, whether they were natives or foreigners, under the penalties of imprisonment or loss of goods. *Crosby's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 79.

In the reign of James I, among the persecuted exiles that fled to Holland were several baptists, who set up a church under the pastorship of Mr. John Smith, who had been a minister of the established church; but they were violently opposed by the other puritan exiles, from whom they received much abuse. [Many also transported themselves to America, where for a series of years they were grievously oppressed by their congregational brethren, as they had been before, in England, by the episcopalians]* In this reign Edward Wightman, of Burton upon Trent, was burnt at Litchfield. He was the last martyr that suffered by this cruel kind of death in England; and it may be remarked that William Sawtre, [in the time of Henry IV] the first that suffered in that manner, for his religious opinions, was supposed to have denied infant baptism: so that this sect had the honour both of leading the way and bringing up the rear of all the martyrs, who were burnt alive in England. *Hist. of Relig.* vol. 4. p. 197. **Bachus's Hist. of the American Bap.*

In the reign of Charles I, Ephraim Pagitt, a priest in the city of London, drew up a volume of all the false and filthy tales about town, and added a list of heresies and half heresies, and presented it to the Lord-Mayor, humbly hoping that the parliament would suppress the anabaptists, for in other countries Christian princes and magistrates had never left burning, drowning, and destroying them till their remainder was contemptible. *Hist. of Bap.* p. 467.

In 1645; Dr. Featly published a vile libel on the baptists; which he dedicated To the most Noble Lords, with the Honorable Knights, Citizens and Burgesses then assembled in Parliament. In the preface to which, he tells them, that the anabaptists ought to be most carefully looked after, and severely punished. And further intimates, that they ought to be utterly exterminated and banished out of the church and kingdom.

About this time, that holy man Mr. Samuel How, baptist minister at Deadman's-place, London was excommunicated, and denied, what they call, Christian burial. A constable's guard paraded the parish ground at Shoreditch, to prevent his inter-

ment. At length he was buried at Agnes-la-clear. *Crosby's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 164.

In the beginning of Cromwell's usurpation, an ordinance was published against a variety of [what was styled] heresies. One of which, was, that 'Whosoever shall say that the baptism of infants is unlawful and void, and that such persons ought to be bap- tized again; shall, upon conviction, by the oath of two witnesses, or by his own confession, be ordered to renounce his said error in the public congregation of the parish where the offence was committed. And, in case of refusal he shall be committed to prison till he find sureties, that he shall not publish or maintain the said error *any more.*' This antichristian ordinance was dated May 2, 1648. Upon which several baptists were prosecuted for denying the validity of infant baptism. *Hist of Relig.* vol. 4. p. 132. 202.

About the year 1659; Mr. Edwards, lecturer at Christ-Church, directed magistrates how they should act to establish presbytery without liberty of conscience to others:—He tells them, they should execute some exemplary punishment upon all dippers.—And if any, after being dipped, fall sick and die, the dippers should be indicted upon the statute of killing the king's subjects, and proceeded against accordingly. The parliament (he said) should forbid all dipping, and take some *severe course* with all dippers, as the senate of Zurich did. Mr. Edwards might well call it some *severe course*; for an Edict was published at Zurich in 1530, making it *death* for any to be baptized who had been christened in their infancy. Upon which law, several baptized persons, were tied back to back and thrown into the sea, others were burnt alive, and many starved to death in prison. See *Crosby's Hist.* vol. 1, p. 178, 184.

In 1641; Mr. Edward Barber, a baptist minister in London, was kept eleven months in prison, for denying the validity of infant-baptism. 1.

Mr. Benj. Cox, a bishop's son, and some time minister of Bedford, was committed to Coventry gaol, for preaching and disputing against infant-baptism in the year 1643. 2.

Mr. Henry Dean, who had been educated at cambridge, ordained a minister by the bishop of St. David's, and enjoyed the living of Pyrton in Hertfordshire about ten years, upon changing his opinion about baptism, was in 1644, apprehended in Cambridgeshire, and sent to gaol for preaching against infant-baptism, and for baptizing believers, who had been christened in their infancy. 3.

In 1645; Mr. Andrew Wyke was taken up and imprisoned in the county of Suffolk, for a like offence. 4. 1. 2. 3. 4. *Crosby's Hist.* vol. 1, p. 219, 220, 221, 235.

"In the time of Charles the second, and James the second, they [the Baptists] were every where loaded with fines, hardships, reproaches, and abuse. To survey the sufferings of these pious and worthy persons who encountered all perils for the sake of a good conscience, would draw tears from the sympathetic eye. We really think their fortitude proceeded from the secret influence of a superior and unseen power, which strengthened them in the day of trial." *Impartial Hist.* vol. 4, p. 202

Mr. Samuel Oates, a very popular preacher, and great disputant, taking a journey into Essex in 1646, preached in several parts of that county, and baptized great numbers of people, especially about Bocking, Braintree, and Tarling. This made the presbyterians in those parts very uneasy; especially the ministers, who complained bitterly that such things should be permitted; and endeavoring to spur on the magistrates all they could to suppress him. It happened that among the hundreds which he had baptized in this county, one died within a few weeks after; and this they would have to be occasioned by her being dipped in cold water. accordingly they prevailed upon the magistrates to send him to prison, and put him in irons as a murderer, in order to take his trial at the next assizes. Great endeavours were used that he might be brought in guilty: Nay, so fond were some of this story, that they published it for truth before it had been legally examined. They declared that he held her so long in the water, that she fell presently sick: That her belly swelled with the abundance of water she took in, and within a fortnight or three weeks died; and upon her death-bed expressed her dipping to be the cause of her death. All which was afterwards made to appear to be notorious falsehoods. They arraigned him for his life at Chelmsford assizes. But upon his trial several credible witnesses were produced, among whom the mother of the maid was one; who all testified upon oath, that the said Ann Martin (that being her name) was in better health for several days after her baptism than she had been for some years before; and that she was seen to walk abroad afterwards very comfortably. So that notwithstanding all the malignity that appeared in this trial, he was brought in *not guilty*, to the great mortification of his enemies.—Not long after this, Mr. Oates went to Dunmow in Essex: when some of the zealots for infant-baptism in that town heard where he was, without any other provocation but that of his daring to come there, they dragged him out of the house, and threw him into a river, boasting they had thoroughly dipped him.—*Crosby's Hist.* vol. 1, p. 236, 241.

In 1664; The venerable Benj. Keach, pastor of a baptist church at Winslow in Buckinghamshire, was imprisoned—accused of sedition and heresy—stood twice in the pillory (two hours each time) and paid a fine of twenty pounds to the king, for no other offence than that of his publishing a *Baptist Catechism*. His book was, by order of Lord Chief Justice Hide, burnt at Winslow by the common hangman.

In 1666; Mr. Robert Shalder, (a baptized believer) who had suffered much by imprisonment for Christ's sake, and who dying soon after his release from confinement, was interred in the common burying-ground amongst his ancestors: The same day that he was buried, certain zealots, inhabitants of Croft in the county of Lincoln, opened his grave, took him from thence, and dragged him to his own gate, and there left him. See *Crosby's Hist.* vol. 2, p, 187, 239.

In 1683; Thomas de Laun, a pious and learned baptist, with his wife and two children, perished in Newgate for no other crime than that of his *publishing his reasons for nonconformity*. This book (a masterly performance) was, by order of the Recorder of London, burnt by the hangman at the Royal Exchange. *Preface to De Laun's Plea*.

The time would fail us to tell of Powel, of Sims, of Stennett, of Bunyan, of Cheare, of Gifford, of Bampfiele, of Jeffery, of Hammon, of Reve, of Peck, of Monk, of Write, of Stanley, of Smith, of Reynolds, of Griffith, of James, and of clouds of witnesses beside, who, in those days, thus suffered through the malevolence of their opposers. But, they are entered into their rest—God has wiped all tears from their eyes—the days of their mourning are ended.

In 1673; was published a pamphlet entitled, "Mr. Baxter baptized in blood." In which it was asserted that "Mr. Josiah Baxter, a godly minister of Boston in New England, had been murdered by four anabaptists, for no other reason but because he had worsted them in disputation."—This matter being thoroughly investigated, proved to be a vile forgery; to the everlasting shame of its pædobaptist authors. See *Crosby's Hist.* vol. 2, p. 278

DR. HURD: "In 1643; the baptists published their confession of faith, and in 1646, it was licensed by order of the parliament. Except in the articles of baptism, and church government, this confession differed very little from that of Westminster now established in the church of Scotland.—However, they were now persecuted by the presbyterians, just as they had been before by the episcopalians. The story of Venner, the fifth monarchy man, is well

known, who at the time of the restoration, sallied out from a house in Coleman-street, with some of his hearers, paraded the streets, and knocked down every person that came in their way. Their *professed* intention was, to set King Jesus upon his throne. These infatuated people believed, that the millenium was then to take place, and Christ was to reign with his people a thousand years. It is certain that the baptist had no more concern with this insurrection of Venner's, than they had with the election of a pope, but the presbyterian party at court embraced the opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the whole body of those innocent people;—four hundred of whom were crowded into Newgate, besides many in other prisons. But at the coronation they were set at liberty, by the act of indemnity. They published a declaration, wherein they testified their abhorrence of Venner's insurrection, and all they begged for was, liberty to meet together, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. This, however, did not avail them much, for they were continually persecuted during the whole of this reign." *Rites and Cerem.* p, 592.

The conduct of the presbyterians, in this instance was base beyond description. It being well known that Venner and his people were pædobaptists; and the *avowed enemies* of the baptists. For Venner himself had declared, that if he succeeded, the baptists should know that infant baptism was an ordinance of Christ's appointment. See *Crosby's Hist.* vol. 2, p, 65. *Hist. of Relig.* vol. 4, p, 202.

MR. TURNER, in order to render the baptists obnoxious to government, has represented them as enemies to the chief Magistrate:—Merely because they hold that magistrates have no right to prescribe modes of worship. *Hist. of all Relig.* p, 294.

Many have endeavoured to render the baptists odious to the world at large, by endeavouring to represent the greatest heretics, and men who have been executed for the worst of crimes, to be of the sect of the anabaptists. Thus, Sir Gervase Yelvis, lieutenant of the tower, who was executed on tower-hill for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, was represented to be an anabaptist, as appears by his speech on the scaffold. In which (he says) "The Lord Chief Justice, at my arraignment, said I was an anabaptist. I would to God I was as clear from all other sins, as from that; for I always detested that denomination." *Preface to Crosby's Hist* vol, 3, p, 50

MR. ARNOLD and DR. SCHYN, have proved by irrefragable evidence from state papers, public confessions of faith, and authentic books, that E. and F. Spanheim,

Heidegger, Hoffman, and others, have given a fabulous account of the history of the Dutch Baptists, and that the younger Spanheim had taxed them with holding thirteen heresies, of all which not a single society of them believed one word: Yet later historians quote these writers as devoutly as if all they had affirmed were undisputed and allowed to be true. *Hist. of Bap. p. 467.*

Many zealous defenders of infant sprinkling have upbraided the baptists with the irreligious behavior of a people who lived in Germany about three hundred years since. But this is very illiberal; for their conduct no more affects the baptists at large, than the sin of Judas affected the Apostles, or than the horrid abominations of the papists affect the pædobaptists in general.

There were about the year 1692, two neighboring dissenting teachers of congregations in Wapping: Hercules Collins, who taught a baptist congregation; and Francis Mence, who taught a congregation of independents. Collins published a book of reasons for believers' baptism, in which he observed, among other things, that there was no reason to baptize an infant under pretence of saving him, for that original sin was not washed off by the baptismal water, but by the blood of Christ, and the imputation of his righteousness. Mence thought it his duty to guard his congregation against this supposed error, and he both preached and printed 'That this was infant-damning doctrine. The principle, (he said,) evidently excluded dear infants from the kingdom of God, which was an audacious cruelty, sending them by swarms into hell.' In vain Collins explained himself and justified his doctrine in a cheap pamphlet intended for the information of the Godly about Wapping and elsewhere. The religious people about Wapping were not so easily satisfied, and he went a great while in danger of his life, the streets resounding with the cries of tender mothers, "There goes Collins who holds the damnation of infants." *Hist. of Bap. p. 473.*

MR. LEWELYN: 'You [baptists] leave the helpless [infant] to perish, and for no other reason but because he is helpless. It fills you with rage to hear that God has graciously provided for the peace of benign and merciful parents; putting it in *their* power to wash their infants in baptism, and place them in the salvation of God, safe and secure in his favor living or dying, all their minority and incapacity to choose and act for themselves. You are daily praying and preaching to deliver the world from the great plague of infant salvation, and earnestly hope for the blessed time to come, when they shall be all left in the hands of the Devil.' *Doctrine of Bap. p. 68.*

MR. MARSHALL charges the baptists with being guilty of pronouncing 'a rash and bloody sentence; condemning infants as out of the state of grace.' Nay, he affirms that 'their conduct exceeds the cruelty of Herod and Hazael, in slaying and dashing the infants of Israel against the wall.' *In Mr. Tomes's Exam. p. 170.*

MR. RUSSEN says, 'Their [the baptists] ministers are ministers of error and schisms, teachers of heresy and blasphemy, and their churches are synagogues of Satan.' In another place he says, 'He believes the Jewish woman, who in the wars of Jerusalem killed her child and eat it, will be more excusable in the day of judgment than the anabaptists, because she only killed the body and that for food, in a time of famine; but these kill the soul in a time of plenty, &c.' *Fundamentals, Chap. 3—6.* From the spirit and temper here manifested, we may infer, that it was a great mercy for the baptists, that the Stake and the Faggots were not, at this time, in the hands of these their opposers.

MR. BURKITT: 'Since the last general liberty the anabaptists thinking themselves thereby let loose upon us, have dispersed themselves in several counties. One of their teaching disciples having set up in our neighborhood for making proselytes, by baptizing them in a nasty horse-pond, into which the filth of the adjacent stable occasionally flows, and out of which his deluded converts came forth with so much mud and filthiness upon them, that they rather resembled creatures arising out of the bottomless pit than candidates of holy baptism; and all this before a promiscuous multitude, in the face of the sun.' *Discourse on Infant Bap.* But it was well for these persecuted believers, that a promiscuous multitude was present at their baptisms, that so they might have witnesses to detect this false, this wicked story. A certificate was drawn up, and signed by several that were present both pædobaptists as well as baptists, in which after they had cited Mr. Burkitt's words, as above, they say, 'We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do solemnly certify and declare to the whole world, that those reports and assertions of the said Mr. Burkitt are utterly and notoriously false.' This certificate was published. Nor did Mr. Burkitt, or any person for him, ever attempt a rejoinder. *Crosby's Hist. vol. 4. p. 285.*

THE METHODIST DIALOGUE WRITER, lately published a falsehood similar to the above. 'The persons I saw baptized (says he) were immersed in a stagnant pool; and though the ceremony is doubtless an emblem of purity, so foul was the appearance of the water, that I apprehend they must come out of it more externally impure than

they went in.' We shall just observe, as a reply to such a slander, that the place to which this author seems to allude, is kept perfectly clean—the water, which is pure, is let into it the day before the Ordinance is administered, and it is let out again as soon as the service is ended.—Such writers would do well to peruse the 16th verse of the 20th chapter of the book of Exodus: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.'

We might easily fill a volume, yea volumes with historic Sketches and Remarks similar to the preceding: but *these* are sufficient to prove, that infant-baptism owes much of its popularity to the *laws* of kings and emperors, the *decrees* and *anathemas* of popes and councils, and the *base misrepresentations* of an antichristian priesthood. All these, for a succession of ages, have been engaged in its favor and support. Thousands have been martyred, banished, and despoiled of their worldly goods, for conscientiously adhering to Scriptural Baptism: but not a single person in all Christendom, since the man of sin first declared himself head of the church, has ever been put to death for dipping or sprinkling infants. Why this difference of treatment? The reason is obvious:—Believers baptism is from heaven, therefore the apostate church of Rome and an unconverted world have agreed in opposing it—infant baptism *is of men*; therefore it is much esteemed, and warmly supported: *for the world loves its own*.

While some have basely misrepresented and cruelly persecuted the baptists, others have artfully drawn a *veil* over them. Two or three instances, out of a hundred that might be named, must at present suffice. Dr. Haweis has given us, what he calls, "An impartial History of the Church." The principal source from whence he derived the documents which constitute his two first volumes, seems to be the works of Dr. Mosheim. But though Mosheim tells us "That John the Baptist *immersed* his disciples—That baptism was administered, in the first century, by *immersion*—That persons received baptism, according to the primitive manner, even by immersion, &c." Yet the Dr. passes over all this, in studied silence. And though he gives some account of Peter de Bruys, and Henry his successor, who flourished in the twelfth century, yet takes care not to say any thing about these popular reformers opposing the church of Rome in the article of infant-baptism. Why were these historic facts omitted? The reason is evident—his readers are by and by to be told that the rise of the baptists was not till the six-

VOL. 1.—D.

teenth century—therefore nothing contrary to this assertion must be admitted into the former part of his *impartial history*.

MR. STEPHEN JONES, in his Biographical Dictionary tells us, That Richard Baxter, an eminent divine, was a *Nonconformist*—That Samuel Babcock, an eminent critic, was a *Presbyterian*—That Dr. Owen, an eminent divine, was an *Independent*—That John Wesley was a celebrated leader among the Methodists—That John Gambold, a truly good man, was a bishop among the Moravians—And, That Robert Barclay was an eminent writer among the Quakers. But in the account he gives of Dr. Gill, and Dr. Gifford, nothing is said of their being Baptists. Why this partiality? Why? The public at large must not be informed that there are learned Doctors to be met with among the people of this denomination.

The Religious Tract Society, lately published, what they call, "The life of Mr. John Bunyan." But though they well knew that Mr. Bunyan was baptized on a profession of his faith after his conversion—and though they well knew that he afterward became a baptist minister; yet not a word of this appears in their publication. Why were these circumstances concealed? The reason is very evident—The world must not be informed that the celebrated Author of the Pilgrim's Progress was a baptist. Surely we have but little reason to expect a reformation among mankind at large, while those who set themselves up for reformers, can thus deviate from the principles of common honesty.

CHAPTER X.

The most popular Arguments in favor of infant-baptism, briefly considered.

THE argument that is most frequently urged, is grounded on the language and conduct of Christ respecting little children: *Mark* 10, 13—16. much do we admire the amiable condescension of the Son of God, in regard to these infants; but did he baptize them? If so, the sacred historian has not recorded the important fact. Not one word does he say of baptism throughout the whole chapter. John, on the contrary, informs us, that Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples: *John* 4, 2, Nor can we suppose, with any appearance of reason, that these infants were baptized by the disciples; because they were much displeased, and even rebuked those who brought them. Would they have acted thus, if they had been in the habit of baptizing children?

The second argument ; which we notice, is taken from the words of Peter, *Acts* 2. 39 : "The promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even to as many as the Lord our God shall call."—To say nothing of the original term, which means, not infants, but descendants, we may observe, that the apostle limits the promise, whatever be its import, to *those whom the Lord our God shall call*. Now this is perfectly our idea. All who are called of God, whether young or old, ought to be baptized.

The third argument is derived from the account which we have of the baptism of households. Of these we have three instances. We are told that Lydia was baptized and her household : but before any argument deduced hence can be admitted as valid, it is necessary to ascertain whether Lydia had children ? Whether they were infants ? Whether they were at Thyatira, her own city, or with her at Philippi ? But, on supposition that she had infants with her, it would not follow, from the use of the term household, that they were baptized, because it is said that Elkanah and all his house went up to Shiloh, to offer unto the Lord the yearly sacrifice, and his vow : and yet we learn from what follows, that Hannah and the young child Samuel, staid at home.—The next instance, which is that of the household of the jailor, requires only to be stated. Paul and Silas spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. He rejoiced, believing in God with all his house. And he and all his were baptized : *Acts*. 16 32. All this is natural, and proper. The word of the Lord was addressed to them ;—they believed ; and their faith produced obedience to his commands. The last instance is that of Stephanus, which Paul mentions : *1 Cor* 1. 16 : Of this household he says, in the same epistle ; chap. 16. 15 : that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints. What an honorable employ ?—What a sterling proof did this happy family afford of the reality, and of the strength of their faith.

The next argument we notice is that baptism came in the room of circumcision. But where are we told this ? The apostle does not appear to have been acquainted with this fact, or it would have been natural for him to have insisted on it, when he was called to oppose judaizing zealots : but though he constantly affirmed that circumcision is abolished, he never gives the least hint that baptism was its substitute.

A fifth argument is taken from the covenant, into which God condescended to enter with Abraham. Now, without enquiring into the nature of this covenant, it will

be sufficient to observe, that, by the seed of Abraham, we must understand, either his natural, or his spiritual seed ; for there is no medium. If this natural seed only be meant, *we* are all necessarily excluded, because we are sinners of the Gentile race. If his spiritual seed be intended, we must possess the faith of Abraham, before we can claim a relation to him ; "Know ye, therefore, that they which are of the faith, the same are the children of Abraham. So then they which be of faith, are blessed with faithful Abraham. If ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed ; and heirs according to the promise :"*Gal*. 3. 7, 9, 29. Thus it appears that they are heirs according to the promise, who believe in Christ. For none but such have any evidence that they belong to Christ, or, in other words, *are Christ's*, as the apostle speaks. Now we maintain, that all of this description ought to be baptized.*

Some contend that if infants are not to be baptized, the Christian dispensation is less merciful than was the Jewish. How less merciful ? Because the Jewish males were circumcised. How differently do the sacred writers speak upon this subject ? The Apostles, when assembled in council at Jerusalem, to deliberate on the expediency of circumcision, called it a yoke : *Acts* xv. 10. Those of the primitive Christians, who had just views of the glorious superiority of the new dispensation, compared with the old economy, rejoiced in their freedom from Jewish ceremonies. Others, whose minds were less enlightened, were frequently exhorted by the Apostles to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free : and to take care not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage : *Gal*. 5. 1. See *Dore's Ans. to Edwards*.

Others plead *apostolic tradition*. To such we shall only repeat what a learned pædobaptist hath said on the subject. CURCELLÆUS : 'Pædobaptism was unknown in the two first ages after Christ ; in the third and fourth it was approved by a few ; at length, in the fifth and following ages it began to obtain in divers places, and therefore this rite is indeed observed by us as an ancient custom, but not as an apostolic tradition.' In *Gill's Ans. to Towgood*.

There are others who assert that infant baptism came in the room of Jewish proselyte baptism. This is certainly a very proper pedestal for it to rest upon. The

* As some of our opposers often assert, that baptism is a seal of the covenant—We beg leave just to observe, That the Blood of Christ, in one view, and the Spirit of Christ, in another, appear to us to be the *only* Seals of the Covenant of Grace. By the former, the covenant itself is most solemnly ratified ; by the latter, our interest in it is inviolably ascertained. See *Mat*. 26. 28. *Heb*. 9. 16. 17. *Eph*. 1. 13. and 4. 30.

foundation and superstructure are both of the same unsanctified materials. For as there is no precept, nor example, nor intimation, relative to infant baptism in the New Testament, so there is no command for, nor example, nor intimation of proselyte bathing in the Old Testament. Hence a popish ceremony is erected upon a Jewish tradition.*

We notice the three following Texts, as some of our opposers have *pressed* them into their service.

1st. *Mat. xxviii. 19*: "Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The different views which learned pædobaptists have of this capital text are very remarkable: for professor *Arnold* maintains that The baptism of infants is either commanded here, or no where; professor *Venema* frankly acknowledges, that our Lord speaks concerning the baptism of adults *only*. Thus Doctors differ. Strange however as it may seem, we have the singular happiness to agree with them both. Considering this text as the great law of baptism, we concur with the former in concluding, That if there be no requisition of infant baptism here, it is in vain to seek for one any where else. On the other hand, we are equally clear the latter is perfectly right, when he gives it as his opinion, that our Lord in this passage does not command the baptism of infants. We may be assured though Doctors thus disagree, that the Apostles knew the mind of Christ in this commission; and that they practised accordingly; and as their practice, with regard to baptism, was a comment on this command, so their infallible Writings must be considered as a faithful representation of that practice. As therefore this divine law says nothing of infant baptism, and as the records of apostolic practice are equally silent about it; we are warranted to conclude, that pædobaptism was neither commanded by our Lord, nor practised by his Apostles.† See *Booth's Pædobap. Exam. vol. 2. p. 269. 310.*

2nd. *Rom. 11. 16*: "For if the first fruits be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches."

The first fruits, were those Jews who received the first-fruits of the Spirit in the

*As the Scriptures are *totally* silent relative to Proselyte Baptism, so (*Dr. Gill* assures us) there is no mention made of it, either by the Jewish Doctors or the Christian Fathers of the first three or four centuries. See *Gill's Dissert on Proselyte Bap.*

†*Dr. Lardner* says, 'As for the baptism of Jewish Proselytes, I take it to be a mere fiction of the Rabbins, by whom we have suffered ourselves to be imposed upon.' *Letter to Dr. Dodridge.*

†*St. Jerom*, when commenting on *Matt. xxviii. 19* says, 'First they teach all nations, then dip those that are taught in water; for it cannot be that the body should receive the sacrament of Baptism, unless the soul has before received the truth of faith.' In *Dr. Gill's Body of Divin. vol. 3. p. 319.*

land of Judea. They were but few in number, as the *first-fruits* is but small in comparison of the *lump*, and mean, and abject, like a *root* in a dry ground; yet were pledges and presages of a large number of souls among that people, to be converted in the latter day. Now the Apostle's argument is, 'If the first-fruits be holy, the lump is also holy, and if the root be holy, so are the branches; that is, that whereas those persons who were converted among the Jews, however few in number, and despicable in appearance, yet they were truly sanctified by the Holy Spirit; and as they were, so should the body of that people be in the last days. Here is not a syllable about baptism, much less about infant sprinkling, in this passage nor in the context.

3rd. 1. *Cor. 7. 14*: "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now they are holy." This text, like the former, has nothing to do with baptism: not the least mention is here made of that ordinance, nor the remotest reference had to it. The Apostle is speaking of a man and his wife unequally yoked. The one a believer, and the other an unbeliever. The believer is supposed to have received the gospel *since* the conjugal relation commenced. The unbeliever, probably, was a pagan. The question is, Does not a moral union with Jesus Christ, dissolve, in such circumstances, the matrimonial contract? The answer is, no; by no means. For though a moral union with Christ, makes it criminal in any to marry an infidel, yet as the parties in question were set apart to each other *for life*, while they were both of them unacquainted with the gospel, their civil connexion, formed as it was, could not be considered as criminal: 'For marriage is honorable in all.'—By the *sanctification* of the unbelieving party cannot be meant internal sanctification; for as the heart can only be purified by faith, the person in that case, would be no longer an unbeliever. So the children are called *holy*, not in a moral, but in a civil sense: that is, they are not spurious. As if the Apostle had said, If your marriage were unlawful, your children would be illegitimate. But the former is not a fact; therefore not the latter.—Though some of our opposers fancy that infant baptism is to be found in this passage, yet many of the *learned* among them have given us Expositions of it similar to the above. See *Keach's Ans. to the Athenian Society, p. 8.*

The baptism of the three thousand; *Acts 2. 41*: has been often pleaded, as presumptive evidence, in favor of *sprinkling*. *Mr. Booth*: 'That three thousand should be

solemnly immersed at such a place as Jerusalem, and at a time when, as the sacred historian remarks, the disciples had favor with all the people; even supposing them all to have been baptized in one day; is not half so strange as various accounts relating to facts of the same nature, that we find in the page of history. Thus, for example,—We read in the authentic life of Gregory, the apostle of the Armenians, that he baptized twelve thousand together, by immersion, in the river Euphrates: which Isaac the patriarch of that nation, confirms in his first invective. Mr. Fox informs us that Austin, the monk, baptized ten thousand Saxons or Angles in a river near York, in one day.* Several similar examples might have been produced: but we shall only recite one passage more from Pædobaptism Examined, on this part of the subject. ‘We are,’ says Mr. Booth, ‘informed by the sacred historian, that when king Solomon dedicated his magnificent Temple, he offered two and twenty thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep.’ Now suppose a deist were to question the truth of this historical fact on account of the great number of animals that were offered; it would soon be replied by our opposers themselves, *A great number of priests were employed; nor was the work performed in one day.* Why then may not a similar answer suffice in the present case?

A zealous opposer of scriptural baptism lately asserted, ‘That they had as good a warrant from the Bible for sprinkling infants, as they had for admitting women to the Lord’s table.’ Let us try this assertion by the sacred Standard of Divine Truth. We are informed, that those believed, ‘Were baptized, both men and women.’ *Acts viii. 12.* And Paul says, ‘Let your women keep silence in the churches.’ *1. Cor. 14. 34.* From these, and other passages, it appears that women were in the churches: and it is as evident that women did commune, *as part of the church at Jerusalem.*—‘And when they were come in, they went up into an upper room, where abode both Peter and James and John and Andrew and Philip, and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James. These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication *with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus; Acts. i. 13. 14.* The number of Names together, [both men and women] were about an hundred and twenty: *v. 15.* And they continued stedfastly in the Apostles

doctrine, and fellowship, and in *breaking of bread*, and in prayers: *Chap. ii. 42.* And all that believed [both men and women] were together: *v. 44.* And they continuing daily with one accord in the Temple and *breaking of bread* from house to house: *v. 46.* And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.’ *v. 47.* Now if any of the pædobaptists can produce such a Scripture history of infants being sprinkled, we promise freely to be of their opinion.

THE METHODIST DIALOGUE WRITER says, ‘I do not pretend to ground the practice of infant baptism on any plain positive command. Baptism must rest not upon the *instructions* of the Word of God, but upon probabilities, inferences, human reasonings and conclusions.’ *p. 9. 17.* Strange! that one of the ordinances of the gospel, should lie so dark and obscure in the New Testament, that it cannot be proved from it ‘but by probabilities, inferences, human reasonings and conclusions.’ Can this gentleman, or any of his brethren, point out to us a single Institute of the Mosaic law, that lay so concealed? Did not Moses make every, law, precept, and command plain, so that those who run might read? And must the ever blessed Redeemer, who spoke as man never spoke, be charged with ambiguity? God forbid! No, his commands are express; the subjects of baptism, and the manner of baptizing, are plainly made known in the sacred page. If our Author, or any of his friends, wish to see a *command* for infant baptism, they may find several in the preceding chapter: but they will soon perceive, that they are the commands of *Antichrist.*

Lastly—It is often said, ‘That if the baptism of infants be not commanded, it is not forbidden;’ hence the propriety of it is presumed. But upon this ground our opposers lie open to the attacks of papists and Mohametans. A papist will urge that salt in baptism is not forbidden, *therefore* it should be used; and that as it is no where said we ought not to sign with the sign of the cross, this ceremony *should* be observed. With equal propriety might a Mohametan contend, that as they are not expressly forbidden to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, it is their *duty* to go. If to such absurd reasoning, they reply, We are not to regard the doctrines and commandments of men; they furnish us with an argument by which to oppose the practice of infant baptism. For, without intending the least disrespect to those who *conscientiously* differ from us, we cannot view this ceremony in any other light, than as an human institution unknown to Scripture, no where commanded by Jesus Christ, and never practised by his Apostles. ‘To a consistent believer in Christ, the

*E. Pagitt says, that Austin commanded the people to go into the river by couples, and one baptize the other in the name of the Trinity. *Descrip. of Christi. part the 3rd. p. 15.*

New Testament is the sole standard of his practice, in regard to Baptism. There the ordinance appears along with the persons of men and woman. One verse of the history of the church of Samaria, which was congregated by Philip the Deacon, is full and express, and may serve for the whole. "When the Samaritans believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women." This was exactly conformable to the command, and the example of Jesus, whose disciples they were: to his command, *teach*

all nations baptizing them: and to his example, for he was at man's estate when he went to be baptized, being about *thirty* years of age. This is a plain path and free from every difficulty, to all those who wish to run the ways of Christ's commands independent of human tradition.

'Tis not as led by custom's voice,
We make these ways our favor'd choice,
And thus with zeal pursue:
No, heaven's eternal sovereign Lord
Has, in the precepts of his word,
Enjoin'd us thus to do.'

THE END.

A

SCRIPTURE MANUAL;

OR

A PLAIN REPRESENTATION

OF THE

ORDINANCE OF BAPTISM.

BY SAMUEL WILSON.

Search the Scriptures—*John v. 39.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.

WRITTEN BY REV. S. H. CONE.

REV. SAMUEL WILSON was the *first* pastor of the Baptist Church meeting in Little Prescott St., Goodwan's Fields, London, and served the Church with affectionate fidelity and great success, until the period of his death, which occurred Oct. 6th, 1750. Dr. Gill preached his funeral

sermon, in which he makes the following remarks:

"To give you the character of my deceased brother and your pastor, I want the eloquence of the deceased to paint him out in his proper colors, and to describe him as the accomplished man, the real Christian, and the excellent minister. His natural parts were very quick and strong; he had a great vivacity of spirit a lively fancy and imagination, a retentive memory, a penetrating mind, and a solid judgment; which, with the advantages of literature, and above all, the grace of God bestowed on him, and spiritual light and knowledge given him in the mysteries of the gospel, made him the great man he was. His mien and deportment in the pulpit were grave and ven-

erable, his gesture graceful, his address very moving and pathetic, his language striking, his discourses spiritual, savory, and evangelical having a tendency to awaken the minds of sinners to a sense of sin and danger, and to relieve and comfort the distressed. He was indeed an eloquent preacher, and a warm defender of the peculiar doctrines of the Christian religion, and in one word, laborious, indefatigable, and successful; not a *loiterer*, but a *laborer* in his Lord's vineyard."

It would have been easy, from the sermon of Dr. Gill, to have multiplied extracts, honorable to the literary attainments and ministerial excellencies of Brother Wilson; but the foregoing will be enough for your purpose. It has been useful and pleasant to find that his indefatigable labors were abundantly blessed; the church under his care was indeed a fruitful bough; a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall. His writings, as well as his preaching, were of the first class, and his treatise on Baptism, has been highly esteemed by our English brethren, from the time it was written, in 1745.

P R E F A C E .

THE very extraordinary zeal which has lately been expressed from the pulpit, and the press, for infant baptism, as an *ordinance of God*, or of *unquestionable and divine authority*, put me on reviewing the evidence, by which I was formerly convinced of the contrary.

And as I do not remember to have met with any thing on the subject exactly in this form, if it has no other advantage, it may point out a *method* of inquiry to those who make the word of God the rule of their faith and practice.

There are some few hints taken from modern authors; but the main is the judgment I formed of these things at the time referred to.

I have only to add, I am not conscious of a wilful misinterpretation of any text, but have faithfully given what I apprehended to be the real sense of the Holy Ghost; to whose influence and blessing I humbly recommend it.

S. WILSON.

A SCRIPTURE MANUAL, &c.

THAT Baptism is an ordinance of Jesus Christ, is admitted by the generality of

those who call themselves christians. That it is of standing use in the church of God, appears from the nature* of the institution when rightly understood, and the promise of the great Head of the Church to his ministers in the administration of it; "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

And as this ordinance is distinguished from others, in its limitation to a *single* administration, without repetition; great care should be taken that we act agreeable to the mind of Christ in it. What is to be done but once in the Christian's life, ought to be done well.

It is certain, men are apt to run into extremes. Some may possibly make too much of baptism; supposing it to be a *regenerating*, or *justifying* ordinance; that it washes away the guilt of original sin, and is always accompanied with the conveyance of grace. Others may think as meanly of it as a mere circumstantial ritual, or test of obedience to a positive precept, with little, if any spiritual meaning.

Nor are men, good and learned men, less divided about the subjects and mode of this sacred institution. If this arose from the obscurity or ambiguity of the terms in which it is revealed, it might carry the appearance of some reflection on the wisdom of the lawgiver; it being a duty of common concern, in which the plainest Christian is as deeply interested, as men of the greatest capacity or literature. But if it appears that God has not been wanting in this matter, and that the scripture account of it is in terms of a determinate meaning, and easy to be understood; whatever darkness may attend our minds, we have no room to quarrel with revelation.

It is now near thirty years since I first examined this matter; and I am sure no one could enter into the inquiry with more earnest desire to find it on the side of the common practice; all my conversation and prospects leaning strongly that way.

The method I took was, I hope, in a dependence on God, whose direction I earnestly implored, to collect the whole evidence from scripture, to consider carefully every part separately, that I might know what was his good and acceptable will in this service.

And whether I should happily attain the desirable end or not, I remember I found great peace in the integrity of the determination. Accordingly, looking up to heaven, I set myself to search the scriptures.

The questions before me were,

* A solemn acknowledgement of the divine glories, and a professed subjection to the authority of Father, Son, and Spirit, with a thankful recognition of the burial and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ; in the view of which we desire to die unto sin, and live unto holiness.

Whether believers, or persons professing faith and repentance only,

Or believers and their natural offspring, or infants in common, were the proper subjects of baptism?

And whether the manner of administration was by immersion or plunging, or by sprinkling or pouring? Or whether either might be used indifferently.

Considering that baptism was an ordinance peculiar to the Gospel dispensation, I thought it most natural, to expect an account of it in the New Testament. Accordingly I began with the gospel of St. Matthew, and in the third chapter met with the following description of John's baptism.

"In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea; and saying, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. That, then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins. And that when he saw many of the pharisees and sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you, &c. Bring forth; therefore, fruits meet for repentance, and think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father, &c.

Here I found that John had a special commission given him, to preach and to baptize.

That the substance of his ministry was the doctrine of repentance, in the view of the near approach of the Messiah: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

That his success was very extraordinary, multitudes flocking after him, to hear him preach, and be baptized of him, "Jerusalem and all Judea, and the region round about," &c.

That the place of his preaching was the wilderness; and of his baptizing, the river Jordan—

That the action was *baptizing*—

And that the disposition of mind required in the subjects was repentance; and such repentance as should be productive of good fruits: and, where this was wanting, a relation to Abraham as their father, did not entitle them to his baptism.

This appeared to me to be the sum of the account and I could not help observing, There is no intimation of children being brought by their parents to John—

Not a word of baptizing them:

No recommendation of this to their parents, as a duty to be afterwards performed by them, in consequence of being proselyted to his doctrine:

No hint of pouring or sprinkling; but that John baptized the people in the river Jordan, and that he did this on their repentance, or professing of it.

Thus far the evidence being for adult

baptism, I proceeded to consider the baptism of our Lord, as described in the same chapter, verses 13, 14, 15, 16. "Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan, to John, to be baptized of him. But John forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? And Jesus answering, said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.—And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water," &c.

Here I observed our Lord did not send to John to come and baptize him, but went himself from Galilee to Jordan, the place where John was baptizing: offered himself as a subject. John, apprehensive of his superior glory, modestly refuses. Our Lord insists on it, as a part of righteousness it became him to fulfil. John baptized him, and as Mark (chap. i. 9.) expressly says, in the river Jordan: and from the expression of his coming out of the water, I concluded it was by immersion.

I took notice of a difference between this and the former account. Here was no preaching on John's part; no repentance required of, or confessed by our Lord Jesus previous to baptism; these the dignity and purity of his person rendered unnecessary. He had the richest unction of the Holy Spirit, and was holy harmless, and undefiled. However he appeared with great zeal to engage in the duty; and I thought he spoke as the head of the church, and example of his people, when he said, "thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness."

The next place I consulted was Matt. xix. 13, 14, compared with Mark x. 13. and Luke xviii. 15. "Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them and pray; and the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said, Suffer little children and forbid them not to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

This I had often heard quoted in favour of infant baptism, and therefore, though I did not find the word baptize in the text, I thought it deserved a particular consideration.

And the first thing that came before me, was the desire of the parents or friends of those children, or what they aimed at in bringing them to Christ; and the evangelist Matthew says, it was that he should "put his hand on them and pray." Mark and Luke say, that he might *touch them*; neither of them give the least hint as to any desire or request that they might be *baptized*.

I then considered the conduct of our Lord on this occasion—and the text says, "he took them up in his arms, put his hands

on them, and blessed them." This and no more, our Lord did at this time, as I could find by comparing the evangelists.

This led me to consider the reluctance of the disciples that these children should be brought, and our Lord's displeasure, signified by his check of them, "Suffer little children to come unto me for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

What the disciples' reason was for opposing them, is not recorded; I thought it could not be from an *unwillingness* that infants should be *baptized*, had that been the practice of John, or the known will of his master. This they could hardly be guilty of; nor does our Lord take the least notice of it in his reproof. It is likely they were uneasy he should be interrupted from attending to matters they judged of greater importance; but however this was, I found they stood reprov'd, and the reason given was,

"Of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Here I considered the kingdom of heaven must intend the kingdom of grace, or of glory.

And first I began with the kingdom of grace, and presently saw, that must be the invisible church or general assembly of the first born, whose names are written in heaven, or particular churches constituted in gospel order: For I could have no notion of a *national* church, under the New Testament dispensation. Accordingly I brought infants to each of these, endeavouring to come at the truth. As to the invisible church, consisting only, as I could see, of the election of grace, I thought whether all, or who among infants are a part of it, could be only known to God; and this being a matter wholly unrevealed I could not see how it could give them a right to baptism.

As to particular churches, it did not appear that infants were claimed or treated as members; nor could I understand their capacity for membership; which seemed to be founded in the New Testament, on a declared agreement of the saints in principles and experience.

I then considered the kingdom of glory, consisting in the beatific vision, and enjoyment of God. And here I presently found my wishes outrun revelation; and in the issue was obliged to leave infants to the sovereign mercy of him who is the judge of the earth, and will do nothing but what is right. Nor could I see on the supposition of their being all admitted to that kingdom, of which I could find no scripture assurance, that their right to baptism was evinced without a special order from the Lawgiver of the church, or some necessary connexion between that ordinance and eternal life.

Musing on these things, I looked a little farther, and soon found the difficulty removed, and the expression cleared up—"Of such is the kingdom of heaven;" that is, as our Lord adds, "Verily, I say unto you, whoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein;" or, as Luke has it, "in nowise enter therein."

It now appeared that our Lord was speaking of the temper, and not merely of the persons of children; and what greatly confirmed me was a parallel passage. Mat. xviii. 2, 3. Jesus called a little child and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. And adds, "Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me. But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.

Here I compared the expressions of receiving Christ, and receiving one of these little ones, making profession of his name, and these little ones believing in him, with the dreadful nature of the threatening in offending them; and I could not see how these could be applicable to mere infants—but were all adapted to younger or weaker Christians.

Upon the whole, after the strictest search, I could find in these texts, nothing relating to baptism. Nor could I help thinking, had it been the intention of our Lord that infants should be baptized, he would have omitted the practice, or some discourse about it, on occasions which seemed so naturally to lead him to it.

Failing of my hoped for discovery of infant baptism here, I hastened to the commission recorded, Mat. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. compared with Mark xvi. 15, 16. "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you: And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

Struck with the supreme authority of a risen Jesus, I concluded from the solemnity of the introduction it must be a heinous affront, to add, alter, or take away from the sacred commandments. And with a mind, I trust, possessed with reverence of his majesty, I entered into a meditation on the precept. Here I found the persons charged

with the commission were the apostles; who, notwithstanding the eminence of their character, and peculiars of their after unction, were not to make, but publish and explain the laws of Christ. That and only that which they received of the Lord, were they to declare to the church. And from the nature of the duty enjoined, and the reach of the promise even to the end of the world, I judged all Gospel ministers to be included in the commission.

The duty enjoined, or service to be performed, was to teach and baptize. Or, as I understand it, to make disciples by teaching—for I could not think of any other way—and then to baptize them.

The subjects of instruction and baptism, were all nations: or, Mark has it, all the world, and every creature, Gentiles as well as Jews; not every individual, for the absurdity of that was most glaring; but such as were capable of receiving the doctrine, and making a profession of it, in order to baptism. The time of baptizing, according to the evangelist Mark, seemed to be when they believed; or as Matthew has it, when they were taught or made disciples. And the manner in which, when I considered the principal, most common, and natural sense of the word baptism, with the use of it in John's baptism, appeared to me by immersion. And I was the more confirmed in this, from John's choosing a place to baptize in, where there was much water, John iii. 23. I tried, and tried again, to bring in infants under the general term of *all nations*; but Mark's *believeth* and is *baptized*, with Matthew's *teaching* them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you, obliged me to conclude it must be confined to the adult.

Thus far the balance seemed to be on the side of the Antipædobaptists; but having determined when I set out, to examine the whole evidence, I pursued the inquiry, and being thoroughly satisfied that the apostles could not mistake their master, I thought if I was mistaken in my apprehensions of his will, in the commission, I should be set right by their conduct, and I began with Peter's sermon, Acts ii.

The point, the apostle aimed at, I found in verse 36. "Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." In this he asserts the glory of the person crucified, he was Lord of all, and charges them directly with his murder; they had crucified, or with wicked hands had slain him.

The effect was, "they were pricked in the heart, and cried out, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Upon which Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus

Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." It is added, ver. 41. Then they that gladly received the word were baptized, and the same day were added to them about three thousand souls. And they continued in the apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." And Ver. 40. "All that believed were together, and had all things in common." &c.

Here I observed how Peter understood his commission; he began with preaching or teaching—waiting for the success of his labor. Nor did I find a word of baptism, till they were pricked in their hearts; then indeed, and not before, he says, Repent and be baptized, in the name of the Lord Jesus; which I understood after this manner: If you are indeed grieved and ashamed of your conduct towards this Jesus whom you have crucified; if you are convinced by the spirit of God, he is the promised Messiah, the great Redeemer, and King of his church, and have a fiducial dependance on him for salvation; then you are to be baptized in his name, and may hope for a comfortable evidence in your baptism, of the remission of your sins, and that you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. And for their encouragement he adds, "for the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."

Now I thought the evidence of children's right to baptism began to open, especially as I had often heard this verse mentioned as an incontestible proof of it. But being willing to see with mine own eyes, I considered what this promise might be; the text indeed I found if not wholly silent, yet not directly expressive; but, on close reflection, I thought it must be either—The great promise of the Messiah, as the seed of Abraham, in whom all nations should be blessed; or, of the remission of sins for his sake; or, of the gift of the Holy Ghost.

Accordingly I brought infants to each of these; and presently saw as to the first, the great honor which was done to the Jews and their offspring, that Christ should be allied to them according to the flesh; but found no reason to conclude, that all Abraham's natural children, were the children of the promise, as to the spiritual part of it; nor could I see how the *general* promise of the Messiah, as the seed of Abraham, could give them a right to baptism, if impenitent and uncalled, any more than the Gentiles, or those afar off.

As to the promise of the remission of sins, I saw not how this could be claimed, but

by *believers*. And as to the gift of the Holy Ghost, if it was of the same kind with what had been lately poured out on the apostles' the thing spoke for itself; there was no room to expect it in a state of infancy.

By children, then, I apprehend, must be meant their offspring, when called; and then I could easily apply the promise to them, in any or all of the foregoing senses.

Upon the whole I found, Peter preached.

The people repented, and gladly received the word—were baptized—added to the church—and walked in fellowship;—and encouragement was given to their offspring, that with the same *experience*, or when called, they might look for the same privileges.

I could not but think, had the apostle intended to express their right, as infants, to baptism, it was strange, very strange, that no notice should be taken, either then or afterwards, of the administration of it.

The next account of baptism I met with, was Acts viii. 12. "But when they believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus, they were baptized, both men and women."

Here I found the evangelist agree with the apostle, and both keeping close to the commission. Philip *begins* with preaching the gospel, "or the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Christ," the people believed; and *when* they did so, and not *before*, he baptized them. And they are said to be *men* and *women*; a phrase I took to be expressive of the extent and limitation of the ordinance; not *men only*, but men and women; not men, women, and children, but men and women *only*.

And, indeed, I thought it could not be otherwise, if a personal, faith, and a *profession* of it, were prerequisite to baptism. And these I found were insisted on by this evangelist, in the case of the eunuch, recorded in the same chapter: the account of which stands thus. Verses 26, 27, 38, &c.

"The angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and go toward the south, &c. And he arose and went; and behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch, &c., had come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning; and sitting in his chariot, read Esaias the prophet. Then the Spirit said unto Philip, go near and join thyself to this chariot. And Philip ran thither to him, and heard him read the prophet Esaias, and said, understandest thou what thou readest? And he said, how can I, except some man should guide me? And he desired Philip that he would come up and sit with him.—The place of the scripture which he read was this, He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, &c. The eunuch answered Philip and said, I pray thee of whom spake the prophet this, &c. Then Philip opened his mouth,

and began at the same scripture, and preached unto him Jesus. And as they went on their way, they came to a certain water; and the eunuch said, See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized? And Philip said, if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him; and when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, and the eunuch saw him no more; and he went on his way rejoicing."

This appeared to me to be a plain and expressive account of the subjects and mode of baptism. Philip begins with teaching, or preaching Christ as Saviour and Sovereign. The eunuch desires to be baptized, Philip insists on a confession of his faith. The eunuch gives him satisfaction; they both go out of the chariot, and Philip baptizes him. And I could not help observing the peculiarity of the phrases; they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and when they were come up out of the water, &c., which strongly impressed my mind, that the baptism of the eunuch was by immersion; and must be designed to describe something more than barely going to the side or brink of the water.

The next instance of baptism was that of Cornelius, recorded Acts x. And of him it is said, v. 2. he was a *devout man, and one that feared God with all his house*. Which I understood not of mere babes, if he had any: but of those who were in some measure grown up, capable, under a divine influence, of forming some apprehensions of the glory of God, and their obligations to revere and serve him. By the direction of an angel, he sends for Peter.—Peter begins with preaching. God owns his ministry. The Holy Ghost falls on all those which heard his word; and Peter asks, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized."

Here I found the commission strictly regarded and kept up to, and an exact conformity with the forementioned instances of baptism; and comparing the expressions of "fearing God with all his house," v. 2. and their receiving the "like gift with those who believed in the Lord Jesus," mentioned chap. xi. 17. I saw no reason to suppose that infants were of that number.

This led me to consider the conversion and baptism of Lydia, of whom we read, Acts xvi. 14. that she was "a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira, who worshipped God, and heard the apostle; whose heart the Lord

opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul; and was baptized, and her household."

As to Lydia, I thought there could be no dispute, whether she believed before she was baptized; the text asserting that she "worshipped God;" that the "Lord opened her heart." As to her household, what it consisted of, is not said; nor is any notice taken of her husband, if she had any; all that appeared to me, from a careful examination of the account was, that she was not at home, or in the place of her common residence; that she came to sell her purple, had a house for that purpose, and probably servants to assist her in her trade; nor could I see it altogether consistent with prudence, to bring a family of young children, if she had any, into the hurries of business.

Upon the whole, I thought it might be such a house as Cornelius had; who, if they did not fear God before, were converted by the apostle and baptized with their mistress. And what greatly tended to confirm me in this was, that the persons the apostle found in Lydia's house when he entered into it, are called *brethren*, and were *comforted* by him; which cannot be said of infants; as also the account of the conversion of the jailer and his family, contained in the same chapter, ver. 25, 26, &c. which is as follows:

"At midnight Paul and Silas prayed, &c. Suddenly there was a great earthquake, &c. The keeper of the prison would have killed himself.—Paul cried with a loud voice, saying, do thyself no harm. The keeper called for a light, and sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas, and brought them out, and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved? And they said, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. And they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night and washed their stripes, and was baptized, he and all his straightway. And when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house."

The fact here I thought stood thus. The jailer, under the power of strong convictions, cries out, What must I do to be saved? The apostle answers, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thine house. That is, as I understood it, if they believe also. Upon which they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And God blessing his word to the jailer and his family, they believed, were baptized, and rejoiced.

This led me to consider what is said of Crispus and the Corinthians, Acts xviii. 8. "And Crispus the chief ruler of the syna-

gogue believed on the Lord with all his house, and many of the Corinthians hearing, believed, and were baptized."

Here I found the master and the family believers, and that the Corinthians heard, believed and were baptized. And as hearing and believing are mentioned previous to the baptizing of the Corinthians, I concluded it was equally so, in the instance of Crispus and his house.

The last instance I met with was in 1 Corinthians i. 14, 15, 16, which speaks of baptizing the household of Stephanus. "I thank God I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say, that I had baptized in my own name: and I baptized also the household of Stephanus," &c.

What this household was I gathered from the 16th chap. and 15th verse, where the apostle says, "I beseech you, brethren, to know the house of Stephanus, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints." Whence I thought they could not be infants, but believers in Christ, converted and baptized by the apostle: or they could hardly be called *first fruits*, and be said to addict themselves to the ministry of the saints; whether we understand it of their relieving their wants, or preaching the everlasting gospel.

Having thus gone through the history of baptism, as administered by the apostles, I proceeded to consider the account they give of the meaning or spiritual design of it: and with this view, compared Romans vi. 3, 4, with Colossians ii. 12. "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Christ, were baptized into his death. Therefore we are buried with him by baptism, into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father; even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection knowing that our old man is crucified," &c. And in Colossians I found the same metaphor kept up: "Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God."

In forming a judgment of the design of the Holy Ghost in these passages, I thought it necessary to consider first the description or character of the persons baptized; and they are said, ver. 12., "to be circumcised with the circumcision made without hands," which I knew not how to interpret so well if any thing, as the renewing influences of the Holy Ghost; agreeable to which they are further represented as the subjects "of that faith, which is the operation of God;" or as it is elsewhere called, precious faith, and the faith of God's elect. 2 Pet. i. 1. & Tit. i. 1.

The metaphor came next under consideration. They were buried with Christ in baptism. This seemed much better to answer to immersion than sprinkling or pouring—and supposing that the faith mentioned might refer to their being buried as well as rising; this I thought might be the meaning of their being “planted in the likeness of Christ’s death.”

That as in the ordinance of the supper, there is a believing memorial of Christ’s love in his sufferings and death; so in baptism, the saint, by an eye of faith is called to attend to his condescension when imprisoned in the grave, and his glory as a conqueror, in breaking the bands of death. In each of which he sustained the character of the surety of the covenant and head of the body. And as the actions of breaking the bread, and pouring out the wine, are expressive of his agony and death; the immersion and rising of the person baptized, might refer to his burial and resurrection.

I then proceeded to examine 1 Corinthians vii. 14, a text I had often heard quoted as proving, if not in direct terms, yet by just consequence, the right of infants to baptism. The words are, “For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean, but now they are holy.”

I began with the occasion of the words, and I could find nothing relating to baptism in the context. An affair evidently of another kind, employed the mind of the apostle; to wit, the necessity or expediency of attending to the duties of the marriage relation, where one was a convert, and the other an infidel. This, I thought was the point in view. And it stands determined, that the “wife is not to depart,” nor the “husband to put her away;” unless some other circumstances should render it necessary and warrantable.

And to remove the scruples of a tender spirit, it is added, that the unbeliever is sanctified by the believer; by which, I could not understand an internal spiritual purity of mind, this being the work of the Divine Spirit; but, as every thing else, so the marriage relation is sanctified to the believer, by “the word of God and prayer.” The ignorance or enmity of the infidel, would not render the saints’ conscientious and faithful discharge of his duty less necessary or acceptable.

And to enforce his determination of their continuing together, the apostle adds, “else were your children unclean, but now they are holy.”

Here I considered, how children may be said to be unclean; and I thought they are so “by nature,” being “shapen in iniquity,” and “conceived in sin.” The guilt and

pollution of which can only be removed by the blood of Christ, and the power of the Holy Ghost. As to this I could see no difference between the seed of believers, and others; ALL are “concluded under sin,” and by “nature children of wrath.”

I then remembered to have heard, that all out of the pale of the Jewish church were unclean, as opposed to that holiness which is attributed to the whole congregation of Israel, and that such uncleanness attends the children of unconverted Gentiles now; but considering Peter’s vision in which he is forbid to “call that common which God had cleansed;” that “the middle wall of partition is broken down;” that in regeneration, or the new man, “there is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian Scythian, bound nor free, but Christ is all and in all.”—Remembering the peculiarities of the Jewish church as hereditary and national, are now utterly set aside, I could see no more uncleanness in one infant than in another.

Upon the whole I thought the affair settled by the apostle being wholly matrimonial; it was highly probable, the holiness and uncleanness were of the same kind; or related to apparent legitimacy or illegitimacy.

Nor could I see on the supposition of an external sort of holiness derived to an infant from a believing parent, that we are to conclude its right to baptism without a special direction from the Lawgiver of the church.

This led me to consider the apostle’s account of Abraham, Romans iv. 11, 12, 13. “As the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised; and that the promise is of faith, that it might be by grace, to the end it might be sure to all the seed; not to that only which is of the law but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all. And that he received the sign of circumcision, a zeal of the righteousness of faith, which he had yet being uncircumcised.

This I found commonly insisted on to prove that Abraham’s covenant was the covenant of grace—that a part of his seed were the believing Gentiles, and their offspring—and that as Abraham’s children were circumcised, the children of believers should be baptized.”

To come at a certainty in this matter, I thought it might be proper carefully to inquire, what the covenant was which God made with Abraham; the duties required and privileges to be enjoyed under it; the persons interested in it, and manner of conveying and signifying that interest. The covenant I found at large in the 17th of Genesis, and it appeared to me to be of a pecu-

liar kind; some things belonging to Abraham in his personal character, as that he should have a numerous posterity; that kings should descend from him; the making over the land of Canaan to him; and the particular honor of being the father of the Messiah according to the flesh. This part of the covenant I thought distinguishable from the covenant of grace; for I could not but see he might have all these, without any special relation to God as a child. But when God promises to be "his God," to "bless him," and that "in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed;" I looked upon these to be promises as expressive of privileges of *another*, and more valuable kind than any of the former.

And as the covenant appeared thus to be of a mixed nature, and the blessings distinct; so I found his seed to be described very differently in scripture; sometimes intending all his natural children; sometimes the person of Christ only; and here and in other places, all his spiritual offspring, whether Jews or Gentiles.

As to his children, who were only so after the flesh, they had their outward advantages; but not, as I could see, the blessings of the covenant of grace.

As to Christ, it did not appear any blessing was derived from Abraham to him; but on the contrary, Abraham received the blessing in and from the Messiah, his *root* as well as offspring. And as to his spiritual seed, they were all, whether Jews or Gentiles, partakers with him of the same faith and salvation.

Circumcision I thought to be a sign or badge of separation to the Jews in common, as distinguished from the Gentiles, and perhaps of regeneration to his spiritual seed; but conveyed, as I could see, no spiritual blessing to either. And, I thought, if the baptism of infants under the gospel was to be argued from circumcision, the apostle would certainly have given someshint of it; whereas his discourse is confined to believers, without a word of their children.

That circumcision was a seal of the righteousness of faith to Abraham, is indeed asserted; but that it was to his natural seed, I could form no idea of; at least until they had, by faith, a view of the same righteousness by which Abraham their father was justified.

And the apostle seemed to explain the whole matter, Rom. ix. 5, 6, 7, 8. "They are not all Israel which are of Israel, neither because they are of the seed of Abraham, are they all children; that is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed." I concluded, if this was true of the natural seed

of Abraham, a believer, certainly it could be no less so of the offspring of Gentile believers.

As to the privileges of the Jews above the Gentiles, the apostle is express, that unto them "pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; and that from them, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever." Rom. ix. 4, 5; or, agreeable, to what he before had said, when putting the question, What advantage then hath the Jew, or what profit is there in circumcision? He answers, Much every way; chiefly because unto them were committed the oracles of God.

So that it evidently appeared the church of the Jews had its glory; but as the same apostle tells us, 2 Cor. iii. 10, 11, this was as "no glory, if compared with the glory which excelleth. For if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious." That is, as I understood it, all the carnal part of Jewish glory was swallowed up, and utterly set aside by the simplicity, spirituality, and liberality of the gospel dispensation; and as it was formerly, "all were not Israel, which were of Israel, so now he is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men but of God." Romans, ii. 28, 29.

I then proceeded to consider the excision of the Jews and the taking in of the Gentiles, recorded, Rom. xi. 15, 16, in which, though there is no express mention of baptism, or of the baptism of infants, yet I found commonly produced as declarative of a federal holiness, conveyed from parents to children; in consequence of which they *might*, yea *ought* to be baptized.

The words of the text are.

"If the first-fruits be holy, the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches; and if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive-tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree," &c.

That converted Gentiles stand on a level with believing Jews, I had already seen. That the peculiar form of the Jewish church was abolished at the death of Christ, I found generally acknowledged: that being the "ministration which was to be done away," to make room for that "which was to remain;" so that I could not tell how to conceive of the Gospel church incorporated with the Jewish, they being always represented as distinct, or distinguishable the one from the other.

By the root, then, I understood Abraham—by the branches his natural offspring—by the wild olive the Gentiles in a natural state; who, upon receiving the grace of God, became the spiritual branches of Abraham the father of the faithful: and were equally interested with his believing natural branches in all the special privileges of the covenant of grace.

This I thought to be the most natural sense of the text nor could I see how this could have any relation to baptism, whether of the adult or infants.

The next reference to baptism I found 1 Cor. xi. 1. 2. "I would not that you should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea."

To understand this I thought it proper to inquire into the fact, as recorded by Moses, which I thought would give light to the allusion.

And in Exodus xiv. 19, &c. we are told, "the pillar of cloud went from before the face of the Israelites, and it stood behind them; and it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to the one, and gave light by night to the other. And the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land; and the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground, and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left."

Here I found, that part of the cloud which was next to the Israelites was bright, clear, and comfortable; not the least intimation of *rain* falling upon them. The sea was made *dry ground*, and the waters were a *wall* unto them, on the right hand, and on the left; so that I concluded, the term baptized must refer to their situation in the midst of the sea, encompassed by these walls, and attended with the cloud, rather than to any water coming out of the one, or sprinkling dashings, from the other; which must have been very troublesome, to such a body of people in their march; and, as I thought, inconsistent with the account of their standing in, and coming out of the sea on dry ground.

This brought me to the last place of scripture, which speaks directly of the nature and meaning of the ordinance of baptism, 1 Peter iii. 20, 21.—"The long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing; wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Here it appeared that there were some circumstances attending the ark, and the salvation of Noah and his family by water, which were figurative or typical of baptism; and when I examined the account as given by Moses, Genesis vii. I found it stood thus: the ark was God's contrivance and appointment, and it was a large hollow vessel, in which Noah and his family, and the creatures with him, were for a time as it were buried; and especially this was the case, when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, and they in the midst of that deluge, which destroyed all the rest of the world. This appeared to me to answer to immersion in baptism; and I could not think the Holy Ghost would refer us to the water of a *flood*, as a type of a *little* quantity of that element, made use of when poured or sprinkled on the face of an infant. And as Noah and his family were saved by water, the believer is saved by baptism, not efficaciously or meritoriously, but declaratively and instrumentally. In the profession of his faith, he declares his entrance into Christ as the ark of salvation, and his baptism is a lively representation of the burial and resurrection of him, who died for his offences, and rose again for his justification.

And as Noah built the ark, and entered into it in obedience to the command of God; the believer is baptized from a principle of conscience towards God; yea, a good, that is, as I thought, an enlightened, renewed conscience.

Having thus gone through the scripture account of the ordinance of baptism I found myself obliged to conclude the balance was greatly on the side of adult believers as the only declared subjects; and of plunging or immersion, as the only mode of that sacred institution.

I well knew, that many godly and learned persons thought otherwise; but not daring to call any man master on earth, and remembering the account I must shortly give to HIM who said, "THUS IT BECOMETH US TO FULFIL ALL RIGHTEOUSNESS,"—I determined to comply with my duty; and, on the closest reflection, have seen no reason to repent of it.

THE END.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

JOHN ASPLAND.

This singular man is, on account of his extensive travels, very generally known throughout the United States. According

to information received from Mr. John Leland, he was born in the interior of Sweden. He was bred to the mercantile business. He went to England about the beginning of the American war, where he acted some time as clerk in a store. He was either pressed or entered voluntarily into the British naval service, which he deserted on the American coast, and made his way into North Carolina. There, about 1782, he embraced religion, and was baptized by David Walsh. Soon after he joined the South-Hampton church in Virginia, then under the care of David Barrow. About 1785, he went back to his native country; visited England, Denmark, Finland, Lapland, Germany, and returned to Virginia. Not long after his return, he began to make preparations for his Register of the Baptist churches in America, which he published in a small quarto pamphlet in 1791. This work cost him about seven thousand miles travel, chiefly on foot, which mode of traveling he seems to have preferred. After this, Mr. Aspland travelled ten thousand miles more, and published a second Register in 1794. By this time he had become personally acquainted with seven hundred ministers of the Baptist denomination. Mr. Aspland was a preacher of no great gifts, but was generally respected for a number of years. But at length he got entangled with land speculations, for which he was altogether unqualified.—Some other things of an unfavorable nature exposed him to the censures of his brethren. The latter part of his life was spent on the eastern shore of Maryland, and there he was drowned from a canoe, in Fishing Creek, in 1807. He left a wife and one child. The Baptist churches in America have reason to respect the memory of this diligent inquirer into their number, origin, character, &c. His register has been of peculiar service in the preparation of this work.

PRESIDENT DUNSTER.—While this learned advocate for apostolical baptism was yet in Cambridge, Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, the minister of the place, went to converse with him on the subject. "When I came from him, (says he) I had a strange experience; I found hurrying and pressing suggestions against *Pædobaptism*, and injected scruples and thoughts, whether, the other way might not be right, and infant baptism an *invention of man*; and whether I might, with a good conscience, baptize children, and the like." But all these "unreasonable suggestions," he ascribed to the devil, and resolved with Mr. Hooker; that "he would have an argument able to re-

move a mountain before he would recede from, or appear against a truth or praction received among the faithful!" What an expeditious way of silencing one's doubts and convictions! How many have we reason to believe, in order to avoid going over to the despised Baptists, have entrenched themselves with barriers equally irrational and strong!—"But sure I am," says Mr. Backus, "that if any Baptist minister had told such a story, and made such an absurd resolution, our adversaries would then have such grounds to charge us with *wilfulness* and *obstinacy* as they never yet had."

ANECDOTE OF A PÆDOBAPTIST JUDGE.—In the ecclesiastical laws of Connecticut, by which Quakers, Baptists, &c. are exempted from religious taxation, this important clause was inserted. "Provided they ordinarily attend meeting in their respective societies." A number of Baptists in Stafford had united with the Baptist church in Willington. But the distance being considerable, and the way rough, they did not meet with the church so often as they could have wished, or as the law required. The presbyterians in Stafford, to pay the expense of a new meeting-house, taxed these brethren, distrained their goods, and disposed of them at public sale. The brethren commenced an action against the distrainers for their goods, damages, &c. The affair went through two courts; in the second, the counsel for the brethren plead, that they were Baptists *sentimentally, practically* and *legally*. To this statement the counsel on the other side acceded, but still continued his plea against them because they did not "*ordinarily* attend their own meeting. While the lawyers were disputing, the Judge, who was an Episcopalian, and not very partial to the predominant party, called the attention of the court, by inquiring how long a man who was a Baptist *sentimentally, practically, and legally*, must stay at home to become a Presbyterian? His honor's logic produced the same effect upon the whole court, as it must upon the reader, and the baptists easily obtained the case.

The following anecdote of the REV. EDMUND BORSFORD, while he laboured in Georgia, may not be unacceptable to our readers. Once on a journey up to the Kioka, where he had appointed to preach, he called at a Mr. Savidge's to inquire the way. This Mr. Savidge was then a bigoted churchman, but was hopefully acquainted with the truth. After he had given the

stranger proper directions, the following conversation ensued: "I suppose you are the Baptist minister, who is to preach to-day at Kioka." "Yes, Sir; will you go?" "No I am not fond of the Baptists; they think nobody is baptized but themselves." "Have you been baptized?"—"Yes, to be sure." "How do you know?"—"How do I know? why my parents have told me I was." "Then you do not know, only by information." On this Mr. Botsford left him, but "How do you know?" haunted him, till he became convinced of his duty; he was baptized by Mr. Marshall, and began to preach the same day he was baptized, and still continues a useful minister among the Georgia Baptists. Botsford's "How do you know?" says Mr. Savidge, first set me to thinking about baptism.

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In the parts of Georgia where Mr. Botsford labored, the inhabitants were a mixed multitude, of emigrants from many different places; most of them were destitute of any form of religion, and the few who paid any regard to it were zealous churchmen and Lutherans, and violently opposed to the Baptists. In the same journey in which he fell in with Mr. Savidge, he preached at the court-house in Burk county. The

assembly at first paid a decent attention: but, towards the close of the sermon, one of them bawled out with a great oath, "The rum is come." Out he rushed, others followed, the assembly was soon left small, and by the time Mr. Botsford got out to his horse, he had the unhappiness to find many of his hearers intoxicated and fighting. An old gentleman came up to him, took his horse by the bridle, and in his profane dialect most highly extolled him and his discourse, swore he must drink with him, and come and preach in his neighborhood. It was now no time to reason or reprove; and as preaching was Mr. Botsford's business, he accepted the old man's invitation, and made an appointment. His first sermon was blessed to the awakening of his wife; one of his sons also became religious, and others in the settlement, to the number of fifteen were in a short time hopefully brought to the knowledge of the truth, and the old man himself became sober and attentive to religion, although he never made a public profession of it. *Benedict's Hist.*

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It was remarked of the lamented Dr. Gill, with a particular reference to his treatise on proselyte baptism, that his writings were all *quintessence*.

THE END.

VINDICATION OF THE BAPTISTS

FROM THE

CHARGE OF BIGOTRY,

IN REFUSING COMMUNION AT THE LORD'S TABLE
TO PÆDOBAPTISTS.

BY ABRAHAM BOOTH.

There is—one Baptism.—*Ephesians iv.*
They who are not rightly baptized, are, doubtless, not baptized at all.—*Tertullian.*
No unbaptized person communicates at the Lord's Table.—*Theophylact.*

PREFACE.

It was not a fondness for controversy, but a desire to vindicate the honor of Christ, as lawgiver in his own kingdom; to assert the scriptural importance of a positive institution in the house of God; and to exculpate himself, together with a great majority of his brethren of the Baptist persuasion, from charges of an odious kind, that excited the author to compose and publish the following pages. If these designs be answered, the writer obtains his end; and if not, he has the testimony of his own conscience to the uprightness of his intentions.

As we are expressly commanded to “contend earnestly for the *Faith* once delivered to the saints;” it can hardly be questioned, whether a sincere concern for the purity and permanence of our *Lord's appointments* in the gospel church, be not an indispensable duty. For they are no less the expressions of his *dominion over us*, than of his love to us; no less intended as means of his *own glory*, than of our happiness. The subject, therefore, that is here presented to the reader's notice, though not of the *greatest*, yet is far from being of small importance in the Christian religion.

It is entirely on the *defensive* that the author takes up his pen; for had not the principles and practice of the *Baptists* been severely censured, these pages would never have seen the light.

That *He* who is King in Zion may reign in the hearts and regulate the worship of all his professing people; that the Spirit of

wisdom, of holiness, and of peace, may dwell in all the churches of Christ; and that the same divine Agent may direct the reader's inquiries after truth, engage his affections in the performance of duty, and enable him to “walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless;” is the sincere desire and fervent prayer of his willing servant in the gospel of Christ.

A. BOOTH.

Goodman's Fields, March 3, 1778.

SECTION I.

Baptists not chargeable with laying an unwarrantable Stress on the Ordinance of Baptism.

MANY reflections are cast on the Baptists, and various charges are laid against them; of such a kind, as greatly impeach the truth of their doctrinal principles, and the candor of their Christian temper. They are frequently represented as *uncharitably rigid* as *incorrigible bigots* to a favorite opinion, and as putting baptism in the place of our Lord's *atoning blood* and the *sanctifying agency* of the Divine Spirit.

But why such unfriendly surmises and bold accusations? What is there in our principles or conduct, to authorize such hard suspicions, and such severity of censure? As to making baptism a substitute for the *atonement* of Jesus Christ, and the *sanctifying agency* of the Holy Spirit, it is manifestly contrary to our avowed sentiments; so contrary, that all the world, one would have thought, must agree to acquit

us of such a charge. For it is too notorious to admit a plea of ignorance in any of our opponents, that we consider no one as a proper subject of that institution, who does not profess repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; who does not, in other words, appear to be in a state of salvation. Nay, so far from making baptism a *saving* ordinance, we do not, we cannot consider any one as a proper subject of it who looks upon it in that light.

Yet were an imputation of this kind as just as it is groundless; did we really ascribe a regenerating efficacy and saving effects to that sacred appointment; we should hardly forbear concluding, that these complaints and charges come with an ill grace from brethren, especially from the ministry, who declare their assent to all that is contained in the book of common prayer. For they, immediately after baptizing an infant, address first the people and then the omniscient God, in the following remarkable words: "Seeing, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is REGENERATE and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks to Almighty God for these benefits. We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to REGENERATE this infant with thy Holy spirit, to receive for THINE OWN CHILD by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church."—Thus the clergy most solemnly profess to believe, when they administer baptism to infants. When giving catechetical instructions to children, they inculcate on their tender minds the same things, as truths and facts of great importance. For thus they interrogate each young catechumen, and thus they teach him to answer: "Who gave you this name? My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism WHEREIN I WAS MADE a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. How many sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church? Two only, as GENERALLY NECESSARY TO SALVATION, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord. What is the inward and spiritual grace? (i. e. of baptism.)—A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; for, being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are HEREBY MADE the children of grace."^{*} Thus children are taught by the parish minister; and in the firm persuasion of these things they are *confirmed* by the bishop. For immediately before he lays upon them his episcopal hand, he recognizes, in a solemn address to God, the great blessings supposed to be conferred and received by

them at the time of their baptism.—Thus he prays: "Almighty and ever living God, who hast vouchsafed to REGENERATE THESE THY SERVANTS by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them FORGIVENESS OF ALL THEIR SINS." And, after imposition of hands; "We make our humble supplications unto thee [the divine Majesty] for these thy servants, upon whom (after the example of thy holy apostles) we have now laid our hands to CERTIFY THEM (by this sign) OF THY FAVOR AND GRACIOUS GOODNESS TOWARDS THEM." Once more: as the church of England suggests a *painful doubt*, relating to the final happiness of such infants as die without baptism; so she *absolutely forbids* her Burial Service to be read over *any* who die unbaptized; placing them, in this respect, on a level with those that die under a sentence of excommunication for the most enormous crimes, or are guilty of *suicide*. For thus she instructs her members, and thus she directs her ministers: "It is certain by God's word, that children which are *baptized*, dying before they commit actual sin are *undoubtedly saved*—Here it is to be NOTED, that the office ensuing [i. e. burial office] is not to be used for any that die UNBAPTIZED, OR EXCOMMUNICATE, OR HAVE LAID VIOLENT HANDS UPON THEMSELVES."^{*} Nay, so confident is the British National Church of these things being agreeable to the word of God, that she boldly pronounces the following sentence on all who dare to call them in question:—"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the form of God's worship contained in the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, containeth *any thing* in it that is repugnant to the scriptures, let him be excommunicated, and not restored but by the bishop of the place, or archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errors."[†] Thus were we really chargeable with representing baptism as a *saving* ordinance, our Episcopal brethren could not consistently lodge a complaint against us on that account.

If we consult the writings of the most eminent preachers among the Methodists we shall find that their sentiments harmonize with the doctrine of the National Church, in regard to the efficacy and absolute necessity of baptism. The late pious and extensively useful Mr. George Whitefield thus expresses his views of the subject before us:—"Does not this verse [John iii. 5.] urge the *absolute necessity* of water

^{*} Order for confirmation, at the conclusion of the office for public baptism of infants, and Rubric prefixed to order for burial of the dead.

[†] Constitutions and Canons, No. IV.—Similar to this, is that anathematizing decree established by the Council of Trent. *Self*. VII. Can. V. If any one shall assert that baptism is free, or not necessary to salvation, let him be accursed.

^{*} See the office for public baptism of infants, and the catechism. Whether the doctrine here advanced be consistent with the sentiments of Pædobaptists in general, or calculated to instruct the ignorant and edify believers, I must leave the reader to judge.

baptism? Yes, when it may be had; but how God will deal with persons unbaptized we cannot tell. What have we to do to judge those that are without? Had our Methodist brethren met with language and sentiment like these in any of our publications, they would, undoubtedly, have thought themselves warranted in using their utmost efforts to expose the dangerous error, and to guard their hearers against us, as making a *saviour* of baptism. But while some of them, have solemnly professed their cordial consent to the various articles contained in the book of Common Prayer and all unite in revering the character of the late Mr. Whitefield, they could not be either candid or consistent in condemning us, were we really chargeable with representing baptism as necessary to salvation.

Mr. John Wesley, enumerating the benefits we received by being baptized, speaks in the following language:—"By baptism we enter into covenant with God, into that everlasting covenant, which he hath commanded forever. By baptism we are admitted into the church, and consequently made members of Christ, its head.—By baptism we, who were by nature children of wrath, are made the children of God. And this regeneration is more than barely being admitted into the church. By water, then, as a means, the water of baptism, we are regenerated or born again. Baptism doth now save us, if we live answerable thereto; if we repent, believe, and obey the gospel. Supposing this, as it admits us into the church here, so into glory hereafter.—If infants are guilty of original sin, in the ordinary way, they cannot be saved, unless this be washed away by baptism."[†] So Mr. Wesley teaches; so, says a learned cardinal, the church has always believed; and the Council of Trent confirms the whole. In the firm persuasion of this doctrine, Mr. Wesley is also desirous of settling the members of his very numerous societies. For these positions are contained in a book, professedly intended to preserve the reader from unsettled notions in religion. Now, as I cannot suppose this author imagines, with Dodwell, that infants who die without baptism, are not immortal; I know not whether he chooses to lodge them in the *limbus puerorum* of the Papists:‡ or whether with Austin, he consigns them over to eternal damnation; though the one or the other must be the case. For, that millions die without baptism, is an undoubted fact, and that God in favor of such, should be frequently departing from the ordinary method of his divine procedure, much oftener

departing from, than acting according to it, is hard to conceive; is absolutely incredible, as it involves a contradiction. Yet, on Mr. Wesley's principles, it must be so, if the generality of those that have died, since baptism was instituted, be not excluded the kingdom of heaven.—For he who considers what multitudes of Jews and heathens have peopled the earth, ever since the Christian dispensation commenced; what an extensive spread Mahomet's imposture has had for more than eleven hundred years; and what numbers of infants die without baptism, even in Christian countries, cannot but conclude, even admitting Pædobaptism to have been practised by the apostles, that a vast majority of deceased infants have left the world without being baptized. Now who could suppose an author and a preacher, that asserts the efficacy and exalts the importance of baptism at this extravagant rate, should charge the Baptists with placing an unlawful dependance on that ordinance? Yet, that he has frequently done so, in his pulpit discourses, if not in his numerous publications, is beyond a doubt; is known to thousands!

We are not conscious of attributing any degree of importance to baptism which our Pædobaptist dissenting brethren do not allow, and for which they do not plead. Do we consider it as a divine appointment, as an institution of Christ, the administration and use of which are to continue to the end of the world? So do they. Do they consider it as an ordinance which, when once rightly administered to a proper subject is never to be repeated? So do we. Do we look upon it as indispensably necessary to communion at the Lord's table? So do they. Do we actually refuse communion to such whom we consider as unbaptized? So do they. No man, considered by them as not baptized, would be admitted to break bread at the Lord's table, in any of their churches; however amiable his character, or how much soever they might esteem him in other respects.

Nor is this a new opinion, or a novel practice; for such has been the sentiment and such the conduct of the Christian church in every age. Before the grand Romish apostacy, in the very depth of that apostacy, and since the Reformation, both at home and abroad; the general practice has been, to receive none but baptized persons to communion at the Lord's table.

The following quotations from ancient and modern writers, relating to this point, may not be improper. Justin Martyr, for instance, when speaking of the Lord's supper, says; 'This food is called by us the Eucharist; of which it is not lawful for any to partake, but such as believe the things

* Works, Vol. iv. p. 355—6.

† Preservative, p. 146—150.

‡ Forbesii instruct. Hist. Theolog. p. 493.

that are taught by us to be true, and have been baptized.”*—Jerom; “Catechumens cannot communicate;” i. e. at the Lord’s table, they being *unbaptized*.†—Austin, when asserting the absolute necessity of infants receiving the Lord’s supper, says; “of which certainly they cannot partake *unless they be baptized*.”‡—Bede informs us, that three young princes among the eastern Saxons, seeing a bishop administer the sacred supper, desired to partake of it as their deceased royal father had done. To whom the bishop answered; “if ye will be washed, or baptized, in the salutary fountain, as your father was, ye may also partake of the Lord’s supper, as he did, but if ye despise the former, ye cannot in any wise receive the latter.” They replied, “we will not enter into the fountain, or be baptized; nor have we any need of it; but yet we desire to be refreshed with that bread.” After which the historian tells us, that they importunately requesting, and the bishop resolutely refusing them admission to the holy table, they were so exasperated, as to banish both him and his out of their kingdom.§ Theophylact;—“No unbaptized person partakes of the Lord’s supper.” Bonaventure; “faith, indeed, is necessary to all the sacraments, but especially to the reception of baptism: because baptism is the first among the sacraments, and the door of the sacraments.”||

Quotations of this kind might be greatly multiplied: but that none were admitted to the sacred supper in the first ages of the Christian church, before they were baptized, we are assured by various learned writers, well versed in ecclesiastical antiquity. For instance: Fred. Sipanheimus asserts, “That none but baptized persons were admitted to the Lord’s table.”¶ Lord Chancellor King; “Baptism was always precedent to the Lord’s supper and none were admitted to receive the Eucharist, till they were baptized. This is so obvious to every man that it needs no proof.”†† Dr. Wall; “no church ever gave the communion to any persons before they were baptized—Among all the absurdities that ever were held, none ever maintained that, that any person should partake of the communion before he was baptized.”‡† Dr. Doddridge; “It is certain that Christians in general have always been spoken of, by

the most ancient fathers, as baptized persons:—and it is also certain, that as far as our knowledge of primitive antiquity reaches, no unbaptized person received the Lord’s supper.”*

That the Protestant churches in general have always agreed in the same sentiment and conduct, is equally evident. Out of many eminent writers that might be mentioned, the following quotations may suffice. Ursinus, asserts; “That they who are not yet baptized, should not be admitted to the sacred supper.”†—Ravenellius, speaking of the Lord’s supper, says; “Baptism ought to precede nor is the holy supper to be administered to any, *except they be baptized*.”‡ Zanchius; “We believe that baptism, as a sacrament appointed by Christ, is absolutely necessary in the church.”§—Hoornebeekius: “No one is admitted to the sacred supper, *unless he is baptized*.”|| Turretinus; “It is one thing to have a right to those external ordinances of the church, which belong to a profession; and it is another to be interested in the internal blessings of faith. Unbaptized believers have actually a right to these, because they are already partakers of Christ and his benefits: though they have not yet a right to those, except in observing the appointed order, by baptism.”¶ Leydecker; “Baptism is necessary, not only in a way of expediency, but by virtue of a divine precept. They therefore who reject it, reject the counsel of God against themselves.”**—Benedict. Pictetus; “The supper of our Lord ought not to be administered to persons that are unbaptized: for before baptism, men are not considered as members of the visible church.”†† Marckius; “The dying, and the unbaptized, are not to be admitted to communion.”‡† Mr. Baxter; “If any should be so impudent as to say, it is not the meaning of Christ, that baptizing should immediately, without delay, follow disciplining, they are confuted by the constant example of Scripture. So that I dare say, that this will be out of doubt with all rational, considerate, impartial Christians.”||| Once more; Dr. Doddridge thus expresses his views of the subject. “The law of Christ requires that all who believe the gospel should be baptized—For any to abstain from baptism, when he knows it is an institution of Christ, and that it is the will of Christ that he should subject him-

* Apolog. II. p. 162. Apud Suicerum, Thes. Ecclesi. Tom. II. col. 1135.

† Catechumeni—communicare non possunt. In chap. VI Epist. II. ad Corinth.

‡ Quod nisi baptizati non utique possunt. Epist. ad Bonifacium, Epist. CVI.

§ Hist. Ecclesi. Lib. II. chap. V. p. 63.

|| Apud Forbessium, Instruct. Historic. Theolog. lib. X. chap. IV. § 9.

¶ Subjecta ad eucharistiam admittsa, soli baptizati. Hist. Christiana col. 623.

†† Enquiry, Part II. p. 44.

‡† Hist. Infant Bap. part II. chap. IX.

* Lectures. p. 511.

† Nondum baptizati, ad eoenam non sunt admittendi, Corp. Doct. Christ. p. 566.

‡ Bibliotheca Sacra, Tom. I. p. 301.

§ Opera. Tom. VIII. col. 516.

|| Socin. Confut. Tom. III. p. 416.

¶ Institut. Theolog. Tom. III. Loc. XVIII. Quæst. IV. § 10.

** Idea Theolog. p. 225.

†† Theolog. Christiana, p. 959, 960.

‡‡ Christ. Theolog. Medulla, p. 406.

||| Plain Scripture proof. p. 126.

self to it, is such an act of disobedience to his authority, as is *inconsistent with true faith*—How *excellent* soever any man's character is, he must be *baptized* before he can be looked upon as completely a member of the church of Christ.*

Perfectly conformable to these testimonies, are the *Catechism* and *Confessions of faith*, that have been published at any time, or by any denomination of Christians; for if the positive institutions of Christ be not entirely omitted, *baptism* is not only always mentioned first, but generally mentioned in such a way, as intimates that it is a prerequisite to the Lord's table. And so, even in our common forms of speaking, if we have occasion to mention both of these solemn appointments of our Lord, baptism still has the priority. Thus *generally*, thus *universally*, is it allowed, that baptism is necessary to communion at the Lord's table. Nay, many of our Pædobaptist brethren consider the ordinance in a more important light than we. For they frequently represent it, as *a seal of the covenant of grace*; as *a means of bringing their infant offspring into covenant with God*; and some of them severely censure us, for leaving our children to the *uncovenanted* mercies of the Most High, merely because we do not baptize them. Expressions and sentiments these, which we neither adopt nor approve; because they *seem* to attribute more to the ordinance, than the sacred scriptures, in our opinion, will warrant.

It appears, then, to be a fact a, stubborn, incontestible fact, that our judgment and conduct, relating to the necessity of baptism *in order to communion*, perfectly coincide with the sentiments and practice of all Pædobaptist churches. Nor have I heard of any such church now upon earth, with which we do not, in this respect, agree; for none, of whom I have any intelligence, be their sentiments or modes of worship whatever they may, in regard to other things, admit any to the sacred supper, who have not, in their opinion, been baptized. And, on the other hand, when the *importance* of baptism comes under consideration between us and them, it is manifest, that Pædobaptists in general, ascribe more to it than we, and place a greater dependance upon it. Consequently, neither candor, nor reason, nor justice, will admit that we should be charged, as we have frequently been, with laying an unwarrantable stress upon it.

The point controverted between us and our Pædobaptist brethren, is not, whether *unbaptized believers* may, according to the laws of Christ, be admitted to communion: for here we have no dispute; but, *What is*

baptism, and *who* are the proper subjects of it? In the discussion of these questions there is, indeed, a wide and very material difference; but in regard to the former we are entirely agreed. Why, then, do our brethren censure us as *uncharitably rigid*, and *incorrigible bigots*? The principal reason seems to be this: They, in general, admit, that *immersion* in the name of the triune God, on a profession of faith in Jesus Christ, is *baptism, real baptism*; while our fixed and avowed persuasion will not permit us to allow, that *infant sprinkling*;* though performed with the greatest solemnity, is worthy of the name. Consequently, though they, consistently with their own principles, may receive *us* to communion among them, yet we cannot admit *them* to fellowship with us at the Lord's table, without contradicting our professed sentiments. For it appears to us, on the most deliberate inquiry, that immersion is not a *mere circumstance*, or a *mode* of baptism, but *essential* to the ordinance: so that, in our judgment, he who is not immersed, is not baptized. This is the principle on which we proceed, in refusing communion to our Pædobaptist brethren, whom, in other respects, we highly esteem, and towards whom we think it our duty to cultivate the most cordial affection. Nor can we suppose but they would act a similar part, were they in our situation. Were they fully persuaded, for instance, that the great Head of the church had not commanded, nor in any way authorized his ministering servants to require a profession of faith *prior* to baptism; and were they equally certain that the ordinance never was administered by the apostles to any but *infants*, nor in any other way than that of *aspersion* or *pouring*, would they not look upon the *immersion of professing believers*, as quite a different thing from baptism? And were this the case, would they not consider us as unbaptized, and refuse to have communion with us on that account? I am persuaded they would, notwithstanding their affection for any of us, as believers in Jesus Christ. Consequently, if we be really culpable in the eyes of our brethren, it is for *denying the validity* of infant baptism; not because we *refuse communion* to Pædobaptists—for an error in our *judgment*, which misleads the conscience; not for perverseness of *temper*, or a want of *love* to the disciples of Christ.

The Lord's supper was not appointed to be a *test* of brotherly love among the people of God; though several objections that are made against us seem to proceed on

*Lectures, p. 503, 512. Discourses on Regene Post-scripto pref. p. 12, 13.

*The reader is desired to observe, that when I make use of the phrase *infant sprinkling*, or any expression of a similar import, it is inly by way of *distinction*—without annexing any secondary or obnoxious idea to it.

that supposition. It must be allowed, that as it is a sacred feast and an ordinance of divine worship, mutual Christian affection among communicants at the same table, is very becoming and highly necessary, and so it is in all other branches of social religion. But that sitting down at the holy supper should be considered as *the criterion* of my love to individuals, or to any Christian community, does not appear from the word of God. The supper of our Lord was designed for other and greater purposes. It was intended to teach and exhibit the most interesting of all truths, and the most wonderful of all transactions. The design of the great Institutor was, that it should be a memorial of God's love to us, and of *Immanuel's death for us: that*, the most astonishing favor ever displayed: *this*, the most stupenduous fact that angels ever beheld. Yes, the love of God, in giving his dear, his only Son; and the death of Christ, as our divine substitute and propitiatory sacrifice, are the grand objects we are called to contemplate at the Lord's table.

As to a *proof*, a *substantial proof* of our love to the children of God, it is not given at so cheap and easy a rate, as that of sitting down with them, either occasionally or stately, at the holy table. Numbers do that, who are very far from loving the disciples of Christ, for the truth's sake.—To give real evidence of that heavenly affection, there must be the exercise of such tempers, and the performance of such actions, as require much self-denial; and without which, were we to commune with them ever so often, or talk ever so loudly of candor and a catholic spirit,—we should, after all, be destitute of that *charity*, without which we are "*nothing*." The reader, therefore, will do well to remember, that the *true test* of love to the disciples of Christ, is not a submission to any particular ordinance of public worship; for that is rather an evidence of his love to God and reverence for his authority; but sympathizing with them in their afflictions; feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and taking pleasure in doing them good, whatever their necessities may be. For this I have the authority of our final Judge, who will say to his people, "Come ye blessed of my Father, for"—what? Ye have manifested your love to the saints and your faith in me, by holding free communion at my table with believers of all denominations?—No such thing. But, "I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

Our opponents often insinuate, that we

are more zealous to establish a favorite mode, and make proselytes to our own opinion and party, than to promote the honor of Jesus Christ and the happiness of immortal souls. Were this the case, we should, indeed, be much to blame, and greatly disgrace our Christian character. "But why are the Baptists to be thus represented? Do they affirm that the kingdom of Christ is confined to them? that they only have the true religion among them? and that, unless men are of their party, they will not be saved? Do they wish success to none that are employed in the vineyard, but themselves? or say of others, engaged in the same common cause, Master, forbid them, because they follow not with us? On the contrary, do they not profess a warm esteem and affection for all those, of whatever communion, who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and aim to promote his cause in the world? and do they not give proof of this, by holding a friendly correspondence with them as opportunities offer; and by cordially joining them in occasional exercises of public worship? It is not the distinguishing tenet of baptism, how much soever they wish it to prevail, that is the main band that knits them in affection to one another; it is the infinitely nobler consideration of the relation they stand in to Christ as his disciples. They hope, therefore, to be believed when they declare, that they most cordially embrace in the arms of Christian love the friends of Jesus who differ from them in this point; and to be further believed when they add, that they hold the temper and conduct of the furious zealot for baptism, who fails in his allegiance to Christ, and in the charity he owes his fellow Christians, in sovereign contempt."*

My reader will not here expect a discussion of the mode and subject of baptism; for it is not that ordinance considered in itself, or as detached from other appointments, of Jesus Christ; but the *order* in which it is placed, and the connexion in which it stands with the Lord's supper, that are the subject of our inquiry.

Dr. Stennett's Answer to Mr. Addington, Part 11. p. 234, 235.

SECTION II.

The general grounds on which we refuse Communion at the Lord's Table, to Pædobaptist believers—Novelty of the Sentiment and Practice of those who plead for Free Communion: and the inconsistency of such a conduct with Baptist principles.

THE following positions are so evidently true, that they will not be disputed :

Our divine Lord in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, is perfectly well qualified to judge what ordinances are proper to be appointed, and what measures are necessary to be pursued, in order to obtain the great design of religion among mankind. Being head over all things to the church, he possesses the highest authority to appoint ordinances of divine worship, and to enact laws for the government of his house, which appointments and laws must bind the subjects of his government in the strictest manner. Having loved the church to the most astonishing degree, even so as to give himself a ransom for her ; he must be considered as having made the wisest and the best appointments, as having given the most salutary and perfect laws, with a view to promote her happiness, and as means of his own glory. These laws and ordinances are committed to writing and contained in the Bible ; which heavenly volume is the rule of our faith and practice, in things pertaining to religion ; our complete, and *only* rule, in all things relating to the instituted worship of God and the order of his house. So that we should receive nothing as an article of our creed, which is not contained in it : do nothing as a part of divine worship, not commanded by it ; neither omit nor alter any thing that has the sanction of our Lord's appointment. Nor have we any reason to expect, that our divine Lawgiver and sovereign Judge will accept our solemn services, any further than we follow those directions which he has given, without addition, alteration, or diminution. "What thing soever I command you, observe to do it ; thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it ;" were the injunctions of Jehovah to the ancient Israelitish Church. "Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you ;" is the requisition of Jesus Christ to all his ministering servants.*

In the worship of God there cannot be either obedience or faith, unless we regard the divine appointments. Not obedience ; for that supposes a precept, or what is

equivalent to it. Not faith, for that requires a promise, or some divine declaration. If then, we act without a command, we have reason to apprehend that God will say to us as he did to Israel of old, "Who hath required this at your hand ?" And, on the contrary, when our divine Sovereign enjoins the performance of any duty, to deliberate is disloyalty ; to dispute is rebellion. "Believers, who really attend to communion with Jesus Christ," says a judicious author, "do labor to keep their hearts chaste to him in his ordinances, institutions, and worship. They will receive nothing, practice nothing, own nothing in his worship, but what is of his appointment. They know that from the foundation of the world he never did allow, nor ever will, that in any thing the will of the creature should be the measure of his honor, or the principle of his worship, either as to matter or manner. It was a witty and true sense that one gave of the second commandment ; "Non imago, non simulachrum prohibiteur ; sed non facies tibi." "It is a making to ourselves, an inventing, a finding out ways of worship or means of honoring God, not by him appointed, that is so severely forbidden."*—"To serve God otherwise than he requir-eth," says another learned writer, "is not to worship, but to rob and mock him." In God's service, it is a greater sin to do that which we are not to do, than not to do that which we are commanded. This is but a sin of omission : but that a sin of sacrilege and high contempt. In this we charge the law only with difficulty ; but in that with folly. In this we discover our weakness to do the will, but in that we declare our impudence and arrogancy to control the wisdom of God. In this we acknowledge our own insufficiency ; in that we deny the all-sufficiency and plentitude of God's own law. We see the absurdity and wickedness of will-worship, when the same man who is to perform the obedience, shall dare to appoint the laws : implying a peremptory purpose of no further observance than may consist with the allowance of his own judgment. Whereas true obedience must be grounded on the majesty of the power that commands ; not on the judgment of the subject, as to the benefit of the precept, imposed. Divine laws require obedience, not so much from the quality of the things commanded as from the authority of him that institutes them.†

That the gospel should be preached to all nations for the obedience of faith ; and that, under certain restrictions, they who receive the truth, should be formed into a church state, few can doubt. It is equally

* Deut. xii. 32. Matt. xxviii. 20. Smith's compendious Account of the Form and order of the Church, p. 15. 16.

* Dr. Owen on Communion with God, p. 170.

† Bishop Reynolds' Works, p. 163, 422.

clear from the foregoing positions, that it belongs to the supreme prerogative of Jesus Christ, to appoint the terms and conditions on which his people shall have a place in his house and a seat at his table. For we cannot suppose with any appearance of reason that these conditions are arbitrary; or such as every distinct community may think fit to impose. No; a gospel church has no more power to fix the terms of communion, or to set aside those prescribed by Jesus Christ, than to make a rule of faith, or to settle ordinances of divine worship. This is one characteristic of a church, as distinguished from a civil society; the terms of admission into the latter are discretionary, provided they do not interfere with any divine law; but those of the former are fixed by him who is King in Zion. No congregation of religious professors, therefore, has any authority to make the door of admission into their communion, either straiter, or wider than Christ himself has made it.* "The original form of his house [i. e. the church of Christ] was not precarious and uncertain; to be altered, and changed, and broke in upon by man, or by any set of men at pleasure. This would reflect on the wisdom and care, as well as on the steadiness of Christ; who is in his house, as well as in the highest heavens, the steady and the faithful Jesus; the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, and not in the least given to change; but its form is fixed, particularly in the New Testament. Had Moses or any of the elders of Israel, so much power over the tabernacle as to alter or change a pin thereof? and with what face can man pretend to a power to model and alter at pleasure, gospel churches? As if Christ, the true Moses, had forgot, or neglected, to leave us the pattern of the house."[†]

Baptism and the Lord's supper are positive appointments in the Christian church, about which we cannot know any thing, relating to their mode of administration, subject or design, except from the revealed will of their great Instructor. For, as a learned writer observes, "All positive duties, or duties made such by institution alone, depend entirely upon the will and declaration of the person who institutes and ordains them, with respect to the real design and end of them: and consequently to the due manner of performing them." It behoves us, therefore, well to consider the rule which our Lord has given relating to these ordinances. "Because we can have no other direction in this sort of duties; unless we will have recourse to mere invention, which makes them our own institutions,

and not the institutions of those who first appointed them."[‡]

That there is a connexion between the two positive institutions of the New Testament, is manifest from the word of God: and that one of them must be prior to the other, in order of administration, is evident from the nature of things: for a person cannot be baptized and receive the sacred supper at the same instant. Here, then, the question is, (if any doubt may be moved on a point so evident, without affronting common sense) which of them has the previous claim on a real convert's obedience, Baptism or the Lord's Supper? If we appeal to the persuasion and practice of Christians in all nations and in every age, it will clearly appear, that the former was universally considered, by the churches of Christ,* as a divinely appointed prerequisite for fellowship in the latter, till about the middle of the last century, when some few of the Baptists in England began practically to deny it, by defending and practising mixed communion. A sentiment so peculiar, and a conduct so uncommon as theirs' are in regard to this institution require to be well supported by the testimony of the Holy Ghost. For were all the Christian churches now in the world asked, except those few that plead for free communion, whether they thought it lawful to admit unbaptized believers to fellowship at the Lord's table; there is reason to conclude they would readily unite in that declaration of Paul; "We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God" that were before us. Yes, considering the novelty of their sentiment and conduct, and what a contradiction they are to the faith and order of the whole Christian Church; considering that it never was disputed, so far as I can learn, prior to the sixteenth century, by orthodox or heterodox, by Papists or Protestants, whether unbaptized believers should be admitted to the Lord's table; they all agreeing in the contrary practice, however much they differed in matters of equal importance; it may be reasonably expected, and is by us justly demanded, that the rectitude of their conduct who admit unbaptized persons to the supper should be proved, really proved from the

* Dr. Ridgley's *Body of Divinity*, p. 343, Glasgow edition.

† Mr. Bragge, on *Church Discipline*, p. 9.

‡ Bishop Hoadley's *Plain Account*, p. 3.

* That there were people of different denominations in the second and third centuries, who pretended a regard to the name of Jesus Christ, and yet rejected baptism, is readily allowed; but then, it may be observed, that many of them had as little esteem for the Lord's supper. Nay, as a learned writer asserts, the generality of them renounced the scriptures themselves. Nor am I ignorant that Socinus, in the latter end of the sixteenth century, considered baptism as an indifferent thing, except in reference to those converted from Judaism, Paganism, or Mahometanism; but our brethren with whom I am now concerned will hardly allow that societies formed on the principles of those ancient corruptors of Christianity, nor yet on those of Socinus, are worthy to be called, *Churches of Christ*. Vid. *Suicerum. Thesaur. Eccles. sub voce Baptisma* and Dr. Wall's *Hist. Inf. Rap. Part II. Chap. V.*

records of inspiration. A man may easily show his fondness for novelty, and the deference he pays to his own understanding, by boldly controverting the opinions, and resolutely opposing the practice, of the wisest and best of men in every age; but, if he would avoid the imputation of arrogance, he must demonstrate that the things he opposes are vulgar errors, which have nothing to recommend them but great antiquity and general custom. Our persuasion, therefore, concerning the necessity of baptism as a term of communion, having had the sanction of universal belief and universal practice for almost sixteen hundred years, it lies on our brethren to prove that it is false and unscriptural; and to show, from the New Testament, that theirs has the stamp of divine authority.

But is it not strange, strange to astonishment, if the scriptures contain their sentiment, and vindicate their conduct, that it never was discovered by any who acknowledged the proper Deity of Jesus Christ, till the latter end of the last century? Long before then almost every principle of the Christian faith, almost every branch of Christian worship, had been the subject either, of learned or unlearned controversy, among such as thought themselves the disciples of Jesus Christ. The Quakers arose, it is well known about the time when this new sentiment was first adopted in England, and they entirely renounced baptism, as well as the Lord's supper. But, so far as appears, the people of that denomination never supposed, that they who thought it their duty to celebrate the sacred supper, were at liberty to do it *before* they were baptized.—The ingenious author of the *Pilgrim's Progress* was one of the first, in this kingdom, who dared to assert, that the want of baptism is no bar to communion, and acted accordingly. The Quakers arising a little before him, proceeded a step further, and entirely cashiered both baptism and the supper of our Lord; looking upon them as low, carnal, temporary appointments. Much respect, I allow, is due to the character of Bunyan. He was an eminent servant of Jesus Christ, and patiently suffered in his Master's cause. Many of his writings have been greatly useful to the church of God, and some of them, it is probable will transmit his name with honor to future ages. But yet I cannot persuade myself, that either his judgment or his piety appeared in this bold innovation. The disciples of Geo. Fox, though less conformable to the word of God, acted more consistently with their own principles, than did the justly celebrated dreamer then, or those who practice free communion now.

Some of the Popish missionaries among the Indians have been charged, by respect-

able authorities, with concealing the doctrine of the cross from their hearers, lest they should be tempted to despise the great Founder of the Christian religion, because he made his exit on a gibbet; they are said to have made it their principal aim, to persuade the poor ignorant creatures to be baptized, imagining that they would be Christianized, by a submission to that ordinance; as if being baptized, and conversion to Jesus Christ, were one and the same thing! What a destructive delusion this! What an impious exaltation of a positive institution, into the place of redeeming blood, and the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit!—But were one of our ministering brethren who plead for free communion, to be sent as a missionary into those parts of the world; he, I presume, would not be in the least danger of thus over-rating baptism, and of depreciating its great institutor. No; he would boldly preach a crucified and risen Jesus, as the only foundation of hope for his hearers; and, if the energy of God attended his labors with considerable success, he would think it his duty to lay before such as believed in Christ, what he had learned from the New Testament, relating to a gospel church—its nature and ordinances, its privileges, duties and great utility. In doing of which, he could hardly forbear to mention baptism, as an appointment of his divine master: but though he might mention it, yet, on his hypothesis, he could not require a submission to it, as previously necessary to their incorporating as a church, and their having communion together at the Lord's table. He might indeed recommend it to his young converts, as having something agreeable in it; but if they did not see its propriety; or if, on any other account unknown to him, they did not choose to comply, and yet were desirous of being formed into a church state, and having communion at the Lord's table; he could not refuse, though not one of them was, or would be baptized. For if it be lawful to admit one believer to communion, purely as a believer without baptism; it cannot be criminal to admit all such, if they desire it; that which is proper and right for one, being so to a million, if they be in the same circumstances. Thus he would gather a church in perfect contrast with those formed by his fellow missionaries. For, while they put baptism in the place of the Saviour, he would reject his command, and lay the ordinance entirely aside; they make it all and he make it nothing. And were a narrative of such proceedings to fall into the hands of a Pædobaptist, who had never heard of any that practised, or pleaded, for free communion, what a singular figure it would make in his view! A minister of Jesus Christ, he would say, gathering a church

among the Indians, and administering the sacred supper, yet all his communicants unbaptized! Strange, indeed!—A Christian minister, called a Baptist, entirely omitting that very ordinance from which he takes his denomination! For the Baptists, of all men, are said to love water and to be fond of baptism. It exceeds the bounds of credibility; but, if it be a fact, he is the oddest mortal and the most unaccountable Baptist that ever lived. The ambiguity of his character would be such, that the pen of ecclesiastical history would always be doubtful what to call him, or under what denomination of religious professors to appoint his place! Such would be the surprise and such the reflections of both the learned and the vulgar, who had not heard of Baptists that plead for free communion; they being the only Christians now in the world, for aught appears, that are capable of realizing such a report.

SECTION III.

Arguments against Free Communion at the Lord's table.

It must, I think, be allowed that the order and connexion of positive appointments in divine worship, depend as much on the sovereign pleasure of the great Legislator, as the appointments themselves; and if so, we are equally bound to regard that order and connexion, in their administration, as to observe the appointments at all. Whoever, therefore, objects to that order, or deviates from it, opposes that sovereign authority by which those branches of worship were first instituted.—For instance: Baptism and the Lord's supper, it is allowed on all hands, are positive ordinances; and as such, they depend for their very existence on the sovereign will of God. Consequently, which of them should be administered prior to the other, (as well as, to what persons, in what way, and for what end) must depend entirely on the will of their divine Author. His determination must fix their order; and his revelation must guide our practice.

Here, then, the question is, Has our sovereign Lord revealed his will in regard to this matter? "To the law and to the testimony—How readest thou?"

To determine the query, we may first consider the order of time, in which the two positive institutions of the New Testament were appointed. That baptism was an ordinance of God, that submission to it was required, and that it was administered to multitudes, before the sacred supper was heard of, or had an existence, are undenia-

ble facts. There never was a time, since the ministry of our Lord's forerunner commenced, in which it was not the duty of repenting and believing sinners to be baptized. The venerable John, the twelve apostles, and the Son of God incarnate, all united in recommending baptism, at a time when it would have been impious to have eaten bread and drank wine as an ordinance of divine worship. Baptism, therefore had the priority in point of institution; which is a presumptive evidence that it has, and ever will have, a prior claim on our obedience.

Let us secondly consider the order of words, in that commission which was given to the ambassadors of Christ. He who is King in Zion, when asserting the plenitude of his legislative authority, and giving direction to his ministering servants, with great solemnity says; "All power is given to me in heaven and earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."* Such is the high commission, and such the express command, of Him who is Lord of all, when addressing those that were called to preach his word and administer his institutions. Here, it is manifest, the commission and command are, first of all, to teach; then—what? To baptize? or administer the Lord's supper?—I leave common sense to determine. A limited commission includes a prohibition of such things as are not contained in it; and positive laws imply their negative.—For instance:—When God commanded Abraham to circumcise all his males, he readily concluded, that neither circumcision, nor any rite of a similar nature, was to be administered to his females. And as our brethren themselves maintain, when Christ commanded that believers should be baptized, without mentioning any others; he tacitly prohibited that ordinance from being administered to infants; so, by parity of reason, if the same sovereign Lord commanded that believers should be baptized—baptized immediately after they have made a profession of faith; then he must intend, that the administration of baptism should be prior to a reception of the Lord's supper; and, consequently, tacitly prohibits every unbaptized person having communion at his table.

Thirdly. The order of administration in the primitive and apostolic practice, now demands our notice. That the apostles, when endued with power from on high, understood our Lord in the sense for which we plead, and practised accordingly is quite

* Matt. xxvii. 18, 19, 20.

evident. For thus it is written; "then they that gladly received his word were" what? admitted to the Lord's table? No, but "baptized. And the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread and in prayer."* Now, in regard to the members of this first Christian church, either our opponents conclude that they were all baptized, or they do not. If the latter, whence is their conclusion drawn? Not from the sacred historian's narrative. From thence we learn, that they whose hearts were penetrated by keen convictions, were exhorted to be baptized—that they who gladly received the truth were actually baptized—and that they who were baptized, and they only, for any thing that appears to the contrary, were added to the church. In what book, in what chapter, in what verse, is any declaration found, relating to the church at Jerusalem, that can warrant a conclusion that unbaptized persons ate of the Lord's supper.

If all the members of this truly apostolic church were baptized; then, either the constitution of it, in that respect, is expressive of the mind of Christ, and is a model for succeeding churches, or is not. If the former, either Jesus Christ discovered some defect in that plan of proceeding, and, in certain cases countermanded his first order, or it must be wrong to admit persons to communion, who are not baptized. But if this apostolic precedent, is not expressive of the mind of Christ, and the pattern for imitation to the end of the world; the apostles, were either ignorant of the Lord's will, or unfaithful in the performance of it. Consequences these, which cannot be admitted, without greatly prejudicing the honor and interests of true religion, and not a little contributing to the cause of infidelity; for which reason they will, no doubt, be abhorred by all our brethren.

It is manifest from the first and most authentic history of the primitive Christian church, contained in the acts of the apostles; that after sinners had received the truth and believed in Jesus Christ, they were exhorted and commanded, by unerring teachers, to be baptized without delay. For thus we read; "repent and be baptized every one of you"—"When they believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ. They were baptized, both men and women"—"And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to stand still;

and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him"—"And was baptized, he and all his straightway"—"Many of the Corinthians, hearing, believed, and were baptized." "And now why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized"—"Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost, as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord"—Acts ii. 38. viii. 12. 37. xvi. 33. xviii. 8. xxii. x. 47.—Hence it is abundantly evident, that baptism, in those days, was far from being an indifferent thing; and equally far from being deferred until the Christian converts had enjoyed communion at the Lord's table for months and years. Submission to baptism was the first, the very first public act of obedience, to which both Jews and Gentiles were called, after they believed in Jesus Christ. The highest evidence of a person's acceptance with God, though attended with the baptism of the Holy Spirit in the bestowal of miraculous gifts, was so far, in the account of Peter, from superseding the necessity of a submission to the ordinance of baptism; that he urged the consideration of those very acts, as a reason why those who were so blessed and honored should submit to it immediately. Consequently, while we revere the authority by which the apostles acted, and while we believe that infant sprinkling is not baptism; we are obliged, in virtue of these ancient precedents, and by all that is amiable in a consistent conduct, to admit none to communion at the Lord's table, whom we do not consider to be really baptized according to the command of Christ.

Nor have we the least reason to believe that the apostles were invested with a discretionary power, to alter our Lord's institutions as they might think proper; either as to mode, or subject, or their order and connexion one with an other. They never pretend to any such power; they utterly disclaim it. Let us hear the declaration of one, as the language of all, and that in regard to the sacred supper. "I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered unto you." And again, relating to his doctrine in general, when writing to the same people, and in the same epistle, he says; "I delivered unto you that which I also received."—1 Cor. xi. 23. xv. 3. The apostles being only servants in the house of God, had no more authority to dispense with an ordinance of Jesus Christ, than any other minister of the word. Their apostolic gifts and powers did not at all invest them with a right of legislation in the kingdom of their divine Lord. They were still but stewards; as such they claimed regard for the churches, in which they labored

* Acts ii. 41, 42.

and to which they wrote; at the same time freely acknowledging, that it was their indispensable duty to "be found faithful" in the whole extent of their office; they being accountable to the great Head of the church. They acted, therefore, in the whole compass of their duty, under the command, and by the direction of the ascended Jesus. Nay, the more they were honored and blessed by him, the more were they bound to obey the least intimation of his will.

Fourthly. If we regard the different signification of the two institutions, it will appear that baptism ought to precede. In submitting to baptism, we have an emblem of our union and communion with Jesus Christ, as our great representative, in his death, burial and resurrection; at the same time declaring, that we "reckon ourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive to God;" and that it is our desire, as well as our duty, to live devoted to him. And as, in baptism, we profess to have received spiritual life; so in communicating at the Lord's table, we have the emblems of that heavenly food by which we live, by which we grow, and in virtue of which we hope to live for ever. And as we are born of God but once, so we are baptized but once: but as our spiritual life is maintained by the continued agency of divine grace, and the comfort of it enjoyed by the habitual exercise of faith on the dying Redeemer, so it is our duty and privilege frequently to receive the holy supper. Hence theological writers have often called baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, or of initiation: and the Lord's supper the sacrament of nutrition.

Whether, therefore, we consider the order of time, in which these two institutions were appointed, or the order of words, in the great commission given by our Lord to his ministering servants; or the order of administration in the apostolic practice; or the different signification of the two solemn appointments, a submission to baptism ought ever to precede a reception of the Lord's supper.

Should any one question the validity of this inference, I would ask; Whether, in regard to the sacred supper, he might not as well deny the necessity of always blessing the bread, before it be broken; or of breaking the bread before it be received; or of receiving the bread before the wine? Or by what better arguments, he would prove the opposite conduct, either unlawful or improper?—Nay, if these declarations and facts, and precedents, be not sufficient to determine the point in our favor; it will be exceedingly hard, if not impossible, to conclude with certainty, in what order any two institutions that God ever appointed, were to be administered. For, surely, that

order of proceeding which agrees with the time in which two institutions were appointed; with the words in which the observation of them was enjoined; with the first administration of them by unerring teachers; and with their different signification, must be the order of truth, the order of propriety, and the order of duty, because it is the order of God. We do well to remember, that when Paul commends the Corinthians for keeping the ordinances as they were delivered to them;" it is plainly and strongly implied, that divine ordinances are given us to keep; that they who keep them as they were instituted, are to be commanded; and that they who do not keep them at all, or observe them in a different order or manner from that at first appointed, are worthy of censure.

It appears then, that the order in which the two positive institutions of Jesus Christ should be administered, is no less clearly expressed in the New Testament, than the mode of baptism.

It would, no doubt, have been highly offensive to God, if the priests or the people of old had inverted the order appointed by him, for the administration of his own solemn appointments. For instance; First admit to the passover, afterwards circumcise; burn incense in the holy place, then offer the propitiatory sacrifice. Have we any reason, then, to imagine, that a similar breach of order is not equally displeasing to God, under the New Testament economy? If not, it must be supposed, that the Most High has not so great a regard to the purity of his worship, or is less jealous of his honor, and does not so much insist on his eternal prerogative now, as he did under the former dispensation: suppositions these, which they who acknowledge his universal dominion and absolute immutability, will hardly admit.

The argument on which mixed communion is urged, if suffered to operate in its full extent, would exclude both baptism and the Lord's supper from the worship of God. Baptism, it is said ought never to be made a term of communion in the house of God. It is affirmed that the grand, the only quality, that is really necessary relating to a candidate for communion, is, Has God received him? Is he a believer in Jesus Christ?

If this grand rule of proceeding be right, we are bound to receive believers as such, and have communion with them at the Lord's table, though they do not consider themselves as baptized. I would beg leave to ask; whether they would receive a candidate for communion, whom they esteem as a believer in Jesus Christ, who has not been baptized in infancy; nor is willing to be baptized at all? The supposition of a

person, in such circumstances, applying for fellowship at the Lord's table, is far from being improbable; nay, I have known it to be a real fact. What, then, would our brethren do in such a case?—If they received a person, in the supposed case, they avowedly rejected baptism, as unnecessary to fellowship in a church of Christ; for if it be not requisite in every instance, it is not so in any. If they refuse him, it must be because he is not baptized; for they consider him as a partaker of divine grace. If they reject him purely on that ground, Baptists ought to reject all who have had no other than infant baptism; because they consider it as a very different thing from the appointment of Christ. But as before hinted, by the same rule that we receive one to communion who is not baptized; who does not consider himself as baptized; who does not pretend to be baptized; we may receive all; for as there is but one Lawgiver, there is but one law, relating to this matter, and he who has a right to dispense with it once, may do so as often as he pleases. Consequently, the principle adopted by those who plead for free communion, has a natural tendency to exclude baptism from the worship of God.

I conclude that though such a proceeding would be quite novel, absolutely unexampled in the churches of Christ, and would, probably, both astonish and offend sister communities, the church must receive him. But if it be lawful in one instance, it must be so in a thousand? and, therefore, a church on this principle, might thus go on, till the Lord's supper were entirely rejected by all her members and banished from the worship of God, as it is among the Quakers.

The church of England has justly incurred the censure of all Protestant Dissenters, for her arrogant claim of "power to decree rites or ceremonies," in the worship of God, "and of authority in controversies of faith;"* because such a claim infringes on the prerogative royal of Jesus Christ. But do not our brethren tacitly assume a similar power, when they presume to set aside an ordinance of Christ, or to reverse the order of divine institutions? it being demonstrable, that as great an authority is necessary to lay aside an old, established rite, or to invert the order and break the connexion of several rites; as can be required to institute one that is entirely new. "For it is a maxim in law," and holds good in divinity, "That it requires the same strength to dissolve as to create an obligation."† If it be lawful to dispense with an appointment of God, out of regard to our weaker brethren, we

cannot reasonably think it unlawful to practice the appointments of a National Church, out of regard to the ruling powers; submission to the latter, being no less plainly required in the Scripture, than condescension to the former. And if we may safely connive at one human invention, so as to supersede and take place of a divine institution why may not the church of England make what appointments she pleases? A little reflection will convince us, that he whose authority is competent to the setting aside or altering of one divine institution, has a power equal to his wishes—may ordain times, and forms, and rites of worship; may model the house of God according to his own pleasure. But can such an authority belong to any but the Great Supreme? No; to such an ordaining, or dispensing power, neither church nor synod, neither parliament nor conclave, neither king nor pope, has the least claim. For as the exertion of Omnipotence was equally necessary to the creation of a worm as an angel; of an atom as a world; so the interposition of divine authority is no less necessary to set aside, or to alter, one branch of instituted worship, than to add a thousand religious rites, or essentially to alter the whole Christian system.

Nor are those writers who have appeared in vindication of the English Establishment, ignorant of their advantage over such Protestant Dissenters as proceed on the principles here opposed. For thus they argue; "If, notwithstanding the evidence produced, that baptism by immersion is suitable, both to the institution of our Lord and his apostles; and was by them ordained to represent our burial with Christ, and so our dying unto sin, and our conformity to his resurrection by newness of life; as the apostle doth clearly maintain the meaning of that rite: I say, if notwithstanding this, all our (Pædobaptist) Dissenters do agree to sprinkle the baptized infant; why may they not as well submit to the significant ceremonies imposed by our church? For since it is as lawful to add unto Christ's institution a significant ceremony, as to diminish a significant ceremony which he or his apostles instituted, and use another in its stead which they never did institute; what reason can they have to do the latter, and yet refuse submission to the former? And why should not the peace and union of the church be as prevailing with them to perform the one, as in their mercy to the infant's body to neglect the other?"*—I leave the intelligent reader to apply this reasoning to the case before us, and shall only observe; that if this learned writer had been addressing free communion Baptists, his argument

* Articles of the Church of England, No. xx.

† Blackstone's Comment. on the Laws of England, Vol. 1. Book 1. chap. 2.

* Dr. Whitby's Protestant Reconciler p. 289.

would have had superior force. Because our Pædobaptist brethren believe that infant sprinkling is real baptism, and practice it as having the stamp of divine authority; whereas Baptists believe no such thing and consider it as a mere human invention.

As the sovereign authority and universal dominion of God, over his rational creatures, as his absolute right, not only to worship, but also to be worshipped in his own way, are more strongly asserted and brightly displayed in his positive institutions, than in any other branches of his worship; so, it is manifest, that we cannot disobey his revealed will concerning them, without impeaching his wisdom and opposing his sovereignty. Because a special interposition of divine authority, and an express revelation of the divine will, constitute the basis, the only basis, on which such institutions rest, in regard to their mode and subject, their order and connexion one with another. For us then, to admit, as a divine institution what we verily believe is a human invention, would be to act an unjustifiable part. For, on our principles, infinite wisdom chose and absolute sovereignty ordained *professing believers* as the subjects, and *immersion* as the mode of baptism.

Again as the sovereign will of God is more concerned and manifested in positive ordinances than in any other branches of holy worship; so it is evident, from the history of the Jewish Church, which is the history of Providence for near two thousand years, that the *divine jealousy* was never sooner inflamed, nor ever more awfully expressed, than when God's ancient people failed in their obedience to such commands, or deviated from the prescribed rule of such institutions. The destruction of Nadab and Abihu, by fire from heaven; the breach that was made upon Uzzah; the stigma fixed and the curses denounced on Jeroboam; together with the fall and ruin of all mankind, by our first father's disobedience to a positive command, are among the many authentic proofs of this assertion. Nor need we wonder at the divine procedure, in severely punishing such offenders. For knowingly to disobey the positive laws of Jehovah, is to impeach his wisdom or his goodness, in such institutions; and impiously to deny his legislative authority and absolute dominion over his creatures. And though the methods of Providence, under the gospel economy, are apparently much more mild and gentle, in regard to offenders in similar cases; yet our obligations to a conscientious and punctual obedience is not in the least relaxed. For that divine declaration, occasioned by the dreadful catastrophe of Aaron's disobedient sons, is an eternal truth, and binding on all generations; "*I will be sanctified in them that come nigh*

me."—Lev. x. 1, 2, 3. When God speaks we should be all attention; and when he commands we should be all submission. The clearer light which God has afforded, and the richer grace which Christ has manifested under the present dispensation, are so far from lessening, that they evidently increase our obligations to perform every divine command relating to Christian worship. For, certainly, it must be allowed, that they on whom greater favors are bestowed and higher honors conferred, are so much the more obliged to revere, love, and obey their divine Benefactor. And, as a certain author justly observes, "To take advantage of dark surmises, or doubtful reasoning, to elude obligations of any kind, is always looked upon as an indication of a dishonest heart."* Most dangerous then, is the principle, and rebellious the conduct of those professors, who think themselves warranted, by the grace of the gospel, to trifle with God's positive appointments. Whether Jehovah lay his commands on Gabriel in glory, or on Adam in paradise; whether he enjoin the performance of any thing on Patriarchs, or Jews, or Christians, they are all and equally bound to obey, or else his commands must stand for nothing. Neither diversity of economy, nor difference of state, makes any alteration in this respect. We must be absolutely independent of God, before our obligations to obey him can be dissolved. But as the former is impossible, so is the latter.†

This reasoning is very strongly supported by the following quotation, taken from a little publication by Mr. John Ryland. "The ordinances of the gospel are established by the authority of Christ as king and supreme law-giver in his church; they are particularly enforced by his own example, and his will expressly declared; and as they have no dependence on any circumstances which are liable to vary in different countries or distant periods of time, it necessarily follows that the primitive model of administration *should be strictly and conscientiously adhered to*. No pretence to greater propriety, nor any plea of inconveniency, can justify our *boldly opposing the authority of God by the alteration of his law*, and substituting a human ordinance instead of a divine. In a former dispensation, in which the ritual was numerous and burdensome, the great Jehovah was particularly jealous of his honor as Supreme Law-giver, and looked upon the least innovation as a direct opposition of his authority. Moses, we are informed, was admonished of God to make all things according to the pattern showed him in the mount. And those unfortunate youths who presumed to alter the form of

* Dr. Oswald's appeal to Common Sense, p. 21.

† Witsii Miscel. Sac. Tom. I. Lib. II. Dissert. II.

his religion, and worshipped him in a way he had not commanded, fell under the severest marks of his displeasure; which shows that he looked upon the least innovation in the ceremonial part of his precepts, as an impious and daring opposition and contempt of his authority, and as deserving of peculiar and distinguished vengeance, as a direct and open violation of the moral law. And as the great king of the universe required such exactness and punctuality, and insisted on such scrupulous exactness in the performance of the minutest rite belonging to the *legal* dispensation; it would be extremely difficult to assign a reason why he should be more *lar* and *careless*, and allow a *greater scope* to human discretion under the Christian economy. The greater light which shines in our religion, the small number and simplicity of its ceremonials, and the end and design of those institutions being more clearly revealed; are reasons which *strongly indicate the contrary*. And if it be further observed, that the religion of Jesus is particularly calculated to set aside worldly wisdom and mortify the pride of man; it cannot, without great absurdity, be supposed, that the sublime Author of it will dispense with the performance of his positive laws, or admit of the least variation, to honor that wisdom, or indulge that pride which the whole scope of his gospel hath a manifest tendency to abase. Surely then it behoves Christians, in an affair of such consequence, to be circumspect and wary; it will certainly be well for them, if they can give a good account of their practice, and a satisfactory answer to that important question, "Who hath required this at your hand?"*

To dispense with the positive appointments of Jesus Christ, or to reverse the order of their administration, in condescension to weak believers, and with a view to the glory of God, cannot be right. For as an eminent author observes, "They must be evasions past understanding, that can hold water against a divine order—God never gave power to any man, to change his ordinances, or to dispense with them. God is a jealous God, and careful of his sovereignty! 'Tis not for any inferior person to alter the stamp and impression the prince commands. None can coin ordinances but Christ; and, till he call them in, they ought to be current among us."† To which I may add the testimony of another learned writer, who says, when speaking of baptism; "As the salvation of men ought to be dear unto us; so the glory of God, which consisteth in that his orders be kept, ought to be much more dear."‡ What is *dispensing*

with a positive appointment, but laying it aside, or conniving at a neglect of it, on such occasions in which it was commanded to be administered? Now, for us to admit unbaptized persons to the Lord's table, would he lay entirely aside and annul the ordinance. To dispense with a divine institution, for the edification of weak believers, and invert the order of God's appointments and break his positive laws, with a view to his glory, would seem to border on that hateful maxim, "Let us do evil that good may come." A position, which the pen of inspiration execrates; which every virtuous mind abhors. But that no pretence of doing honor to God, nor any plea of being useful to men, can possibly deserve the least regard, if the measures which must be pursued to obtain the end interfere with the divine revealed will, we learn from various facts recorded in the Bible. Uzzah, for instance, when he put forth his hand to support the tottering ark, thought, no doubt, he was doing honor to him who dwelt between the cherubims, over the mercy-seat; and, at the same time, as that sacred coffer was of the last importance in the ancient sanctuary, he showed an equal regard to the edification of his fellow worshippers, by endeavoring to preserve it from injury. But notwithstanding this fair pretext; nay, though the man after God's own heart saw little amiss in his conduct; (perhaps, though the deserved praise as the ark, with all that pertained to it, and its whole management, were of *positive* appointment;) he, whose name is JEALOUS, was greatly offended. The sincere, the well-meaning man, having no command nor any example for what he did, fell under Jehovah's anger and lost his life, as the reward of his officiousness. And as the Holy Ghost has recorded the fact so circumstantially,* we have reason to consider it as a warning to all, of the danger there is in tampering with *positive* ordinances; and as a standing evidence that God will have his cause supported and his appointments administered, *in his own way*. The case of Saul, and the language of Samuel to that disobedient monarch, inculcate the same truth. "The people," said Saul to the venerable prophet, "took of the spoil, sheep and oxen—to sacrifice unto the Lord thy God in Gilgal." And Samuel said, "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in *obeying* the voice of the Lord? Behold, to *obey* is better than sacrifice, and to *hearken* than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry."†—Remarkable words! The king of Israel, we find, pleaded a regard to the worship and the honor of God. The

* Six Views of Believers' Baptism, p. 17–20.

† Charnock's Works, vol. II. p. 763–773, 774. Edit. 1.
‡ Cartwright, in Wall's History of Infant Baptism. Part I. Chap. 15.

* 2 Sam. vi. 1–11.

† 1 Sam. xv. 21, 22, 23.

cattle were spared, that Jehovah's altar might be furnished with plenty of the finest sacrifices. But Samuel soon overruled this fair pretence. He quickly informed the infatuated prince, that obedience to divine appointments, especially in such duties as depend entirely on an *express* command (as the utter destruction of Amalek did, and as communion at the Lord's table now does) is better in the sight of God, than hecatombs of bleeding sacrifices, or clouds of smoking incense: and consequently, better than a misapplied tenderness to any of our fellow creatures, or a misguided zeal to promote their peace and edification. At the same time the prophet assures him, that when the Most High commands nothing can excuse a non-performance; because disobedience to a *plain, positive, known* command, is justly classed with idolatry and witchcraft.

A very sensible writer, in the conclusion of a discourse upon this passage, observes, that we may learn from this text, what are the true characteristics of acceptable obedience. "It must be implicit; founded immediately on the authority of God. We must not take upon us to judge of the moment and importance of any part of his will, further than he hath made it known himself. It is a very dangerous thing for us to make comparisons between one duty and another; especially with a view of dispensing with any of them, or altering their order, and substituting one in another's place."—Another "character of true obedience is, that it be self-denied and impartial; that it be not directed or qualified by our present interest. It is too common that our own interest both points out the object, and assigns the measure of our obedience; and in that case, it does not deserve the name of obedience to God at all. When the christian is devoted to God, ready at his call, and equally disposed to any employment assigned him in providence, he then may be said indeed to do his will. It must "be universal, without any exception. Saul, and the children of Israel, had complied so far with the order given them, that the greatest part both of the people and substance of Amalek was destroyed; but he stopped short, and knowingly left unfinished what had been enjoined him by the same authority."*

When a Pædobaptist applies for communion with the Baptists, he acts upon a persuasion that he has been rightly and truly baptized; for there is reason to believe that the generality of our Pædobaptist brethren would start at the thought of partaking at the Lord's table, while they consider themselves as unbaptized. conse-

quently, when our opponents admit one of them to communion, they confirm him in what they consider as a false presumption, and practically approve of what, at other times, they boldly pronounce a human invention, a tradition of men, and will-worship; for such infant sprinkling must be, if not a divine appointment. Nor can they exculpate themselves in this respect, unless they were professedly to receive him as unbaptized. Because he considers himself as baptized, he desires communion as baptized; nor has he any idea of sitting down at the Lord's table as unbaptized; well knowing, that such an attempt would be contrary to the apostolic pattern, and to the sense of the Christian church in general.

That circumcision was by divine command, an indispensable qualification, in every male, for a participation of the Jewish passover, and communion in the sanctuary worship, is generally allowed. And though I am far from thinking that baptism came in the place of circumcision, as many of our Pædobaptist brethren suppose; yet that the former is equally necessary to communion at the Lord's table, under the Christian economy, as the latter was to every male in order to partake of the paschal feast, and to unite in the tabernacle service, I am fully persuaded. Nor is my opinion singular. It has been the sense of the Christian church in every age; and, excepting the few baptists who plead for free communion it is the voice of the Christian world in general at this day. I do not find that the necessity of circumcision, for the purpose just mentioned, was ever controverted, either by the ancient or modern Jews. We will suppose, however, for the sake of argument, that it was disputed in the Jewish church; and that, amidst a great variety of interesting intelligence which the Rabbinical writers pretend to give, concerning ancient customs and ancient disputes, they are found to speak as follows; "In the days of our master Moses, disputes arose about the nature and necessity of circumcision: that is, whether the ancient rite was to be performed on the foreskin, or on a finger; and, whether it was an indispensibly requisite qualification, in every male, for a seat at the paschal feast, and admission to the sanctuary worship. The generality of our fathers maintained that no male, though a son of Abraham, that no Gentile, though he might acknowledge and serve Abraham's God, had any claim to communion in those joyful and solemn services, if he was not circumcised according to the divine command. Others contended with no less assurance, that circumcision being only an outward sign of what is internal and spiritual, every male, whether a descendant from the loins of our father Abraham, or one of the

* Dr. Witherspoon's Practical Discourses, Vol. 1. p. 335, 336.

Gentile race who knew and feared the God of Israel, had an undeniable claim to fellowship, though it were not the foreskin of his flesh, but a finger that was circumcised. The latter asserted with great confidence, that the holy blessed God having excepted such, (as plainly appeared by their having the internal and spiritual circumcision) it would be absurd and uncharitable to refuse them communion. And when disputing with their opponents, they would, with an air of superior confidence demand; Will you reject from fellowship those whom God has received?—Absolutely reject those who have the thing signified, barely because, in your opinion, they want the external sign? Those who possess the substance, perhaps to a much greater degree than yourselves, merely because they want the shadow? What, will you refuse communion to a brother Israelite, or a pious Gentile, in the tabernacle here below, with whom you hope to enjoy everlasting fellowship in the temple above? Strange attachment to the manner of performing an external rite! Besides, great allowances must be made for the prejudices of education. These brethren whom you reject as if they were heathens or were absolutely unclean, have been educated in the strongest prejudices against what we think the true circumcision. They have been taught from their earliest infancy, that though our fathers, for a few centuries after the rite was established, generally circumcised the foreskin; yet that the part on which the ceremony was first performed, is by no means essential to the ordinance. Various inconveniences attend the mode of administration then generally practised; and our custom is not forbidden by any divine revelation. Besides, though it be admitted that the divinely appointed mode of administering the sacred rite is of some importance; yet it must be admitted that the edification of such as truly fear God is of infinitely greater importance. But, if you exclude them from the solemn sanctuary worship, you debar them from a capital mean of their spiritual benefit. you should also consider, who is to be the judge of what is or is not the true circumcision. every man, most certainly must judge for himself, and not one for another; else you destroy the right of private judgment; you invade the sacred prerogative of conscience; and tacitly advance a claim to infallibility. If your brethren, who circumcise a finger instead of the part appointed, be satisfied in their own minds, they are circumcised to themselves; and while the answer of a good conscience attends it, God will and does own them in it, to all the ends designed by it; so that while they consider it as laying them under the same obligations as

to holiness of heart and life, as we consider our circumcision to do us, why should you not have fellowship with them?—Nor are you sufficiently aware, how much you injure the cause of real religion, and promote the baneful interests of infidelity, by being so strict and rigid. Were you to be more candid and charitable in regard to this matter, it might be expected that numbers of our brethren, who, it must be allowed, administer this rite in a very improper manner, would cordially unite with us, and in time utterly renounce their mistake. We should also have reason to hope that many of our Gentile neighbors, who detest circumcision as performed by us, might be come proselytes to the Jewish religion, and worship the most high God in fellowship with us. But so long as you insist not only on the rite itself (for that we ourselves are not willing to give up entirely) but on that mode of administration which is so obnoxious to them, as indispensably necessary to communion with you; it will be, not only a wall of partition between us and them, but a bone of contention among the chosen tribes themselves. Consequently it must impede, greatly impede, the exercise of that love to God, and that affection for man, which are of much greater importance than the most accurate performance of merely external rite.”

Now supposing our brethren in the course of their reading to meet such an account, what would they think of it? What would they say?—They would undoubtedly suspect the truth of the whole. They would consider it as a Rabbinical fable.

Now according to the judgment of the Christian world in general, circumcision was not more necessary for all the males who desired communion at the paschal supper and in the solemn services of the tabernacle, than baptism is to fellowship in the Christian church, and a seat at the Lord's table—there is a wider and more material difference between baptism as now administered to infants, and baptism as appointed by Jesus Christ, than there would have been between cutting off the foreskin and circumcising a finger: because the latter would have been circumcision, and the circumcision of a proper subject also, though not of the part required; but sprinkling, whether infants or adults, is no more baptism, than it is immersion. Had any members of the ancient synagogue introduced or admitted such an alteration as that supposed, they might have defended it on the same general grounds, and with much greater plausibility, in several respects at least, than a Baptist could defend the practice of free communion. For I appeal to my reader, whether the Pentateuch of Moses and the scriptures of the prophets do

not say as much of circumcising the finger, as the evangelical history and the writings of the apostles do of baptizing infants.

Paul, when meeting with certain disciples at Ephesus, desired to know, whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they had believed? to whom they answered, "We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost." On which the apostle put the following question: "Unto what then were ye baptized?" And they said, "Unto John's baptism." From which it plainly appears, that as these persons professed to be disciples of Jesus Christ, Paul took it for granted they had been baptized. For this query is not, Have you been baptized? But, "Unto, or into, what then were ye baptized?" He inferred their baptism from their profession; and he had reason so to do. For he well knew, that the first administrator of the ordinance required a submission to it, of all that brought "forth fruits meet for repentance;" that the apostolic ministry demanded the same act of obedience, from all that believe in Jesus Christ; and the administration of baptism is a part of the ministerial office, being strictly connected with teaching the disciples of Christ, to "observe all things which he has commanded." And, as an author before quoted justly remarks; "We find that the preachers of the gospel always did it, and the people who gladly received the word desired it. How indifferently so ever it appears to some in our days, yet the grace of God never failed to stir up an early regard to it in times of old."*

Once more: Either Jesus Christ has informed us in the New Testament what baptism is, and what is requisite to communion at his table or he has not. If he has, we cannot admit any thing as baptism which we believe is not so, nor receive any to communion, but those whom we consider as qualified according to his directions, without violating our allegiance to him as the King Messiah, and rebelling against his government. If he has not, there is no judge in Israel, and every one may do that which is right in his own eyes, in regard to these institutions. If our Lord instituted baptism, and left it undetermined how and to whom it should be administered; if he appointed the sacred supper, without characterizing those who are to partake of it; his ministering servants have a discretionary power to administer them how and to whom

they please. And if so our brethren may sprinkle or immerse infants or adults, just as their own convenience and the dispositions of their people require.

SECTION IV.

Several Passages of Scripture considered, which are produced in favor of mixed communion.

THE cause which our brethren undertake to defend, is denominated by them, *Free Communion*. That communion, then, for which they plead, is *free*. But here I beg leave to ask, from *what*?—The restraints of *men*? that is a laudable freedom. From the laws of *Heaven*? that were a licentious liberty. Absurd in theory; impossible, in fact. It never was, it never can be the case, that God should institute a positive ordinance of divine worship, as the Lord's supper undoubtedly is, and leave it entirely to the discretion of men to whom it should be administered. Free—for *whom*? For every one that will? This none pretend. For all who imagine themselves believers? This no one asserts. For, they do not consider every one that thinks himself a believer and desires communion, as fit for it.

What, then, is the freedom for which they plead? Why, that the Baptist churches should admit Pædobaptists into communion with them. In other words, that they should admit believers to the Lord's table, whom they consider as unbaptized.—Such is free communion: in defence of which, several pamphlets have of late been published. Who can tell, but some brethren may so improve on the doctrine of liberty in regard to divine institutions of a positive nature, as to favor us, ere long, with a Plea for free baptism? With a dissertation intended to prove the lawfulness, and in some cases, the necessity, of administering baptism to such whom we consider as unbelievers? especially, if the candidates for that ordinance be firmly persuaded in their own mind that they are believers in Jesus Christ.

But let us briefly consider the defence of this hypothesis. They argue, from several passages of scripture; from the temper required of real Christians, in their behavior one towards another; and object against us our own conduct in another respect.

The principal passages adduced from holy writ, and here to be considered, are the following: "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations; for God hath received him; Receive ye one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God; God, which know-

* Mr. Bradbury's Duty and Doctrine of Baptism, p. 70. In a preceding page of the same Treatise, he says; 'I hear there are several who suppose that baptism is only the work of those that are grown up, and yet neglect it themselves. My brethren, whoever is in the right in doctrine, you are quite wrong in practice. Do not despise the advice of one who has more value for your happiness, than he has for his own opinion. I will give it you in the words of Ananias; "Why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized, washing away thy sins, and calling on the name of the Lord." See as above p. 16.

eth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us; and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.”*

On which passages we may observe in general; whatever their meaning may be, except our opponents can make it appear that they contain the grant of a dispensing power to gospel ministers and churches; that is, unless these divine declarations authorize the ministers and churches of Christ to set aside an ordinance, or invert the order of its administration, as they might think proper; they are far from answering the exigencies of the case, or serving the purpose for which they are cited.

Again: The texts produced do not so much as mention communion at the Lord's table, nor appear to have the least reference to it. No; the Holy Ghost has other objects in view, in each place. As these are the principal passages to which our brethren appeal, we may take it for granted, that better are not to be found; and, consequently, that positive proof is wanting. But if it be allowed, that there is no positive proof in favor of admitting unbaptized persons to the supper, it amounts to a concession that there is no proof at all. Nothing of a positive and ritual nature can be proved a duty, or agreeable to the will of God, merely by our own reasonings, or by arguments formed on moral precepts and general rules of conduct. For if once we admit any thing in the worship of God, as a duty, that is grounded, either on far-fetched inferences from particular declarations of scripture, in which the holy penmen do not appear to have had the least thought of the matter in question; or in our own ideas of expediency and usefulness, we shall not know where to stop. On this principle, a great number of ceremonies were brought into the church of Rome, and might be introduced by us, though not one of them could stand that divine query, “Who hath required this at your hand?”—As it cannot be proved, by the deduction of reason, that it is the duty of any man to eat bread and to drink wine as a branch of divine worship, but only from the testimony of God, so what he has revealed in regard to that matter is our only rule in all that relates to the Lord's supper. Consequently, as these passages say nothing at all about baptism, nor about communion at the Lord's table, either *strict*, or *free*; they have neither pertinency of application, nor force of argument. The New Testament knows no more of infant baptism, than it does of infant communion: and the arguments addu-

ced in defence of the former, will equally apply to the latter.*

The converted Romans were commanded by Paul to “receive them that were weak in faith, as God and Christ had received them.” And we are plainly informed, that the persons intended were such, as had not a clear discernment of their Christian liberty, in regard to the eating of meats forbidden by the ceremonial law, and the observation of days, that was of old required by it. What has this to do with free communion? Paul says, in this very epistle. “I commend unto you Phebe our sister, that ye receive her in the Lord.” Was her admission to the holy table the principal thing that he desired of the believing Romans? No; he evidently had something else in view; something that would manifest their love to a disciple of Christ, much more than barely permitting her to have communion with them in the sacred supper. For he immediately adds; “And that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you.”† Or did he solicit admission to the Lord's table, for himself and his fellow ministers, among the Corinthians when he said; “*Receive us*; we have wronged no man; we have corrupted no man; we have defrauded no man”‡ Or, for Epaphroditus, when he thus expressed himself to the Philippians; “*Receive him*, therefore, in the Lord with all gladness, and hold such in reputation?”§ Or, for Onesimus, when he said to Philemon: “*Receive him*, that is mine own bowels—*Receive him*, as myself?”|| Was communion at the Lord's table the principal thing which the apostle John had in his eye when he said; “We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth?”¶ It is, I will venture to affirm, a much greater thing to receive either a weak or a strong believer, in the sense of these exhortations, than merely to grant him a place at the Lord's table.

Besides, the faith of a sincere believer may be as weak, and require as much forbearance, in regard to the holy supper, as in respect of baptism.—A reformed, and really converted Catholic may desire fellowship with us who still retains the Popish error of communion in one kind only:

* Dr. Priestly is also of the same opinion. For he says, “No objection can be made to this custom, [i. e. of giving the Lord's supper to infants] but what may, with equal force, be made to the custom of baptizing infants. And he informs us, that infant communion is to this day the practice of the Creek churches, of the Russians, the Armenians, the Maronites, the Copts, the Assyrians, and probably all other oriental churches.” Address to Protestant Dissenters, on giving the Lord's supper to Children, p. 28, 31.

† Rom. xvi. 1, 2.

‡ 2. Cor. vii. 2.

§ Philip. ii. 29.

|| Philem. xli. 17.

¶ 3 John 8.

* Rom. xiv. 1, 3. and xv. 7. Acts. xv. 8, 9, 1 Cor. ix. 19—23.

but are we obliged by this apostolic precept, to mutilate the sacred ordinance in condescension to his weakness?—To embrace the weak, as well as the strong believer, in the arms of Christian affection, is a capital duty of moral law. To bear with a brother's infirmities, and to "forbear one another in love," are certainly required by that command, which says; "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" and would have been our duty, if neither baptism nor the Lord's supper had ever existed. But are we to regulate our conduct in the admission of persons to a positive institution;—to one which depends entirely on the sovereign pleasure of God, by inferences drawn from the general and natural duties of the moral law? Were the precepts of that eternal law ever considered by the priests or the people of old, as the rule of administering positive institutions? Had they not another system of precepts, express precepts, intended for that purpose? and was not such a ritual absolutely necessary?

Supposing, however, that there were no way of receiving one that is weak in faith, but by admitting him to the Lord's table, this text would be far from proving what our opponents desire; unless they could make it appear, that the "weak in faith" were unbaptized; or at least, so considered by their stronger brethren; for that is the point in dispute between us. But that Paul considered the believing Romans to whom he wrote, as baptized christians, is allowed by all.

But God receives the weak in faith; and we are expressly commanded to receive one another, not to doubtful disputations, but as Christ hath received us to the glory of God." Granted: yet permit me to ask, Is the divine conduct, is the favor of God, or the kindness of Christ, in receiving sinners, the rule of our proceeding in the administration of positive institutions?—Whom does God, whom does Christ receive? None but those that believe, and profess faith in the Lord Messiah? Our brethren will not affirm it. For if divine compassion did not extend to the dead in sin; if the kindness of Christ did not relieve the enemies of God; none of our fallen race would ever be saved. But does it hence follow, that we must admit the unbelieving and the unconverted, either to baptism or the holy table? Our gracious Lord freely accepts all that desire it and all that come; but are we bound, by his example, to receive every one that solicits communion with us? our opponents dare not assert it. For though the great supreme is entirely at liberty to do as he pleases, to reject or accept whom he will; yet it is not so with his ministering servants and

professing people, in regard to the sacred supper. No; it is their indispensable duty and their everlasting honor, to regard his revealed will and obey his righteous commands. The divine precepts contained in the Bible, not the divine conduct in the administration of a sovereign Providence, are the only rule of our obedience in all things relating to positive institutions.

Besides, gospel churches are sometimes obliged, by the laws of Christ, to exclude from their communion those whom he has received. Have churches never excluded any for scandalous backslidings, whom, notwithstanding, they could not but consider as received of Christ? Do they never exclude any but such of whom they have no hope? I cannot suppose, nor will they affirm any such thing. But if there may be a just cause of excluding such from communion whom God has received, why may there not be a sufficient reason of refusing communion to some, whom we look upon as the objects of God's peculiar favor? Is there not as great a degree of disapprobation discovered in the former case, as there is in the latter? and is not the word of God our only rule in both cases? It is not every one, therefore, that is received of Jesus Christ who is entitled to communion at his table; but such, and only such, as revere his authority, submit to his ordinances, and obey the laws of his house.

By the text from the Acts of the Apostles we learn that "God is no respecter of persons;" that he, as an absolute sovereign, bestows his favors on Jews and Gentiles without any difference. But must we infer from hence, that they whose honor and happiness it is to be his obedient servants, are entirely at liberty to receive to communion at the Lord's table all that believe, without any difference? Can they justly conclude, that because Jehovah dispenses his blessings as *he* pleases, they may administer, or omit, his positive institutions as *they* please?

Once more: They produce, as much in their favor, the declarations of Paul to the church at Corinth, relating to his own conduct. "For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; To them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. And this I do for the gospel's sake, that I may be partaker

thereof with you." 1 Cor. ix. 19, 23. And what do we learn in general from this passage, but that he out of his great concern for the good of mankind, and his abundant zeal for the glory of God, was willing to do, or forbear, any thing that was lawful, in order to gain an impartial hearing from both Jews and Gentiles wherever he came? I said, any thing that was lawful; the rule of which is the divine precept, or some example warranted by divine authority. Nor can we view these words in a more extensive sense, without implicitly charging the great apostle with temporizing, and highly impeaching his exalted character. But what has this text any more than the former to do with the administration, or laying aside, of positive institutions? It was the duty of Aaron, as well as of Paul and of us, to seek the happiness of his fellow creatures and the honor of God, to the utmost of his ability. But was this general obligation the rule of his performing the solemn sanctuary services on the great day of atonement? Could he conclude from hence, that if the dispositions of the people required it, he was at liberty to omit any of the sacred rites, or to transpose the order in which Jehovah commanded they should be performed? If any can make it appear that this passage really has a relation to the positive appointments of Christ, it must be considered as the *Magna Charta* of a dispensing, priestly power, in regard to those institutions.

SECTION V.

The Temper required of Christians towards one another, not contrary to our Practice, Our Conduct freed from the Charge of Inconsistency—No Reason to exalt the Lord's Supper, in point of Importance, as superior to the Ordinance of Baptism.

NOTHING is more common, with our opponents, when pleading for free communion, than to display the excellence of Christian charity; and to urge the propriety, the utility, the necessity of bearing with one another's mistakes, in matters that are *non-essential*; in which number they class the ordinance of baptism. The epithets *not fundamental—non-essential*, frequently applied to *baptism*, might be applied, with equal propriety to the *Lord's Supper*? But in what respect is a submission to baptism non-essential? To our justifying righteousness, our acceptance with God, or an interest in the divine favor? So is the Lord's supper; and so is every branch of our obedience. For they will readily allow,

that an interest in the divine favor, is not *obtained* by the miserable sinner, but *granted* by the Eternal Sovereign. That a justifying righteousness is not the result of human endeavors, but the work of our heavenly Substitute, and a gift of boundless grace. And that acceptance with the high and holy God, is not on conditions performed by us, but in consideration of the *vicarious obedience* and *propitiatory sufferings* of the great Immanuel. Nay, since our first father's apostasy, there never was an ordinance appointed of God, there never was a command given to man, that was intended to answer any such end.

Baptism is *not fundamental*; is *not essential*. True; if limited to the foregoing cases. But are we hence to infer, that it is not necessary on other accounts and in other views? If so, we may alter, or lay it aside, just as we please; and, on the same principle, we may dismiss, as non-essential, all order and every ordinance in the Church of God.

Is not the institution of baptism a branch of divine worship? And is not the administration of it, prior to the Lord's supper, essential to that order in which Christ commanded his positive appointments to be regarded? "Let all things be done decently and in order." As the Divine Spirit requires the observation of order in the church of God, so Paul commends the Corinthians for "keeping the ordinances as he delivered them;" and expresses a holy joy on "beholding the order" of that Christian church which was at Colosse. But that order which the great Lord of all appointed, and in the practice of which the good apostle sincerely rejoiced, our brethren would consider as a *mere trifle*, as comparatively *nothing*. But give me leave here to inquire, Whether the primitive order of gospel churches can be detached from the legislative authority of Jesus Christ? And whether the exercise of that authority can be considered as having no connexion with his honor? A breach of that order which Christ appointed, as king in Zion, must be considered as an opposition to his crown and dignity. Jesus our Lawgiver is Jehovah; between whose *honor* and the *happiness* of sinful worms, there is, there can be no comparison. The latter is only a means, whereas the former is the grand end, not only of a church state, but of the whole economy of providence and grace. I may, therefore, venture to retort the argument; though it be admitted, that the edification of Christians is of *great* importance; yet it must be allowed, that the honor of our divine Sovereign is of *infinitely greater* importance; and consequently, the primitive order of the gospel churches should be observed.

My readers must be a little surprised at

such reasoning as I have just produced.—Are they not ready to say, What, reverse the order of churches, appointed by God himself, with a view to edification! Dispenſe with a poſitive ordinance of heaven, and break a divine command, under the pretence of promoting obedience to Chriſt! If we are obliged, in ſome caſes, to ſet aſide an ordinance of divine worſhip, and to break a *poſitive* command, in order that certain individuals may perform *another poſitive* injunction of the great Legiſlator; the laws of Chriſt are not half ſo conſiſtent as Paul's preaching; “which was not yea and nay.” Nor have we, any thing like a parallel caſe, either in the Old or New Teſtament. We find, indeed, an inſtance of a typical rite giving way to natural neceſſities, as when David ate of the ſhew bread, without incurring a divine cenſure: but we have no example of a poſitive ordinance being ſet aſide, in favor of any one's *ignorance* or *prejudice* againſt it, or that he might be edified by ſubmitting to *another poſitive* inſtitution, of which he deſired to partake.

The neglect of circumciſion by the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, while they attended on other poſitive appointments of God, is argued ſtrongly for free communion; but let it not be forgotten that that omiſſion is keenly cenſured by the Holy Ghoſt. The uncircumciſed ſtate of the people, whatever might be the occaſion of it, is called a *reproach*, “the reproach of Egypt;” which odium was rolled from them on the borders of Canaan, and the place in which they were circumciſed was called by a new name, to perpetuate the memory of that event.* Now, as that neglect of the Iſraelites was a *breach* of the divine command, a *reproach* to their character as the ſons of Abraham, and ſtands *condemned* by the Spirit of God; it cannot authorize in us a ſimilar omiſſion, much leſs require it at our hands. Nor is that other inſtance, which is ſometimes produced, relating to the feaſt of the paſſover, in the reign of Hezekiah, any more to the purpoſe. For though many of the people were not “cleaſed according to the purification of the ſanctuary;” though “they did eat the paſſover otherwiſe than it was written,” yet Hezekiah was ſo conſcious of thoſe irregularities that he deprecated the divine anger, ſaying, “The good Lord *pardon* every one that prepareth his heart to ſeek the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleaſed according to the purification of the ſanctuary. And the Lord hearkened to Hezekiah, and *healed* the people.† With what ſhadow of reaſon, then, or of reverence for God's commands, can any one

plead this inſtance in favor of free communion? Shall a deviation from a divine rule, a deviation that is acknowledged as *criminal* before the Lord, and for which *pardon* is requeſted, be adduced, as a precedent for the conduct of Chriſtians? What would our brethren have thought of Hezekiah and his people, had they taken the liberty of repeating the diſorderly conduct, whenever they celebrated the paſchal anniversary? Taken the liberty of tranſgreſſing the divine rule, becauſe Jehovah had *once* graciously pardoned their irregularities, and excepted their ſervices on a ſimilar occaſion?—Would they not have been chargeable with bold preſumption, and with doing evil that good might come?—I heartily accord with the following declarations of a learned pen: “We muſt ſerve God, not as we think fit, but as he hath appointed. God muſt be judge of his own honor. Nothing, then, is ſmall, whereupon depends the ſanctity of God's commandment and our obedience.”‡ There is, however, little need of the maxims or the declarations of men, while we have the deciſion of *Him* who purchaſed the church with his own blood; of *Him* who is to be our final judge. Now the language of that Being is: “In *all things* that I have ſaid unto you, be *circumſpect*—teaching them to *obſerve all things* whatſoever I have commanded you.” And it is worthy of remark, that it ſtands recorded to the honor of Moſes, ſeven or eight times in one chapter, that “he did as the Lord commanded him.”—Exod. xl.

The queſtion is not, whatever our opponents may think, Whether baptiſm is eſſential to our ſalvation? But whether God has not commanded it? Whether it is not a believer's duty to be found in it? And whether the paſtor and members of a Baptiſt church could juſtify themſelves in admitting perſons to communion that have never been baptiſed? On the principle aſſumed by thoſe who charge us with bigotry in this thing, a profeſſor that has no inclination to obey a divine command, may vindicate his refusal, by ſaying; “The performance of it is not eſſential to my happineſs; for a ſinner may be ſaved without it.” A mode of arguing this, big with rebellion againſt the dominion of God: a principle, which, purſued in its conſequences, is pregnant with ruin to immortal ſouls. What, ſhall we do nothing that God has commanded, unleſs we look upon it as eſſentially neceſſary to our future felicity? Is this the way to manifeſt our faith in Jeſus and love to God? How much better is the reaſoning of Mr. Charnock, when he ſays: “*Deus voluit*, is a ſufficient motive; and

* Joshua v. 9

† 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19, 20.

‡ Peimble's Introduction to Worthy receiving the Lord's Supper, p. 21, 31.

we cannot free ourselves from the censure of disobedience, if we observe not his commands in the same manner that he enjoins them; in their circumstances, as well as their substance. Who can, upon a better account, challenge an exemption from positive institutions than our Saviour, who had no need of them: yet how observant was he of them, because they were established by divine authority! So that he calls his submitting to be baptized of John, a *fulfilling of righteousness*. Is it not a great ingratitude to God, to despise what he commands as a privilege? Were not the apostles men of an extraordinary measure of the Spirit, because of their extraordinary employments? And did they not exercise themselves in the institutions of Christ? How have many [meaning the Quakers] proceeded from the slighting of Christ's institutions, to the denying the authority of his word! A slighting Christ himself, crucified at Jerusalem, to set up an imaginary Christ within them!"*

"But must we not exercise Christian charity, and bear with one another's infirmities? Should we not seek peace, and endeavor to promote harmony among the people of God? Undoubtedly; yet is there no way for us to exercise love and forbearance without practising free communion? Can we not promote peace and harmony without practically approving of infant sprinkling as if it were a divine ordinance, while we are firmly persuaded that God never appointed it? Or, are we bound to admit as a fact, what we verily believe is a falsehood? The distinction between a Christian who holds what I consider as a practical error in the worship of God, and the mistake maintained, is wide and obvious. It is not an erroneous principle, or an irregular practice, that is the object of genuine charity. No; it is the person who maintains an error, not the mistake defended, that calls for my candor. The former, I am bound, by the highest authority to love as myself; the latter I should ever consider as inimical to the honor of God, as unfriendly to my neighbor's happiness, and therefore discourage it, in the exercise of a Christian temper, through the whole of my conduct. I freely allow that a mistake which relates merely to the mode and subject of baptism, is comparatively small; but still, while I consider the aspersion of infants as a human invention in the solemn service of God, I am bound to enter my protest against it; and by a uniform practice to shew, that I am a *Baptist*—the same when a Pædobaptist brother desires communion with me, as when one of my own persuasion makes a similar request. Thus proving that I act, not under the impulse

of passion, but on a dictate of judgement; and then the most violent Pædobaptist opponents will have no shadow of reason to impeach my integrity; no pretence for surmising, that when I give the right hand of fellowship to such as have been immersed on a profession of faith, I act on *principles of conscience*; but that when admitting such to communion who have been only sprinkled, I act on *motives of convenience*. Though some of our Pædobaptist brethren would urge us to open communion as being *candid* and *catholic*, some even of themselves view the subject very differently. A Pædobaptist, when remonstrating against the conduct of some Independent churches, that receive Baptists into communion with them, says; "Let men pretend what they can for such a *hotch potch* communion in their churches, I steadfastly believe the event and issue of such practices will, sooner or later, convince all gainsayers, that it neither pleaseth Christ, nor is any way promotive of true peace or gospel holiness in the churches of God's people. I shall never be reconciled to that *charity*, which in pretence of *peace and moderation*, opens the church's door to church-disjoining principles. And he entitles his performance, "The sin and danger of admitting Anabaptists to continue in the Congregational churches, and the inconsistency of such a practice with the principles of both."*

Here one can hardly avoid observing the very peculiar treatment which the Baptists in general meet from their Pædobaptist brethren. Do we strictly abide by our own principles, admitting none to communion with us, but those whom we consider as *baptized* believers? We are censured by many of them as uncharitably rigid, and are called by one gentleman *watery bigots*. Do any of our denomination, under a plea of Catholicism, depart from their avowed sentiments, and connive at *infant sprinkling*? They are suspected, by others of the Pædobaptists, as a set of *temporizers*. So like those Unhappy persons who fell into the hands of Procrustes, some of us are too short, and must be *stretched*; others are too long, and they must be *lopped*—But I return to my argument.

It should be observed, that forbearance and love, not less than resolution and zeal, must be directed in the whole extent of their exercise, by the word of God; else we may greatly offend, and become partakers of other men's sins, by conniving when we ought to reprove. If the divine precepts, relating to love and forbearance, will apply to the case in hand; or so as to justify our connivance at an alteration, a corruption, or an omission of baptism; they will do the same in regard to the Lord's

* Works, Vol. II. p. 766, 773, 775.

* In crosby's Hist. Bap. Vol. III. p. 45, 46, 47.

supper. And then we are bound to bear with sincere Papists, in their mutilation of the *latter*; and to exculpate our upright friends the Quakers, in their opposition to *both*. For it cannot be proved that baptism is less fundamental than the sacred supper. "There is a *false, ungodly* charity," says a sensible Pædobaptist writer, "a strange fire that proceeds not from the Lord; a charity that gives up the honor of religion, merely because we will not be at the pains to defend it—Vile principles can easily cover themselves with the names of temper, charity, moderation, and forbearance: but those glorious things are not to be confounded with lukewarmness, self-seeking, laziness, or ignorance—As there is a cloak of covetousness, so there is a cloak of fear and cowardice—You are never to make peace with men at the expense of any truth, that is revealed to you by the great God; because that is offering up his glory in sacrifice to your own—Do not dismember the Christian religion, but take it altogether; charity was never designed to be the tool of unbelief. See how the Spirit has connected both our principles and duties. Follow *peace* with all men, and *holiness*, without which no man shall see the Lord."—"I know not that man in England," says Dr. Owen, "who is willing to go farther in forbearance, love, and communion with all that fear God, and hold the foundation, than I am: but this is *never to be done* by a condescension from the exactness of the least *apex* of gospel truth."†

Another Pædobaptist author, when treating on charity and forbearance, expresses himself in the following language: A considerable succedaneum for the Christian unity, is the *catholic charity*; which is like the charity commended by Paul in only this one circumstance, that it 'groweth exceedingly'—Among the stricter sort, it goes chiefly under the name of *forbearance*. We shall be much mistaken if we think that by this soft and agreeable word, is chiefly meant the tenderness and compassion inculcated by the precepts of Jesus Christ and his apostles. It strictly means, an agreement to differ quietly about the doctrines and commandments of the gospel, without interruption of visible fellowship. They distinguish carefully between *fundamentals*, or things necessary to be believed and practiced; and *circumstantials*, or things that are indifferent. Now whatever foundation there may be for such a distinction in *human* systems of religion; it certainly looks very ill-becoming in the churches of Christ, to question *how far he is to be*

believed and obeyed.* That illegitimate charity and false moderation, which incline professors to treat divine institutions as articles of small importance, led Melancthon, to place the doctrine of *justification* by faith alone, the *number* of positive institutions in the Christian church, the *jurisdiction* claimed by the Pope, and several *superstitious rites* of the Romish religion, among things *indifferent*, when an imperial edict required compliance.† But, "as we must take heed that we do not add the fancies of men to our divine religion, so we should take equal care that we do not *curtail* the appointments of Christ,"‡ out of any pretence to candor.

Once more: Remarkably strong, are the words of Mr. John Wesley, which are quoted with approbation by Mr. Rowland Hill. "A catholic spirit is not speculative latitudinarianism. It is not an indifference to all opinions. This is the spawn of hell; not the offspring of heaven. This unsettledness of thought, this being driven to and fro, and tossed about with every wind of doctrine, is a great curse, not a blessing; an irreconcilable enemy, not a true catholicism. A man of a true catholic spirit does not halt between two opinions, nor vainly endeavors to blend them into one. Observe this, you that know not what spirit you are of; who call yourselves of a catholic spirit, only because you are of a muddy understanding; because your mind is all in a mist; because you are of no settled, consistent principles, but are for jumbling all opinions together.§

Our brethren with an air of superior confidence often demand, "What have we to do with *another's baptism*?" This interrogatory I would answer by proposing another: What have I to do with *another's faith, experience, or practice*? In one view, nothing at all, if he do not injure my person, character, or property; for to his own master he stands or falls. In another, much; that is, if he desire communion with me at the Lord's table. After believing, baptism is the first, the very first that requires a public act of obedience. But he says "I have been baptized." Perhaps not. Make it appear, however, and I shall say no more on that subject.—"I am really persuaded of it in my own mind. Were it otherwise, I should not hesitate a moment to be immersed on a profession of faith. I am persuaded Christ has accepted me, and that it is my duty to receive the holy supper. That Christ has received you, I have a pleasing persuasion; and so I conclude, in

* Strictures on Modern Simony.

† Moshien's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. IV. p. 37, 38.

‡ Dr. Wall's Humble Attempt, p. 62.

§ In Mr. Rowland Hill's Full Answer to Mr. J. Wesley's Remarks, p. 40, 41.

* Mr. Bradbury's Duty and Doctrine of Bap. p. 201, 213, 214.

† In Mr. Bradbury, as before, p. 193.

a judgment of charity, concerning all whom I baptize; but that it is the *immediate* duty of any unbaptized believer to approach the Lord's table, I cannot perceive; the general practice of the Christian church in every age, has been in the negative. A learned writer assures us, that "among *all the absurdities* that ever were held, none ever maintained *that*, that any person should partake of the communion before he was baptized." Christ commands believers to remember him at his own table. But were those believers to whom he first gave the command *unbaptized*? Or, can we infer, because it is the duty of all baptized believers to celebrate the Lord's supper, that it is the *immediate* duty of one that is not baptized so to do?—Suppose a Jew, a Turk, or a Pagan, to be enlightened by divine grace, to have the truth as it is in Jesus, to love God and desire communion with his people before he is baptized; would you think it right, could your own conscience admit of it, as consistent with the revealed will of Christ and the practice of his apostles, that such a request should be granted by any gospel church? In a case of this kind, I presume—and there have been millions of Jews and Heathens converted, since the Christian era commenced—in such a case you would easily discern a consistency between loving him as a believer and refusing to have communion with him till he was baptized. Nay, I cannot help thinking, but you would be startled at the report of any religious community admitting such an one to the Lord's table; because it would strike you as a notorious departure from the divine rule of proceeding, from the laws and statutes of Heaven in that case made and provided. Besides, you have already acknowledged, that if you did not consider yourself as baptized, if you thought immersion on a profession of faith essential to baptism, which you very well know is *my* sentiment, you should think it your duty to submit, you would not hesitate a moment. So that, were I to encourage your immediate approach to the sacred supper, I should stand condemned on your own principles.

This, then, is the only question between us, *what is baptism?* For you dare not assert, you cannot suppose, that an unbaptized believer, descended from Christian parents, has any pre-eminence, in point of claim to communion, above a truly converted Jew: and you must allow that I have an equal right with you, or any other man, to judge for myself what is essential to baptism. You verily believe that you have been baptized; I am equally confident, from your own account of the matter, that you have not. Your conscience opposes the thought of being immersed on a profession of faith, because, in your opinion, it would be rebap-

tization; mine cannot encourage your approach to the Lord's table, because I consider infant baptism as invalid.—Now I appeal to the reader, I appeal to our brethren themselves, whether, on our Anti-pædobaptist principles, we are not obliged to consider a truly converted but unbaptized Mussulman, and a converted Englishman, who has had no other than pædobaptism, as on a level in point of communion with us? For God is no respecter of persons. It is no matter where a man was born, or how he was educated; whether he drew his first breath at Constantinople, or Peking, or London; whether his parents taught him to revere the Koran of Mahomet, the institutes of Confucius, or the revelation of God; If he really be born of the Spirit he has an equal claim to all the privileges of a gospel church, with a true convert descended from Christian ancestors. And if so, while our brethren abide by their present hypothesis, they could not refuse the sacred supper to the one, any more than the other, without the most palpable inconsistency; though by admitting the *former* to that divine appointment, they would surprise and offend all that heard of it.

But, notwithstanding all I have said, we stand charged by our brethren with a notorious inconsistency in our own conduct; because we admit Pædobaptist ministers into our pulpits, to whom we should refuse communion at the Lord's table.

The first thing that demands regard, is the state of the question which is now before us. The point in dispute is, whether baptism be equally necessary to the *occasional exercise* of ministerial gifts, as it is to *communion* at the Lord's table? and, whether the scripture favors the one as much as the other?

Such being the state of the question, I beg leave to ask; Supposing our brethren to prove the affirmative beyond a doubt, what is the consequence, and how are we affected by it? Is it, that we are found guilty of a direct violation of some divine command, that *requires* us to receive Pædobaptists into our communion? This is not pretended. Is it, that we oppose some plain apostolic *precedent*? neither is this laid to our charge. What, then, is the conclusion they would infer? It must, surely, be something formidable to every Baptist; otherwise it is hardly supposable that so much weight should be laid upon this objection. The consequence, however, is only this; *The Baptists, are not infallible and do actually err.* So soon as our brethren shall make it appear, that they have as good a warrant for receiving Pædobaptist believers into stated communion, as I have to admit a Pædobaptist minister occasional-

ly into my pulpit, I will either *encourage* the former, or *entirely refuse* the latter.

But is there no difference between occasionally admitting Pædobaptist ministers into our pulpits, and receiving them or others of the same persuasion, into our communion? Public preaching is not confined to persons related in a *church state*, nor ever was; but the Lord's supper is a church ordinance, nor ought ever to be administered but to a particular church as such. Now it is of a particular church, and of a positive ordinance peculiar to it, concerning which is all our dispute.—There is not that strict mutual relation between hearers of the word and the preacher, as there is between the members of a church and her pastor, or between the members themselves. And as, according to the appointment of God, persons must believe the gospel before they have any thing to do with positive institutions; so in the ordinary course of Providence, they must, hear the gospel in order to their believing. The Corinthians heard before they believed; they believed before they were baptized; and, no doubt, they were baptized before they received the sacred supper. (Acts xviii. 8.) Were we to receive Pædobaptists into our fellowship, we should practically allow what we consider a human invention, to supersede a divine institution; not so, when we admit ministers of that persuasion into our pulpits. In this case there is no divine institution superseded; no human invention, in the worship of God encouraged. Again: when we admit Pædobaptist ministers into our pulpits, it is in expectation that they will preach the gospel; that very gospel which we believe and love, and about which there is no difference between them and us. But to receive Pædobaptists into communion, would be openly to connive at an error; an error both in judgment and practice; an error of that kind which the scripture calls, “will-worship, and the traditions of men.” There is, undoubtedly, a material difference, between hearing a minister who, in our judgment, is ignorant of the only true baptism, discourse on those doctrines he experimentally knows, and countenancing an invention of men. In the former case we shew an esteem for his personal talents, we honor his ministerial gifts, and manifest our love to the truth; in the latter, we set aside a divinely appointed prerequisite for communion at the Lord's table.

It has been a fact, that persons have been called by grace, who were not baptized in their infancy; and who, considering baptism as a temporary institution, have conscientiously refused a submission to that ordinance and yet desired communion in the holy supper. Now suppose a community of such; and that they call to the ministry

one of their number, who is allowed by all competent judges to possess great ministerial gifts, and to be a very useful preacher: or suppose a reformed Catholic, equally the subject of divine grace, and endued with equal abilities for public service, yet conscientiously retaining the Popish error of communion in one kind only. Now, on either of these suppositions, I demand of our Pædobaptist brethren, whether they would receive such an one into communion with the same readiness that they would admit him into their pulpits? If they answer in the negative, then we may retort upon them, shall an excellent, laborious and useful minister of Christ *work* for you, and shall he not be allowed to eat with you? What, shall he break the bread of life to you, and must he not be suffered to break bread at the Lord's table *with* you?

Though as Baptists, it cannot be expected, that we should produce instances out of the New Testament, of Pædobaptist ministers being encouraged in a similar way; because we are firmly persuaded there were none such till after the sacred canon was completed; yet we find in that inspired volume, a sufficient warrant for uniting with those that believe, in affection and walk, so far as agreed; notwithstanding their ignorance of some part of the counsel of God, to which a conscientious obedience is indispensably required from all those by whom it is known. (Philip iii. 15, 16.) Yes, the New Testament not only *permits* as lawful, but *enjoins* as an indispensable duty, that we should love them that love the Lord; and that we should manifest this holy affection in every way, that is not inconsistent with a revelation of the divine will in some other respect. So it was under the Jewish economy, and so it is now. To admit, therefore, a minister to preach among us, with whom we should have no objection to commune, could we allow the validity of infant baptism; as it is a token of our affection for a servant of Christ, of our love to the truth he preaches, and is not contrary to any part of divine revelation, must be lawful: or if not it lies with our brethren to prove it; because they cannot deny that the word of God requires us to love him, and to manifest our affection for him. When we ask a Pædobaptist minister to preach in any of our churches, we act on the same general principle, as when we request him to pray with any of us in a private family. And as no one considers *this* as an act of church communion, but as a testimony of our affection for him, so we consider *that*; and it is viewed by the public as a branch of the general intercourse, which it is not only lawful, but commendable and profitable to have with all that preach the gospel.

I take it for granted, that circumcision,

was absolutely necessary for every male in order to communion at the paschal supper, and in the solemn worship of the sanctuary. And if so, had the most renowned antediluvians that ever lived, or the most illustrious Gentiles that ever appeared in the world, been cotemporary with Moses and sojourners in the same wilderness, they could not have been admitted to communion in the Israelitish church, without submitting to circumcision. Enoch though as a saint he walked with God; though as a prophet he foretold the coming of Christ to judgment—Noah, though an heir of the righteousness of faith, a preacher of that righteousness, one of Ezekiel's worthies, (chap. xiv. 14, 16, 18, 20.)—Melchisedeck, though a king and a priest of the most high God; superior to Abraham, and the greatest personal type of the Lord Messiah that ever was among men—and Job, though for piety there was none like him upon earth—these I say, notwithstanding all their piety and holiness, notwithstanding all their shining excellences, exalted characters, and useful services, could not have been admitted to communion with the chosen tribes at the tabernacle of the God of Israel, without a violation of the divine command. This I persuade myself, our opponents must allow: this I think, they dare not deny. Yet if Enoch had been in the camp of Israel when Korah and his company mutinied, and had been disposed to give the rebels a lecture on the second coming of Christ, I cannot suppose that his offered service would have been rejected by Moses or Joshua, merely because he was not circumcised. Or, if Noah had been present at the erection of the tabernacle, and inclined to give the people a sermon on the future incarnation of the Son of God, and the righteousness of faith, to which objects that structure, with its costly utensils and solemn services, had a typical regard, I cannot but think they would have given him a hearing. Nay, I appeal to our opponents themselves, whether they do not think so as well as I. Yet that favored people *could not* have admitted them to communion in some other branches of divine worship, without transgressing the laws of Jehovah. (Exod. xii. 44, 48. Ezek. xlv. 7.) If this be allowed, the consequence is plain, and the argument, though analogical, is irrefragable. For the paschal feast and the sanctuary services were not more of a positive nature than the Lord's supper; nor were the former more peculiar to that dispensation than the latter is to this; but preaching and hearing the word are not peculiar to any dispensation of grace, as are baptism and the sacred supper.

Our Lord, though he warned his hearers against the pride and hypocrisy, the unbe-

lief and covetousness, of the ancient Pharisees, and Scribes, and Jewish teachers; yet exhorted the people to regard the truths they delivered. (Matt. xxiii. 1, 2, 3.) When the beloved disciple said, Master we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us;" Jesus answered, "Forbid him not; for he that is not against us, is for us." (Luke ix. 49, 50.)—From which it appears, that we are under obligation to encourage those that fight against the common enemy, and propagate the common truth; though they and we may have no communion together in the ordinances of God's house.

Once more; a very competent judge of all that pertains to the ministerial character, and of all that belongs to a Christian profession, has left his opinion on record concerning the ministry of certain persons, whom he considered as quite unworthy of his intimate friendship. Even Paul, when acting as amanuensis to the Spirit of wisdom, speaking of some who preached the gospel, informs us, that *envy and strife*, were the principles on which they acted, and the *increase of his afflictions* the end which they had in view. How carnal and base the principles! How detestable the end at which they aimed! But was the apostle offended or grieved, so as to wish they were silenced? Or did he charge his beloved Philippians and all the sincere followers of Christ never to hear them? Let his own declaration answer the queries. "What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, *Christ is preached*; and therein I do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." (Philip. i. 15—18.) When a corrupted gospel is preached, he asserts his apostolic authority, and thunders out anathemas against the propagators of it. (Gal. i. 6—9.) Because, as God will not set the seal of his blessing to a falsehood, or sanctify a lie, it can do no good; it is pregnant with mischief. But when the pure gospel is preached, though from perverse motives, it is *the truth*, and God frequently owns and renders it useful. Hence the apostle's joy in the text before us. Now, as we are far from impeaching the sincerity of our Pædobaptist brethren, when preaching the gospel of our ascended Lord; and as Paul rejoiced that Christ was preached, though by persons who acted on the basest principles; we cannot imagine that he would have taken less pleasure in the thought of Pædobaptist ministers publishing the glorious gospel of the blessed God, had there been any such in those days, even though he might have considered them as under a great mistake, in regard to baptism: And if so, we may safely conclude, that there is nothing inconsistent with our hypothesis in occasionally admitting Pædobaptist minis-

ters into our pulpits, and hearing them with pleasure. But will our opponents assert, or can they suppose, that the great apostle of the Gentiles would have encouraged with equal delight such persons as those of whom he speaks, to approach the holy table and have communion with him in all the ordinances of God's house? Persons, who made the glorious gospel of the blessed God the vehicle of their own pride, and envy, and malice; and in whose conduct those infernal tempers reigned, and had for their immediate object one of the most excellent and useful men that ever lived? Certainly, if on any occasion, we may here adopt the old proverb; *Credat Judæus appella.*

It is with peculiar pleasure, on this occasion, that I introduce the following pertinent passage from a little publication written by Mr. John Ryland. His words are these: "Dr. Daniel Waterland justly observes, that the true doctrine of the Trinity and the atonement of Christ, have been kept up in the Christian Church, by the institutions of baptism and the Lord's supper, more than by any other means whatsoever; and, humanly speaking, these glorious truths, which are essential to salvation, would have been lost long ago, if the two positive institutions had been totally neglected and disused among professors of Christianity. In this point of view, baptism and the Lord's supper appear to be of unspeakable importance to the glory of God, and the very being of the true church of Christ on earth."* Again: in another little piece, to which I have already referred, and of which the same worthy minister of Jesus Christ has expressed his approbation in more ways than one, though it does not bear his name, I find the following strong assertions relating to the importance and utility of baptism: "It is highly incumbent on all that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and are glad to behold their Saviour in every view in which he is pleased to reveal himself, to consider the dignity and glory of his holy institutions. These last legacies of a dying Saviour, these pledges of his eternal and immutable love, ought to be received with the greatest reverence and the warmest gratitude. And as they directly relate to the death of the great redeemer, which is an event the most interesting, an action the most grand and noble that ever appeared in the world, they ought to be held in the highest esteem, and performed with the utmost solemnity. Of these institutions, baptism calls for our first regard, as it is appointed to be first performed: and however lightly the inconsiderate part of mankind may effect to treat this ordinance, it

ought to be remembered that Christ himself considered it, and submitted to it, as an important part of that righteousness which it became even the Son of God to fulfil. As this ordinance is to be once performed, and not repeated, every Christian ought to be particularly careful that it is done in a right manner; or the benefit arising to the soul from this institution is lost, and lost forever. We ought with the utmost deliberation and care to consider—its own native dignity, as an action of the positive or ritual kind, the most great and noble in itself, and well pleasing to God, that it is possible for us to perform on this side heaven. In this action, Christians, you behold the counsel of God; it is the result of his wise and eternal purpose; it is clearly commanded in his word; it is enforced by his own example; and honored in the most distinguished and wonderful manner by every person in the adorable Trinity. This ordinance is no trivial affair; it is no mean thing; and whoever is so unhappy as to despise it, wants eyes to see its beauty and excellency. Our great Redeemer seems to have designed this ordinance as a test of our sincerity, and to distinguish his followers from the rest of mankind. As a captain who, to try a new soldier, employs him at first in some arduous and important service; so our Saviour, to try his own work, and to make the reality of his powerful grace in the hearts of his people manifest to themselves and to the world, calls them out at first to a great and singular action, and requires their submission to an institution that is disgusting to their nature and mortifying to their pride."

The pamphlet from which these extracts are made, speaks of baptism, "As an act of sublime worship to the adorable persons in the Godhead—As a representation of the sufferings of Christ, his death, burial, and resurrection—As the answer of a good conscience towards God—As an emblem of regeneration and sanctification—As a powerful obligation to newness of life—And as a lively figure of the natural death of every Christian."*

Mr. Daniel Turner has also borne his testimony to the usefulness and importance of baptism. For, speaking of that ordinance, he says; "Christ himself submitted to this rite, as administered by John; not indeed with the same views, or to the same ends, with others; but as pointing out by his example, the duty of Christians in general. He also gave his ministers a commission and order, to baptize all the nations they taught. It appears that being baptized, was the common token of subjection to Christ, and necessary to a regular en-

* Beauty of Social Religion, p. 10.

* Six Views of Believer's Baptism, p. 1, 2, 3, 15.

trance into his visible Church." And, when describing the qualifications of those that are to be received into communion, he says; "They should be acquainted with the chief design of the rites and positive institutions of Christianity, and reverently use them; viz. Baptism and the Lord's supper."—Once more: speaking of that respect which the two positive appointments have to visible fellowship among believers, he says; "Baptism, indeed, by which we are first formally incorporated into the visible church, or body of Christ, is the beginning and foundation of this external communion; but the Lord's supper is best adapted for the constant support and continual manifestation of it."* Nay, he mentions the reverent use of the two sacraments, among those which are essential to the constitution of a particular visible church.†

Those who argue against us in this matter are continually calling baptism a *non-essential*, an *external rite*, a *shadow*, an *outward form*, &c. The Lord's supper, however, is considered and treated by them in a different manner; for they speak of it as a delightful, an edifying, an important institution. But what authority have they for thus distinguishing between two appointments of the same Lord, intended for the same persons, of equal continuance in the Christian Church, and alike required of proper subjects? They have, indeed, the example of some Socinians, and the *venerable sanction* of the whole Council of Trent. For the title of one chapter in the records of that Council, is; "Concerning the excellence of the most holy Eucharist, *above the rest* of the sacraments."‡ But as a good old Protestant writer observes, "That the one sacrament should be so much extolled above the other, namely, the Lord's supper to be preferred before baptism, as the more worthy and excellent sacrament, we find no such thing in the word of God; but that both of them are of like dignity in themselves, and to be had equally in most high account."§ Nay, Mr. Ryland assures us, "That baptism ought to be considered as glorious an act of worship as ever was instituted by God."|| Might not the Jews of old have distinguished, with equal propriety, between circumcision and the paschal supper? Does it become us to form comparisons between the positive appointments of our Eternal Sovereign, in regard to their importance; and that with a view to dispense with either of them, while the very same authority enjoins the one as well as the other? Can such a conduct be pious,

humble, or rational? Is it not something like "being partial in God's law," for which the ancient priests were severely censured? Or, shall we say of our obedience to God, as he says to the mighty ocean; "Hither-to shalt thou come, but no further?"

But supposing it is evident, that baptism is *much inferior* to the sacred supper in point of importance; yet, while it is an ordinance of God, it has an equal claim on our obedience. For it is not the degree of excellence or utility of any divine appointment, that is the true reason of our submission to it; but the authority of him that commands. "It hath been ever God's wont," says Bishop Hall, "by small precepts to prove men's dispositions. Obedience is as well tried in a trifle, as in the most important charge; yea, so much more, as the thing required is less; for oftentimes those who would be careful in main affairs, think they may neglect the smallest. What command soever we receive from God, or our superiors, we must not scan the weight of the thing, but the authority of the commander. Either difficulty, or slightness, are vain pretences for disobedience."* Nay, even Dr. Priestly, though remarkable for his liberal sentiments and rational way of thinking, and far from ascribing too much to God's dominion over the subjects of his moral government; yet strongly asserts Jehovah's prerogative in this respect. These are his words: "Every divine command ought certainly to be implicitly complied with, even though we should not be able to discern the reason of it." And has not he who is God over all blessed forever, said; "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven?" As in the great concerns of religious worship, nothing should be done that is not required by Jehovah: and as the lawfulness of all positive rites depends entirely on their divine Author and his institutions; so he who complies with some and neglects others that are equally commanded and equally known, may please himself, but does not obey the Lord.

Further: These depreciating expressions, *nonessential*, *external rite*, a *shadow*, and a *mere outward form*, may be applied to the sacred supper with as much propriety as to baptism. Are not bread and wine external things, as well as water? And has not the act of baptizing as much spirituality in it, as the acts of eating and drinking? Besides, an apostle has assured us, that "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink," though the latter were the richest of cordials, any more than its immersion in water.†

Once more: when I consider how much

* Compend. Social Religion, p. 27. (Note ;) and p. 63, 120. (Note.)

† See p. 42. (Note)

‡ Council. Trident. Sess. XIII. Chap. III.

§ Willet's Synops. Papiensi. . 556, 557.

|| Beauty of Social Religion, p. 9.

* Contemplations, Vol. III. p. 274. Edin. Ed.

† Vid. Hoorneck, ut supra, p. 362

more frequently baptism is mentioned in the New Testament than the sacred supper;* how often repenting and believing sinners are *exhorted*, by the apostles, to be baptized; how soon that ordinance was administered to Christian converts after they believed; what *exhortations* are given to professing Christians, on the ground of their being baptized; and when I reflect that the Holy Spirit commends them that were baptized by John, as "justifying God:" while he severely censures others, as "rejecting the counsel of God against themselves," "because they slighted the solemn appointment; I cannot but wonder at the depreciating language of our opponents in regard to baptism. Their very singular conduct appears to me still more extraordinary, and yet more unwarrantable, when I reflect that baptism is a divine institution to which a believer submits but *once*, and a branch of divine worship that he is required to perform but once; in which respect it greatly differs from every other appointment in the worship of God, under the Christian economy. For this being the case, one should have imagined, if notorious and stubborn facts had not forbidden the thought, that *every minister* of Jesus Christ, and *every church* of the living God, would *insist* on a submission to what they consider as *real* baptism, in all whom they admit to the Lord's table. Dr. Ryland's words are, I think, none to strong when he says, (Beauty of Social Religion p. 9.) "Baptism ought to be considered as *glorious* an act of worship as ever was instituted by God. It is to be performed but *once* in the life of a Christian. but *once* to eternity; and therefore *it ought to be done* with the utmost veneration and love."

SECTION VI.

Reflections.

It appears from the foregoing pages, that we act on a principle received in common by Christians of almost every name, in every age, and in every nation. When, therefore, we are compared with professing Christians in general, we have no peculiar claim to the epithet *strict*. Nor can we be otherwise than *strict*, without violating our own principles, and contradicting our own practice. For we believe that all who have received the truth, should profess their faith in Jesus Christ and be baptized, and have the happiness, in this respect, of agreeing with our brethren. If we conclude, that a believer is no further obliged by any

divine precept, or prohibition, than he *sees* and *acknowledges* the obligation, in regard to himself, then a believer who has been baptized may live all his days in the neglect of communion at the Lord's table, and stand acquitted of blame; and covetousness is no crime in thousands who bow at the shrine of Mammon; for there are comparatively few lovers of money, who acknowledge their guilt in that respect. Nay, on this principle it will follow, that the more ignorant any believer is, and the less tender his conscience, he is under so much the less obligation to obey the divine commands. But the reader will do well to remember, that it is not our *conviction* of the propriety, the utility, or the necessity of any command which God has given, that entitles him to the performance of it; but, in all things of a moral nature, our *being rational creatures* is the ground of his claim; and in those of a positive kind, our *being qualified* according to his direction, whether we be so wise and so sincere as to acknowledge the obligation or no. Thus it appears that the epithet *strict*, if taken in the sense already explained, is no dishonor to us.

But, if, on the contrary, our brethren mean by the epithet, that we are *bigoted* *unnecessarily exact*, *unscripturally confined*; their forwardness to give us this name calls for our censure. In the former sense, I will venture to affirm, every Baptist *ought* to be a *strict* one, or else to renounce the name. In the latter use of the term, we reject the distinguishing epithet, and require our opponents to prove—I say to *prove*, not to surmise, that it justly belongs to us.

Our character, then, is fixed. Their own pens have engrossed it. And, be it known to all men, we are *Strict Baptists*. To this character, as before explained, we subscribe with hand and heart, in the last words of the celebrated Father Paul, *Es-to perpetua*.

Many of my readers know that our Pædobaptist brethren, when they have a mind to shew their wit and be a little merry at our expense, represent the Baptists, without distinction, as *exceedingly fond* of water; as professors that cannot *live* in a church state, without a *great deal* of water. Nay, one of them has very politely called us "*watery bigots*;" and then adds, "Many ignorant sprinkled Christians are often, to their hurt, *pulled by them into the water*."* According to this gentleman, then, we are *watery bigots*. Well, it does not greatly distress me to be thus represented by a sneering antagonist, because I really believe that *much water* is necessary to baptism, and am no less confident,

* Hoornbeck. ut supra, p. 409, 416.

* Dr. Mayo's True Scripture Doctrine of Baptism, p. 23.

that baptism is necessary to communion at the Lord's table.

And now, before I conclude, our brethren will suffer me also to remonstrate; and the reader may rest assured, that I do it without the least impeachment of their integrity—If infant sprinkling be a human invention, disown it, renounce it, entirely reject it, and no longer let it hold the place of a divine institution in any of your churches. For as there is but *one God*, and *one faith*, so there is but *one baptism*.

THE END.

BIOGRAPHY

OF

SAMUEL HARRIS.

Mr. Daniel Marshall, in one of his evangelical journeys, had the singular happiness to baptize Mr. Samuel, commonly called Colonel Harris. Mr. Harris was born in Hanover county, Virginia, January 12, 1724. Few men could boast of more respectable parentage. His education, though not the most liberal, was very considerable for the customs of that day. When young, he moved to the county of Pittsylvania; and as he advanced in age, became a favorite with the people as well as with the rulers. He was appointed Church Warden, Sheriff, a Justice of the Peace, Burgess for the county, Colonel of the Militia, Captain of Mayo Fort, and Commissary for the Fort and Army. All these things, however, he counted but dross, that he might win Christ Jesus, and become a minister of his word among the Baptists; a sect at that time every where spoken against.

His conversion was effected in the following way: He first became serious and melancholly without knowing why. By reading and conversation he discovered that he was a helpless sinner, and that a sense of his guilt was the true cause of his gloom of mind. Pressed with this conviction, he ventured to attend Baptist preaching. On one of his routes to visit the forts in his official character, he called at a small house, where, he understood, there was to be Baptist preaching. The preachers were Joseph and William Murphy, at that time commonly called Murphy's boys. Being equipped in his military dress, he was not willing to appear in a conspicuous place. God, nevertheless found him out by his Spirit. His convictions now sunk so deep, that he was no longer able to conceal them. He left

his sword and other parts of his equipments, some in one place and some in another. The arrows of the Almighty stuck fast in him, nor could he shake them off until some time after. At a meeting when the congregation rose from prayer, Col. Harris was observed still on his knees, with his head and hands hanging over the bench. Some of the people went to his relief, and found him senseless. When he came to himself, he smiled; and in an ecstasy of joy, exclaimed, Glory! glory! glory! &c. Soon after this he was baptized by Rev. Daniel Marshall, as mentioned above. This probably took place some time in the year 1758. He did not confer with flesh and blood, but immediately began his ministerial labors; which afterwards proved so effectual as to acquire him the name of the Virginia apostle.

In 1759 he was ordained a ruling elder. His labors were chiefly confined, for the first six or seven years, to the adjacent counties of Virginia and North Carolina; never having past to the north of James River until the year 1765. During the first years of his ministry, he often travelled with Mr. Marshall; and must have caught much of his spirit, for there is obviously a considerable resemblance in their manners. January, 1765, Allen Wyley travelled out to Pittsylvania, to seek for a preacher. He had been previously baptized by some regular Baptist minister in Fauquier; but not being able to procure preachers to attend in his own neighborhood and hearing of New-lights, (as they were called in North Carolina) he set out by himself, scarcely knowing whither he was going. God directed his way, and brought him into the neighborhood of Mr. Harris, on a meeting day. He went to the meeting, and was immediately noticed by Mr. Harris, and asked whence he came? He replied that he was seeking a gospel minister; and God having directed his course to him, that he was the man, and that he wished him to go with him to Culpepper. Mr. Harris agreed to go, like Peter, nothing doubting but it was a call from God. This visit was abundantly blessed for the enlargement of the Redeemer's cause. Soon after he had returned, three messengers came from Spottsylvania to obtain Mr. Harris's services. He departed into North Carolina to seek James Read, who was ordained to the ministry. Their labors were so highly favored, that from that time Mr. Harris became almost a constant traveller. Not confining himself to narrow limits, but led on from place to place, wherever he could see an opening to do good, there he would hoist the flag of peace. There was scarcely a place in Virginia, in which he did not sow the gospel seed. It was not until 1769, that this eminently useful man was ordained to

the administration of ordinances. Why he was not ordained at an earlier period, is not certainly known; some say, that he did not wish it; others, that his opinions respecting the support of ministers were objected to by the leading elders. After his ordination, he baptized as well as preached.

In every point of view, Mr. Harris might be considered as one of the most excellent of men. Being in easy circumstances when he became religious, he devoted not only himself but almost all his property to religious objects. He had begun a large new dwelling-house, suitable to his former dignity, which as soon as it was enclosed, he appropriated to the use of public worship, continuing to live in the old one.

After maintaining his family in a very frugal manner, he distributed his surplus income to charitable purposes. During the war, when it was extremely difficult to procure salt, he kept two wagons running to Petersburg, to bring up salt for his neighbors. His manners were of the most winning sort, having a singular talent at touching the feelings. He scarcely ever went into a house, without exhorting and praying for those he met there.

As a doctrinal preacher, his talents were rather below mediocrity, unless at those times when he was highly favored from above; then he would sometimes display considerable ingenuity. His excellency lay chiefly in addressing the heart, and perhaps even Whitefield did not surpass him in this. When animated himself, he seldom failed to animate his auditory. Some have described him, when exhorting at great meetings, as pouring forth streams of celestial lightning from his eyes, which, whithersoever he turned his face, would strike down hundreds at once. Hence he is often called Boanerges. So much was Mr. Harris governed by his feelings, that if he began to preach and did not feel some liberty of utterance, he would tell his audience he could not preach without the Lord, and then sit down. Not long before the commencement of the great revival in Virginia, Mr. H. had a paralytic shock, from which he never entirely recovered. Yet this did not deter him from his diligent usefulness. If he could not go as far, he was still not idle within that sphere allowed him by his infirmities. At all Associations and general committees, where he was delegated, he was almost invariably made moderator. This office, like every thing else, he discharged with some degree of singularity, yet to general satisfaction.

For some short time previous to his death, his senses were considerably palsied; so that we are deprived of such pious remarks as would probably have fallen from this extraordinary servant of God in his last hours.

He was somewhat over seventy years of age when he died.

The remarkable anecdotes told of Mr. H. are so numerous, that they would fill a volume of themselves, if they were collected. A part of them only we shall record.

Mr. H. like Mr. Marshall, possessed a soul incapable of being dismayed by any difficulties. To obtain his own consent to undertake a laudable enterprize, it was sufficient for him to know that it was possible. His faith was sufficient to throw mountains into the sea, if they stood in the way.—He seems also never to have been appalled by the fear or shame of man, but could confront the stoutest sons of pride, and boldly urge the humble doctrines of the cross. Like the brave soldier, if beaten back at the first onset, he was still ready for a further assault; so that he often conquered opposers, that to others appeared completely hopeless. With this spirit he commenced his career.

Early after he embraced religion, his mind was impressed with a desire to preach to the officers and soldiers of the fort. An opportunity offered in Fort Mayo, and Mr. Harris began his harangue, urging most vehemently the necessity of the new birth. In the course of his harangue, an officer interrupted him, saying, "Colonel, you have sucked much eloquence from the rum-cask to-day; pray give us a little, that we may declaim as well, when it comes to our turn." Harris replied, "I am not drunk;" and resumed his discourse. He had not gone far, before he was accosted by another, in a serious manner, who, looking in his face said, "Sam, you say you are not drunk; pray are you not mad then? What the d—l ails you?" Col. Harris replied in the words of Paul, "I am not mad, most noble gentleman." He continued speaking publicly and privately, until one of the gentlemen received such impressions as were never afterwards shaken off; but he afterwards became a pious Christian.

Soon after this, Mr. Harris found a sad alteration as to his religious enjoyment. He prayed God to restore the light of his countenance, and renew communion with him; but his petition was deferred. He then went into the woods, and sought for the happiness he had lost; thinking that, peradventure, God would answer his prayer there, though not in the fort, where so much wickedness abounded; but no answers came. Then he began to inquire into the cause why God had dealt so with him. The first that offered was his lucrative offices; upon which he determined to lay them down immediately, and settle his accounts with the public. Having now removed the *Achan* out of the camp, as he thought, he renewed his suit for a restoration of the joy

which he had lost; but still "the vision tarried, and the prophecy brought not forth." He began to examine himself a second time. Then he suspected his money was the cause, and that he had made gold his trust. Accordingly he took all his money and threw it away into the bushes, where it remains to this day, for aught any one knows to the contrary. After this he prayed again, and found that man's impatience will not shorten the time which infinite wisdom hath measured out for delays or beneficence. However, in due time the wished-for good came. "I am aware (says Mr. Morgan Edwards, from whose MS. history this anecdote is selected) that this story will render the wisdom of the Colonel suspected. Be it so. It nevertheless establishes the truth of his piety, and shows that he preferred communion with God before riches and honors."

Rough was the treatment which Mr. Harris met with among his rude countrymen. In one of his journeys in the county of Culpepper, a Capt. Ball and his gang came to a place where he was preaching, and said, "You shall not preach here."—A bystander whose name was Jeremiah Minor, replied, "But he shall." From this sharp contention of words, they proceeded to a sharper contest of blows and scuffles. Friends on both sides interested themselves; some to make peace and others to back their foremen. The supporters of Mr. Harris were probably most of them worldly people, who acted from no other principle than to defend a minister thus insulted and abused. But if they were Christians, they were certainly too impatient and resentful, and manifested too much the spirit Peter had when he drew his sword on the high priest's servant. Col. Harris's friends took him into a house, and set Lewis Craig to guard the door, while he was preaching; but presently Ball's gang came up, drove the sentinel from his stand, and battered open the door; but they were driven back by the people within. This involved them in another contest, and thus the day ended in confusion.

On another occasion he was arrested and carried into court, as a disturber of the peace. In court, a captain Williams vehemently accused him as a vagabond, a heretic, and a mover of sedition every where. Mr. Harris made no defence. But the court ordered that he should not preach in the county again for the space of twelve months, or be committed to prison. The Colonel told them that he lived two hundred miles from thence, and that it was not likely he should disturb them again in the course of one year. Upon this he was dismissed. From Culpepper he went to Fauquier, and preached at Carter's Run.—

VOL. 1.—J.

From thence he crossed the Blue Ridge, and preached at Shenandoah. On his return from thence, he turned in at Capt. Thomas Clanahan's, in the county of Culpepper, where there was a meeting. While certain young ministers were preaching, the word of God began to burn in Col. Harris's heart. When they finished, he arose and addressed the congregation, "I partly promised the devil, a few days past, at the court-house, that I would not preach in this county for the term of a year: but the devil is a perfidious wretch, and covenants with him are not to be kept, and therefore I will preach." He preached a lively, animating sermon. The court never meddled with him more.

In Orange county, one Benjamin Healy pulled Mr. Harris down from the place where he was preaching, and hauled him about, sometimes by the hand, sometimes by the leg, and sometimes by the hair of the head; but the persecuted preacher had friends here also, who espoused his part, and rescued him from the rage of his enemies.—This, as in a former case, brought on a contention between his advocates and opposers; during which, a Capt. Jameson sent Mr. Harris to a house where was a loft with a step-ladder to ascend it; into that loft he hurried him, took away the step-ladder, and left the good man secure from his enemies.

Near Haw-river, a rude fellow came up to Mr. Harris and knocked him down while he was preaching.

He went to preach to the prisoners once, in the town of Hillsborough, where he was locked up in the goal, and kept for some time.

Notwithstanding these things, Col. Harris did not suffer as many persecutions as some other Baptist preachers. Tempered in some degree peculiar to himself, perhaps his bold, noble, yet humble manner, dismayed the ferocious spirits of the opposers of religion.

A criminal who had been just pardoned at the gallows, once met him on the road, and showed him his reprieve. "Well," said he, "and have you shown it to Jesus?" "No, Mr. Harris, I want you to do that for me." The old man immediately descended from his horse, in the road, and making the man also alight, they both kneeled down; Mr. H. put one hand on the man's head, and with the other held open the pardon, and thus, in behalf of the criminal, returned thanks for his reprieve and prayed for him to obtain God's pardon also.

The following very interesting narrative was published by Mr. Semple, in his History of the Virginia Baptists; it has also been published by Mr. John Leland, in his Budget of Scraps, under the title of "*Pray-*

er, better than Law-suits."—As there is some little variation, not as to matters of fact, but in the mode of expression, in these two relaters, I have selected from them both this singular and instructive story. When Mr. Harris began to preach, his soul was so absorbed in the work that it was difficult for him to attend to the duties of this life. Finding at length the absolute need of providing more grain for his family than his plantation had produced, he went to a man who owed him a sum of money, and told him he would be very glad if he would discharge the debt he owed him. The man replied, "I have no money by me, and therefore cannot oblige you." Harris said, "I want the money to purchase wheat for my family; and as you have raised a good crop of wheat, I will take that article of you, instead of the money, at a current price." The man answered, "I have other uses for my wheat, and cannot let you have it." "How then," said Harris, "do you intend to pay me?" "I never intend to pay you until you sue me," replied the debtor, "and therefore you may begin your suit as soon as you please." Mr. Harris left him meditating: "Good God," said he to himself, "what shall I do? Must I leave preaching to attend to a vexatious law-suit! Perhaps a thousand souls will perish in the mean time for the want of hearing of Jesus! No, I will not. Well, what will you do for yourself? Why, this I will do: I will sue him at the Court of Heaven." Having resolved what to do, he turned aside into a wood, and fell upon his knees, and thus began his suit: "O blessed Jesus! thou eternal God! thou knowest that I need the money which the man owes me to supply the wants of my family; but he will not pay me without a law-suit. Dear Jesus, shall I quit thy cause, and leave the souls of men to perish? Or wilt thou, in mercy open some other way of relief?"—In this address, the Colonel, had such nearness to God, that (to use his own words) Jesus said unto him, "Harris, I will enter bonds-man for the man; you keep on preaching, and omit the law-suit; I will take care of you, and see that you have your pay." Mr. Harris felt well satisfied with his security, but thought it would be unjust to hold the man a debtor, when Jesus had assumed payment. He, therefore, wrote a receipt in full of all accounts which he had against the man, and dating it in the woods, where Jesus entered bail, he signed it with his own name. Going the next day by the man's house to attend a meeting, he gave the receipt to a servant, and bid him deliver it to his master. On returning from the meeting, the man hailed him at his gate and said, "Mr. Harris what did you mean by the receipt you sent me this morning?" Mr. Harris re-

plied, "I meant just as I wrote." "But you know, Sir," answered the debtor, "I have never paid you." "True," said Mr. Harris; "and I know, also, that you said you never would, except I sued you. But, Sir, I sued you at the Court of Heaven, and Jesus entered bail for you, and has agreed to pay me; I have, therefore, given you a discharge!" "But I insist upon it," said the man, "matters shall not be left so." "I am well satisfied," answered Harris, "Jesus will not fail me; I leave you to settle the account with him another day.—Farewell." This operated so effectually on the man's conscience, that in a few days he loaded his wagon, and sent wheat enough to discharge the debt.

A complete history of the life of this venerable man, would furnish still a lengthy catalogue of anecdotes of the most interesting kind. But we shall close his biography, by relating one, which though of a different nature, is not less curious than any of the former.

The General Association of Separate Baptists in Virginia, in the year 1774, in the ardor of their zeal for reformation, and the revival of primitive order, resolved that the office of Apostles, together with all the other officers mentioned in Ephesians, 4th chapter and 11th verse, were still to be maintained in the church. Pursuant to this resolution, the Association proceeded, in the first place, to choose by ballot one from amongst them, to officiate in the dignified character of an apostle. Mr. Harris was elected, and consented to be ordained to his Apostolic function, by the laying on of the hands of every ordained minister in the Association.* So that he was for a time, in fact, as he was generally called by way of eminence, the Apostle of Virginia.—*Benedict.*

BIOGRAPHY

OF

JOHN GANO.

JOHN GANO was one of the most eminent Ministers in his day; in point of talents he was exceeded by few, and as an itinerant he was inferior to none, who ever travelled in the United States, unless it were the renowned Whitefield. He was born at Hopewell, in New Jersey, July 22, 1727, was converted soon after he arrived at manhood, and was ordained in the place of his nativity, in 1754.

* See a full account of this singular experiment in the History of the Virginia Baptists.

His progenitors, on his father's side, were from France, on his mother's from England. His great grand-father, Francis Gano, fled from Guernsey, in the time of a bloody persecution; one of his neighbors had been martyred in the day, and in the evening he was fixed on as the victim for the next day; information of which he received in the dead of night. In this perilous situation he made all haste to escape the sanguinary storm which hung over his head; he chartered a vessel, removed his family on board, and in the morning was out of the harbor. On his arrival in America, he settled in New Rochelle, a few miles above the city of New York, where he lived to the age of a hundred and three. Of the number or names of the family of this religious refugee, we know no more, than that he had one son named Stephen, who married Ann Walton, by whom he had many children, some of whom died young; those who lived to marry, were Daniel, Francis, James, John, Lewis, Isaac, and three daughters, Sarah, Catharine, and Susannah; the last of whom lived to the age of eighty-seven. Daniel married Sarah Britton of Staten Island, near the city of New York, by whom he had Daniel, Jane, Stephen, Susannah, John, Nathaniel, David, and Sarah. The two first were born on Staten Island, the others at Hopewell, in New Jersey. Some of these died young; but a number of them founded families, and their posterity is scattered in many parts of America; most of them, however, are in the middle and western States. The subject of this memoir had the happiness of being born of parents eminent for piety, by whom he was early taught the necessity of religion, and a correct view of the gospel system. His maternal grandmother was about seventy-six years a pious member of a Baptist Church; she lived to the age of ninety-six. His mother was of the same persuasion, but his father was a Presbyterian. But every thing attending his making a religious profession among the Baptists, was conducted with prudence on his part, and with tenderness on that of his friends. He was at first much inclined to join the Presbyterians, but having some scruples on the subject of infant baptism, he determined to give it a thorough investigation. He not only read books, but had frequent conversation with presbyterian friends; but the more he studied the Pædobaptist arguments, the less he was inclined to believe them. The famous Mr. Tennant,* and some other Presbyterian ministers, were among the circle of his Pædobaptist friends. With Mr. Tennant he conversed often and

freely; at the close of a lengthy discussion of the subject of baptism, that candid divine addressed him in the following manner: "Dear young man, if the devil cannot destroy your soul, he will endeavor to destroy your comfort and usefulness; and therefore do not be always doubting in this matter. If you cannot think as I do, think for yourself."

After a suspense of some time, he became fully established in those principles, which he through life maintained with much ability and moderation. Having resolved to be buried in baptism on a profession of his faith, he made his father acquainted with his design, who treated him with much indulgence and tenderness.—He stated that what he did for him in his infancy, he then thought was right, and the discharge of an incumbent duty, but if he felt conscientious in his present undertaking, he had his full and free consent. He moreover proposed that when he should offer himself to the Baptist Church, he would go with him and give his consent there, and answer any inquiries they might wish to make respecting his life, &c. and also that he would go and see him baptized. All these promises his catholic father fulfilled.

Soon after Mr. Gano was joined to the Hopewell church, his mind was led to the ministry, but with many anxieties and fears. He was so much absorbed in his thoughts of the great work, that he was often lost to every other object. One morning after he began plowing in his field, this passage, "Warn the people, or their blood will I require at your hands," came with such weight upon his mind, that he drove on until eleven o'clock utterly insensible of his employment. When he came to himself, he found he was wet through with the rain, his horses were excessively fatigued, and the labor he had performed was astonishingly great.

After becoming satisfied that preaching would be his employment, he applied himself with much assiduity to studies preparatory for it, which he continued, with some interruption however, for two or three years. Before he had been approbated to preach, he took a journey into Virginia, with Messrs. Miller and Thomas, two eminent ministers of that day, who had been appointed by the Philadelphia Association to go and assist in settling some difficulties in two infant churches there, which had applied to them for help. Before Mr. Gano had returned home, a report had reached Hopewell, that he had got to preaching in Virginia: and some of his brethren were tried with him, for engaging in the ministry without the approbation of the church. A meeting was called on his arrival, and he

* It is not known by the writer whether William or Gilbert is the minister intended, but it is probable it was the latter.

was arraigned as being guilty of disorder. He wished them to exhibit their proofs. They informed him that they had none only what travellers from Virginia had reported, but desired that he would give a relation of the matter. He replied that it was the first time he had known the accused called on to give evidence against himself, but he was willing, notwithstanding to give them an impartial relation of his conduct, which he did. The church then asked him what he thought of his proceedings, and whether he did not think he had been disorderly. He replied again, that he considered this question more extraordinary than the other. He had not only given evidence in his own case which would operate against him, but he was now called upon to adjudge himself guilty. This is a specimen of that ingenuity and presence of mind, which shone so conspicuously through all the transactions of this sagacious character. He at length informed the church that he did not mean to act disorderly, nor contrary to their wishes; that his conscience acquitted him for what he had done; that he had no disposition to repent his having sounded the gospel to perishing sinners in Virginia, whose importunities to hear it he could not resist; that the case was extraordinary, and would not probably happen again; if it should, he should probably do again as he had already done. The church now appointed him a time to preach, which he did to their acceptance; and after a thorough examination of his gifts and call, he was regularly set apart for the ministry. Soon after this, he went to reside at Morristown; and calls for preaching pressed upon him so much, that his studies, in which he had considerably advanced, were in a great measure relinquished.

At the next meeting of the Philadelphia Association, that body was again petitioned to appoint some one to travel to the south. Messengers had also come on from Virginia, for the purpose of procuring a preacher to labor and administer ordinances among them. As no ordained minister could conveniently go, Mr. Gano was urged to accept ordination, and undertake the journey. He pleaded against it his youth and inexperience; but the messengers from Virginia, and his brethren at home, united their importunities, and he engaged in the mission. He was ordained in May, 1754, and set out in a short time after. In this journey he went as far as Charleston, South Carolina, and traveled extensively throughout the southern States. Some extracts from his journal will give the reader some view of the turn of the man, and of the manner in which he prosecuted his mission. His journal, which was printed in his life,

has but few dates, but it will be understood that the following scenes transpired in the summer and autumn of 1754.

In the back parts of Virginia, this zealous missionary, while conversing with some people where he lodged, in an affectionate manner, respecting their religious concerns, overheard one of the company say to another, "This man talks like one of the Jones's! On enquiring who the Jones's were, he was informed that they were distracted people, who did nothing but pray and talk about Jesus Christ, and that they lived between twenty and thirty miles distant on his route. "I determined," said he, "to make it my next day's ride, and see *my own likeness*." When he arrived at the house, he found there a plain obscure family, which had formerly lived in a very careless manner, but a number of them had lately been changed by grace, and were engaged in devotional exercises. As he entered the house, he saw the father of the family lying before the fire, groaning with rheumatic pains. He enquired how he did? "O," said he, "I am in great distress. "I am glad of it," replied the stranger. The old gentleman astonished at this singular reply, raised himself up, and enquired what he meant? "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth," answered Mr. Gano. From this they proceeded to religious conversation, and he soon found this pious family, whom the world accounted mad, had been taught the words of truth and soberness. They asked him many questions, and were much pleased to find one, who was acquainted with the things they had experienced.

From this place he proceeded on towards North Carolina, having a young man with him, who chose to bear him company on his way. "We arrived at a house just at dusk, the master of which gave us liberty to tarry. After we had conveyed our things into the house, he asked me if I was a *trader*; which I answered in the affirmative. He asked me if I found it to answer; to which I answered, "Not so well as I could wish." He replied, "Probably the goods did not suit." I told him, "No one had complained of that. He said I held them too high. I answered, "Any one might have them below their own price." He said he would trade on these terms; which, I said, I would cheerfully comply with. I then asked him, "If gold tried in the fire, yea, that which was better than the fine gold, wine and milk, durable riches and righteousness, without money and without price, would not suit him?" "O, said he, "I believe you are a minister." I told him I was, and had a right to proclaim free grace wherever I went. This laid the

foundation for the evening's conversation; and I must acknowledge his kindness, though he was not very desirous of *trading*, after he discovered who I was."

Our itinerant continued southward until he arrived at Charleston; and there, and in its vicinity, he preached to good acceptance. His account of his first sermon for Mr. Hart, in Charleston, is as follows: "When I arose to speak, the sight of so brilliant an audience, among whom were twelve ministers, and one of whom was Mr. Whitefield, for a moment brought the fear of man upon me: but blessed be the Lord, I was soon relieved from this embarrassment; the thought passed my mind, I had none to fear and obey but the Lord."

On his return from Charleston to the northward he visited an Island where he was informed there never had been but two sermons preached. The people soon collected together, and he preached to them from these words, "Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you, and I will not be burdensome to you."

When he arrived at Tar River, in North Carolina, he found that a report had gone forth, that some of the principal men in the county had agreed, that if he came within their reach, they would apprehend him as a *spy*; for by his name he was judged to be a Frenchman, and this was in the time of the French war. Some of these people lived on the road he was to travel the next day. His friends urged him to take a different route; but he replied that God had so far conducted him on his way in safety, and he should trust him for the future. When he got near the place where the principal men who had threatened him lived, he was advised to go through it as secretly as possible; but that by no means accorded with his views; he replied, he should stop and refresh himself in the place. He stopped at one of the most public houses, and asked the landlord if he thought the people would come out to hear a sermon on a week day. He informed him he thought they would; but observed, that on the next Monday, there was to be a general muster for that county. He therefore concluded to defer the meeting till that time, and requested the landlord to inform the Colonel of the regiment, (who, he had learnt, was one of those who had threatened him) of his name, &c., and desire of him the favor of preaching a short sermon before military duty. The landlord promised to comply with his request. "On Monday I had twenty miles to ride to the muster, and by 10 o'clock there was a numerous crowd of men and women; they had erected a stage in the woods for me, and I preached from Paul's Christian armor. They all paid the most profound attention, except one man

who behaved amiss. I spoke and told him, I was ashamed to see a soldier so awkward in his duty, and wondered his officer could bear with him. The Colonel, as I afterwards understood, brought him to order. After service, I desired a person to inform the commander that I wanted to speak with him. He immediately came, and I told him, that although I professed loyalty to King George, and did not wish to infringe upon the laudable design of the day, yet, I thought, the King of kings ought to be served first; and I presumed what I had said did not tend to make them worse soldiers, but better Christians. He complaisantly thanked me, and said, if I could wait, he would make the exercises as short as possible, and give an opportunity for another sermon, for which he should be obliged to me. I told him I had an appointment some miles off to preach the next day. Thus ended my chastisement, and the fears of my friends."

"From hence I returned by the way of Ketockton, on Blue Ridge, where the inhabitants are scattered. On my road, I observed a thunder-storm arising, and rode speedily for the first house. When I arrived, the man came running into the house, and seeing me, appeared much alarmed; there being at that time great demands for men and horses for Braddock's army. He said to me, "*Sir, are you a press-master?*" I told him I was. "But," said he, "you do not take married men?" I told him surely I did; and that the master I wished him to serve was good, his character unimpeachable, the wages great, and that it would be for the benefit of his wife and children, if he enlisted. He made many excuses, but I endeavored to answer them, and begged him to turn out a volunteer in the service of Christ. This calmed his fears, and I left him, and proceeded on my way to Ketockton, where I spent some time, and baptized Mr. Hail."

From Ketockton, Mr. Gano proceeded immediately homeward. Soon after his arrival, he was married to Sarah, daughter of John Stites, Esq. Mayor of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, by whom he had many children, most of whom are yet living. Two sons and two daughters are yet in Kentucky, one son in Ohio, one daughter is at Hillsdale, New York, and his second son Stephen is pastor of the church in providence, Rhode Island. Mrs. Gano was sister to Mrs. Manning, the wife of the President, who is yet living at Providence.

It was not long after Mr. Gano had returned from this journey, before he was again induced, by repeated solicitations, to set out on another, to the southward, in which he was gone about eight months, and was happy to find, in many places, the fruits

of his labors in his former visits. Soon after he returned from this excursion, he was invited by an infant church in North Carolina, which he had raised up in a place called the Jersey Settlement, to remove and become its pastor. Messengers came to Morristown, a distance of about eight hundred miles, for the purpose of soliciting that church to give him up. They at first refused, but afterwards concluded to leave the matter to his own choice. He therefore concluded to go; but at the same time informed the Morristown church, it was not for the want of attachment to them. The church in North Carolina, he considered, was wholly destitute, and there was besides a wide field for gospel labor. At the Jersey Settlement he continued about two years; the church became large, and his labors were abundantly useful throughout a wide and destitute region. But a war breaking out with the Cherokee Indians, he was obliged to leave the country, and return to New Jersey. About this time the foundation for the first church in New York was laid by Mr. Miller of Scotch Plains; the church in Philadelphia had also been lately deprived of its pastor, by the death of Mr. Jenkin Jones. Mr. Gano preached for some time alternately at both cities, but about the time the church in New York was organized, he went to live among them, and was chosen its pastor, and continued in that office about twenty-five years, excepting the time he was obliged to be absent on account of the war. Some account of his ministry here, and of the progress of the church while under his care, may be found in its history under the head of New York.

During most of the revolutionary war, Mr. Gano was a chaplain in the army; and by his counsels and prayers, encouraged the American hosts in their struggles for freedom from the dominions of a foreign oppressive yoke.

On the return of peace, he returned to his pastoral station, and began to collect the church which had been scattered to many different places. Out of upwards of two hundred members, of which it consisted at the time of its dispersion, he collected at first but thirty-seven; but his congregation soon became large, others of the scattered flock came in, a revival commenced, which prevailed extensively, and at one communion season, near forty young persons were added to their number. In this prosperous manner this successful minister recommenced his labors in New York, and every thing appeared promising even to the time he projected his removal to Kentucky.—This removal was as unexpected to the church, as it was surprising to his friends. His reasons for it are thus stated by himself: "One William Wood, a Baptist minister,

came from Kentucky and gave a very exalted character of the state of it. He made several encouraging proposals to me to go there, said there was a prospect of usefulness in the ministry, the necessity of an old experienced minister to take care of a young church there, and flattering temporal prospects for the support of my family. For these reasons I concluded to remove. Besides, I was considerably in debt, and saw no way of being released, but by selling my house and lot. This I concluded would clear me, and enable me to purchase wagons and horses to carry me to Kentucky. I called a church-meeting, and informed them of my intention. They treated it as a chimera, and thought they could stop me by raising my salary. They, with all possible coolness, left me to determine for myself. I immediately determined to go, and desired them to look out for a supply. This aroused them, and they very affectionately urged me to tarry. I told them, if they had desired me to stay before I had put it out of my own power, I should then have given it up."^{*}

Having resolved on removing, he sold his estate, commenced his journey, and on June 17, 1787, landed at Limestone, and immediately repaired to Washington, where he tarried a while; he then went to Lexington and finally settled near Frankfort, where he died in 1804, in the 78th year of his age. The labors of this aged minister were owned of God for good in Kentucky; but there is reason to believe, that neither his usefulness nor his worldly comforts were so great as he expected. His changes were frequent, and some of them peculiarly trying. The encouraging proposals made by Mr. Wood, appear not to have been realized. His wife was first made a cripple by a fall from a horse, and soon after removed from him by death. By most of the Kentucky brethren he was honored and esteemed, and by all of them his death was much lamented. In 1793, he made a visit to North Carolina, where he married for his second wife the widow of Capt. Thomas Bryant, and daughter of Col. Jonathan Hunt, formerly of New Jersey, one of his old neighbors and unchanging friends. In her he found an amiable help-meet for his declining years. She had been baptized by his son Stephen three years before, that is in 1790, when they visited North Carolina together. She still survives him, and resides at his late dwelling, Near Frankfort, Kentucky. While he was waiting for this new companion to arrange her affairs for a removal, he visited Charleston, South Carolina, and also as far northward as his son Stephen's in Providence.

^{*} This with the preceding extracts, is made from Gano's Life, a 12mo. volume of 150 pages.

Mr. Gano, though somewhat impaired by age, was still actively engaged in his Master's service; but in 1798, he had the misfortune to fall from a horse, and fractured his shoulder-blade, which deprived him of the use of one of his arms for some time. As he was recovering from this affliction, he was very suddenly seized in his bed with a paralytic shock, which rendered him almost speechless for nearly a year. From this shock he never fully recovered; but his speech was restored, and he had the use of his limbs so far, that he was able to be carried out to meetings, and preached frequently, especially in the time of the great revival, in an astonishing manner. While the Arian affair mentioned in the history of the Elkhorn Association, was agitating the minds of many of the Kentucky brethren, this able advocate for gospel truth was carried to Lexington, assisted into the pulpit, where he preached a masterly discourse in defence of the proper Deity of the Saviour, which was thought to have had a considerable influence in checking the prevalence of that erroneous system, which many were previously inclined to embrace.

We shall now take a review of the history of this distinguished man, and exhibit some of those peculiar traits in his character, which qualified him for such abundant usefulness, and rendered him so famous amongst the American Baptists. Mr. Gano was peculiarly qualified for an itinerant preacher. He possessed, to a singular degree, the wisdom of the serpent, with the harmlessness of the dove. He had a sagacity and quickness of perception, which but few men possess; he had also a happy facility in improving every passing occurrence to some useful purpose. He could abash and confound the opposer, without exciting his resentment; and administer reproof and instruction where others would be embarrassed or silent. His memory was retentive; his judgment was good; his wit was sprightly, and always at command; his zeal was ardent; but well regulated; his courage undaunted; his knowledge of men was extensive: and to all these accomplishments were added a heart glowing with love to God and men, and a character fair and unimpeachable.

It is said that Hervey's servant declared his master could make a sermon out of a pair of tongs; and probably not much inferior to his, were the inventive powers of Gano. He did not, however, descend to the absurd custom adopted by some, of choosing adverbs and prepositions for his texts; but he had a happy talent of selecting passages of Scripture descriptive of peculiar circumstances and passing events. We have a specimen of this in his preaching on the island in South Carolina. His

friends relate many instances of the same kind, a few only of which we shall notice. In one of his journeys at the southward, he travelled in company with a young preacher, who has since become an eminent character in that region. They took different routes in the day, but were to meet in the evening, and M. Gano was to preach. The meeting was at a private house, and he did not arrive at the place until late. The young man with reluctance began the meeting, and was in prayer when he came in. He entered the assembly without being discovered, and took his place among the hearers; and just as it was time to commence the sermon, he arose and said with emphasis, *I am come!* Then with a common tone, "I am come, that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," John x, 10, and immediately proceeded on his discourse.

In going down the Ohio river, on his removal to Kentucky, he and his companions met with much trouble on their passage; one of his boats was upset, and some valuable things were lost. Soon after they landed in Kentucky, he preached from these words, "So they all got safe to land."

While in the army, he was informed by the General on Saturday that they should march the next Monday, but was requested not to mention the matter until after sermon the next day. This circumstance suggested to his mind these words, "Being ready to depart on the morrow," from which he preached, and as soon as he had done, the orders were given.

The funeral of Gen. Mc Dougal, a famous character in New York, was appointed on a Lord's day at so early an hour, that there was but little time for the afternoon service. The people generally, out of respect to their illustrious citizen, were preparing to attend his funeral. Some congregations did not meet, but Mr. Gano's did; and he addressed them hastily from these words, "Brethren the time is short." Having respect to the General's death, he from this short passage, preached a short but well adapted discourse, and dismissed the assembly soon enough to join the procession.

He had an art peculiar to himself of accommodating such passages to particular events. His inventive powers were adequate to forming profitable discourses from almost any passage of Scripture at the shortest notice, and through the whole of his ministry, he frequently indulged this inimitable faculty. The first sermon he preached after his son Stephen visited him in Kentucky, was from these words, "I am glad of the coming of Stephanas, &c."

Mr. Gano was personally known almost throughout the United States; and a mul-

titude of anecdotes are told respecting him, a few only of which we shall be able to record.

In one of his journeys at the Southward, he called at a house and asked for some corn for his horse, which the landlord ordered his little son to carry. He then inquired if he was not a minister, and being answered in the affirmative, replied, "I have a child I want to get baptized; I have been waiting a long time for a priest to come along, and shall now have it done." Mr. Gano gave him to understand that any service he could afford him, should be cheerfully granted. The boy stood staring at the priest, and neglected his errand. Mr. Gano mentioned his horse again.—"You son of a b—h," said the father, "why don't you feed that horse, as I told you." The boy then did as he was bid, and his father began again to talk about his child. "What," said Mr. Gano, "do you mean to call it? That boy, I perceive is named, *Son of a b—h*." After this singular rebuke, nothing more was said about the christening of the child.

After preaching once in Virginia, in a place notoriously wicked, two young fellows, supposing he had leveled his censure against them, came up and dared him to fight. "That is not the way," said he, "that I defend my sentiments; but if you choose it, I will fight you, either both at once, or one after the other; but as I have to preach again very soon, I shall wish to put it off till after the meeting;" to which they agreed. As soon as the meeting was closed, he called the presumptuous youths forward and told them he was now ready to fight them. The eyes of all were fastened upon them; yet notwithstanding, they had the hardihood to present themselves for the combat. "If," said he, "I must fight you I shall choose to do it in some more retired place, and not before all these people." With that he walked off, and bid the young men follow him. He then commenced the attack in the following manner: "Young gentleman you ought to be ashamed of your conduct. What reason have you to suppose that I had a particular reference to you? I am an entire stranger here, and know not the names nor characters of any. You have proved by your conduct that you are guilty of the vices I have censured; and if you feel so much disturbed at my reproofs, how will you stand before the bar of God?" "I beg your pardon says one; I beg your pardon said the other; "I am sorry." If you are beat, gentleman, we will go back; and thus ended the battle.

While in the army, Mr. Gano had frequent opportunities of administering reproof in his skilful and forcible manner. One morninig, as he was going to pray

with the regiment, he passed by a group of officers, one of whom, (who had his back towards him) was uttering profane expressions in a most rapid manner. The officers, one after another, gave him the usual salutation, "good morning, Doctor,"* said the swearing Lieutenant.—"Good morning, Sir," replied the chaplain; "you pray early this morning." "I beg your pardon, Sir." "O, I cannot pardon you; you must carry your case to your God." One day he was standing near some soldiers who were disputing whose turn it was to cut some wood for the fire. one profanely said he would be d—d if he would cut it. But he was soon after convinced that the task belonged to him, and took up the axe to perform it. Before he commenced, Mr. Gano stepped up to him, and said, "Give me the axe." "O no," replied the soldier, "the chaplain shan't cut wood." "Yes," said he, "I must." "But why?" said the soldier. "The reason is, I just heard you say that you would be d—d if you would cut it; and I had rather take the labor off your hands, than that you should be made miserable forever."

While this singular man resided in New York he was introduced to a young lady, as the only daughter of Esquire W——. "Ah," replied he, "and I can tell a good match for her, and he is an only Son."—The young lady understood his meaning: she was not long after, united to this Son, and has for about forty years, been an ornament to his cause.

In one of his journeys, he was informed that there had been a revival of religion in a certain place, which lay on his route. He arrived there in the night, and called at a house, of which he had no previous knowledge. A woman came to the door, whom he addressed as follows: "I have understood, madam, that my Father has some children in this place; I wish to inquire where they live, that I may find lodgings to-night." "I hope," replied the woman, "I am one of your Father's children; come in, dear Sir and lodge here."

The following summary view of the character of our venerable Sire, was drawn in consequence of a particular request, by Dr. Richard Furnam, of Charleston, South Carolina, who was personally acquainted with him in different stages of his life.

"The late Rev. John Gano will be long remembered with affection and respect in the United States of America. Here was his character formed; and here as on a conspicuous theatre, were the actions of his amiable, pious and useful life exhibited.

"He was, in person, below the middle stature; and when young, of a slender

* The officers generally complimented Mr. Gano with this title.

form; but of a firm vigorous constitution, well fitted for performing active services with ease, and for suffering labors and privations with constancy. In the more advanced stages of life his body tended to corpulency; but not to such a degree as to burden or render him inactive. His presence was manly, open and engaging. His voice strong and commanding, yet agreeable, and capable of all those inflections, which are suited to express either the strong or tender emotions of an intelligent, feeling mind. In mental endowments and acquired abilities he appeared highly respectable: with clear conception and penetrating discernment, he formed, readily, a correct judgment of men and things. His acquaintance with the learned languages and science, did not commence till he arrived at manhood, and was obtained chiefly by private instruction, but under the direction of a clerical gentleman, well qualified for the office. To the refinements of learning he did not aspire; his chief object was such a competent acquaintance with its principles, as would enable him to apply them with advantage to purposes of general usefulness in religion, and to the most important interests of society; and to this he attained.

"His mind was formed for social intercourse, and for friendship. Such was his unaffected humility, candor, and good will to men, that few, if any, have enjoyed more satisfaction in the company of his friends, or have, in return, afforded them, by their conversation, a higher degree of pleasure and moral improvement.

"His passions were strong, and his sensibility could be easily excited; but so chastened and regulated were they by the meekness of wisdom, that he preserved great composure of spirit, and command of his words and actions, even in times of trial and provocation, when many, who might justly rank with the wise and good would be thrown into a state of perturbation, and hurried into extravagance.

"As a minister of Christ, he shone like a star of the first magnitude in the American churches, and moved in a widely extended field of action. For this office God had endowed him with a large portion of grace, and with excellent gifts. He *believed*, and therefore *spoke*." Having discerned the excellence of gospel truths, and the importance of eternal realities, he felt their power on his own soul, and accordingly he inculcated and urged them on the minds of his hearers with persuasive eloquence and force. He was not deficient in doctrinal discussion, or what rhetoricians style the demonstrative character of a discourse; but he excelled in the pathetic, in pungent, forcible addresses to the heart and

conscience. The careless and irreverent were suddenly arrested and stood awed before him; and the insensible were made to feel, while he asserted and maintained the honor of his God, explained the meaning of the divine law, shewing its purity and justice; exposed the sinner's guilt; proved him to be miserable, ruined and inexcusable, and called him to unfeigned, immediate repentance. But he was not less a son of consolation to the mourning sinner, who lamented his offences committed against God, who felt the plague of a corrupt heart, and longed for salvation; nor did he fail to speak a word of direction, support and comfort, in due season, to the tried tempted believer. He knew how to publish the glad tidings of salvation in the redeemer's Name, for the consolation of all who believe in him, or had discovered their need of his mediation and grace; and to him this was a delightful employment. Success attended his ministrations, and many owned him for their father in the gospel.

"The doctrines he embraced were those which are contained in the Baptist confession of faith, and are commonly styled calvinistic. But he was of a liberal mind, and esteemed pious men of every denomination. While he maintained with consistent firmness, the doctrines which he believed to be the truths of God, he was modest in the judgment which he formed of his own opinion, and careful to avoid giving offence, or grieving any good man, who differed from him in sentiment. Hence, he was cordially esteemed and honored by the wise and good of all denominations.*

"His attachment to his country as a citizen, was unshaken in the times which tried men's souls; and as a chaplain in the army, for a term of years, while excluded from his church and home, he rendered it essential service. Preserving his moral dignity with the purity which becomes a gospel minister, he commanded respect from the officers; and by his condescension and kindness, won the affections of the soldiers, inspiring them by his example, with his own courage and firmness, while toiling with them through military scenes of hardship, and danger.

"He lived to a good old age; served his generation according to the will of God; saw his posterity multiplying around him; his country independent, free and happy; the church of Christ, for which he felt and

* An honorable testimony was borne to his ministerial abilities and service, by a respectable clergyman of the Episcopal church, who had made extensive observations on public characters. After going to hear him, perhaps at different times, while he was employed in the regular course of service in his own church, in the city of New York, this clergyman noted in his journal, "that he thought Mr. Gano possessed the best pulpit talents of any man he ever heard." This anecdote was received from the Rev. Dr. Bowen, of New York, whose father was the clergyman referred to.—*Dr. Furman's Letter.*

labored, advancing; and thus he closed his eyes in peace; his heart expanding with the sublime hope of immortality and heavenly bliss.

"Like John, the harbinger of our Redeemer, 'he was a burning and a shining light, and many rejoiced in his light.' Resembling the sun, he arose in the church with morning brightness, advanced regularly to his station of meridian splendor, and then gently declined with mild effulgence, till he disappeared, without a cloud to intercept his rays, or obscure his glory."—*Benedict.*

BIOGRAPHY

OF

LEWIS LUNSFORD.

WE now come to the man, (says Mr. Semple, in his biography) who, in point of talents as a preacher, was never excelled in Virginia; and by many it is doubted whether he ever had a superior any where else.

Mr. Lunsford was born in Stafford county, Virginia, of indigent parents. He received a very slender education indeed; nor had he the means to enlarge it. The God of nature furnished him with powers to surmount all obstacles. To obviate the want of education, he used, after working all day, to read till late at night, by fire-light. At an early stage of his life, while attending the ministry of William Fristoe, he was happily arrested by divine mercy. Mr. Fristoe baptized him when a boy, and he immediately, both in private and public, began to stand up as an advocate for the gospel. His talents, at this tender age, commanded attention, and procured him the flattering appellation of *The Wonderful Boy*. After moving in a more confined circle for some few years, he began to enlarge his borders. About 1774, Divine Providence directed his attention to the lower counties in the Northern Neck. Wherever he placed his foot as a preacher, there attended a blessing. Believers were added to the church, through his instrumentality, in most of the neighborhoods of these lower counties. His preaching made a great noise, not only for its ingenuity, but for its novelty. Here, as in most other places where the Baptists preached, the people cried out that some new doctrine was started; that the church was in danger. Mr. Lunsford was accounted worthy to share a part of this opposition. A clergyman appointed a set day to preach against the Anabaptists. Crowds attended to hear him. He told stories of John of Leyden, and of

Cromwell's round-heads; but he could not by such tales stop the gospel current, now swelling to a torrent. When Mr. Lunsford preached again in the same parts, they attacked him by more weighty arguments. A constable was sent with a warrant to arrest him. The constable, with more politeness than was usual then on such occasions, waited until Mr. Lunsford had preached. His fascinating powers palsied the constable's hand. He would not, he said, serve a warrant on so good a man. Another man took it, and went, tremblingly, and served it. Mr. Lunsford attended the summons, and appeared before a magistrate. He was held in recognizance to appear at Court.—The Court determined that Mr. Lunsford had been guilty of a breach of good behaviour; and that he must give security, or go to prison. He was advised to give security, under the expectation of obtaining licence to preach. He tried, but could not. He often regretted that he had taken this step; and was sorry he had not gone to prison. This took place in Richmond County.

After the repeal of the law for establishing one sect to the exclusion of the rest, a banditti attended Mr. Lunsford's meeting with sticks and staves, to attack him. Just as he was about to begin to preach they approached him for the attack. His irreligious friends, contrary to his wish, drew stakes out of the fence to defend him. This produced great uproar and some skirmishes. Mr. Lunsford retired to a neighboring house, and shut himself up. His persecutors, however, pursued him, but were not hardy enough to break in upon him. One of them desired to have the privilege of conversing with him, with a view of convincing him. He was let in, and did converse; but when he came out, he wore a new face. His party asked him the result. "You had better conversers with him yourselves," said he.

It was not until January, 1778, that Mr. Lunsford became a settled preacher, and took care of Moratico church, which was constituted at that time. He held it as an opinion, that imposition of hands by a presbytery was not necessary to ordination; but that the call of a church was sufficient. It was in this way he took the care of Moratico church. He never would submit to be ordained by the imposition of hands; although the refusal produced no small discontent among the Baptists in Virginia.

In 1779, he married his first wife; and became a resident of Northumberland.—From the time he settled in the Northern Neck, and indeed from the time he began to preach there, he gradually increased in favor with the people. It is hardly probable that any man ever was more beloved by a people when living, or more lamented when dead. He had two remarkable revi-

vals of religion in the bounds of his church. The one, about the time of the constitution of his church, and the other commenced in the year 1788, and had scarcely subsided at his death in 1793. During these revivals, he was uncommonly lively and engaged. He preached almost incessantly; and by his acquaintances, after the last revival, it was thought he made a rapid advance in the improvement of his talents, both in wisdom and warmth; especially, the latter, from which he never receded during his residence on earth. Certain it is, that during several of the last years of his life, he was more caressed, and his preaching more valued, than any other man's that ever resided in Virginia. Lunsford was a sure preacher, aeldom failed to rise pretty high. In his best strains, he was more like an angel than a man. His countenance, lighted up by an inward flame, seemed to shed beams of light wherever he turned. His voice, always harmonious, now seemed to be tuned by descendeng seraphs. His style and his manner was so sublime and so energetic, that he seemed indeed like an ambassador of the skies, sent down to command all men every where to repent. He was truly a messenger of peace; and by him the tidings of peace were communicated to multitudes. So highly was he estimated among his own people, that there were but few preachers that visited them, to whom they would willingly listen, even for once, in preference to their beloved pastor. In argument, Mr. Lunsford was somewhat satyirical; and by this means, sometimes gave offence to those who did not know him well. It was, however, perfectly clear, that he did not design to sport with the feelings of any. For it is not likely that any man of his popularity ever had fewer permanent enemies. He was very fond of reading, and retained what he read so correctly, that few men could make more extensive quotations than Mr. Lunsford. For his own advantage, he had procured and read some distinguished treatise on medicine. And so capacious were his faculties that with his small opportunities in this professional study, he actually became so skilful in the administration of physic, that he was often called on to attend patients at a considerable distance. To all such applicants, he not only rendered his services gratis, but often furnished them with medicine. He had the care of a large and opulent church, of whom some were very liberal in their contributions but by a greater part of them he was too much neglected. For the want of their support and of his own attention to secular affairs, (through his ministry,) he was but in narrow circumstances. Yet, he lived well, and rendered to every man his just dues. But now, pain-

ful as the task is, we must add, that this great, this good, this almost inimitable man died, when only about forty years of age. He lived in a sickly climate, and had frequent bilious attacks. These were sometimes very severe. For two or three years before his death, he labored under repeated indispositions, even when travelling about. His manly soul would never permit him to shrink from the work so long as he had strength to lift up his voice. Sometimes, after going to bed as being too ill to preach, prompted by his seraphic spirit, he would rise again, after some other person had preached, and deal out the bread of life to the hungry sons and daughters of Zion.

He was a shepherd indeed. The Dover Association, for the year 1793, was holden at Glebe Landing meeting house in Middlesex county, not more than fifteen or eighteen miles from his house. Although just rising from a bilious attack, he would not stay from a place where his heart delighted to be, and where he had the best ground to believe that he could do good. He went and appeared so much better, that he made extensive appointments to preach in the lower parts of Virginia. He was chosen to preach on Sunday, and he did preach indeed. On Tuesday he came up to King and Queen county, and preached at Brington meeting house, from these words: *Therefore, let us not sleep as do others, but let us watch and be sober.* It was an awakening discourse, worthy of this masterly workman. On that day he took cold and grew worse. He, however, preached his last sermon the next day evening; observing when he began, "It may be improper for me to attempt to preach at this time; but as long as I have any strength remaining, I wish to preach the gospel of Christ; and I will very gladly spend and be spent for you." He then preached his last sermon, from, "*Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.*" He continued to grow worse until, having arrived at Mr. Gregory's, in Essex, he took his bed, from whence he was carried to his grave. In his sickness he was remarkably silent, having very little to say, which he could avoid. He was fond of joining in prayer, and sometimes exerted his now relaxed mind, in making remarks worthy of such a man. He expressed some anxiety at the thought of leaving his helpless family; but appeared quite resigned for the will of heaven to take place. On the 26th of October, 1793, he fell asleep in the arms of Jesus, aged about forty years. Rev. Henry Toler preached two funeral sermons for him. One at the place of his death, another at Mr. Lunsford's meeting house, in Lancaster county, called Kilmarnock. These two sermons were

printed in a pamphlet; and annexed to them, were two handsome elegies, written by ladies of his church. Another was written by Rev. A. Broadus, which was much admired. It seemed to be a mystery to many, why God should have called home so great, so useful a man, in the bloom of life. Those who thought proper to offer reasons or conjectures for explaining the ways of Providence, seemed generally to agree that Mr. Lunsford's popularity as a preacher had risen too high. The people wherever he was, or where he was expected, seemed to have lost all relish for any other man's preaching: that, God, knowing the capacity of most of his servants, was unwilling that the lesser lights should be so much swallowed up by the greater. Perhaps the better way is to form no conjecture about it; but rest persuaded, that the ways of God are always wise, however unaccountable to man.

He was twice married. He had by his first wife one surviving child. By his second wife he left three children.—*Benedict.*

BIOGRAPHY

OF

SAMUEL STILLMAN, D. D.

The following account of that eminent servant of God Dr. Stillman, is prefixed to a volume of his sermons, published after his death. The substance of it was written by his son in law, Rev. Mr. Gray, of Roxbury, adjoining Boston, and a part by Dr. Baldwin. The description of his doctrinal sentiments was drawn by one of his Church.

SAMUEL STILLMAN, D. D. was born in the city of Philadelphia, of parents respectable for their virtues, and of the religious persuasion of Particular Baptists. At the age of eleven years he was removed with them to Charleston, South-Carolina, and there received the rudiments of his education, at an academy under a Mr. Rind. His improvements there were such as presaged his future worth; and he gave early indications of a mind seriously impressed with a sense of religious truth. In one of his manuscripts we find some account of very early religious impressions being made upon his mind. These, however, he observes, were generally of short continuance, until more effectually awakened by a sermon delivered by the late excellent Mr. Hart, when, to borrow his own language, he

says, "My mind was again solemnly impressed with a sense of my awful condition as a sinner. This conviction grew stronger and stronger. My condition alarmed me. I saw myself without Christ and without hope. I found that I deserved the wrath to come, and that God would be just to send me to hell. I was now frequently on my knees, pleading for mercy. As a beggar I went, having nothing but guilt, and no plea but mercy." How long he continued in this distressed condition is not particularly stated, but it appears from several passages of Scripture, he obtained a degree of hope and comfort, though not entirely satisfied. Not long after, he heard Mr. Hart discourse from Matt. i. 21.—"And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." From this sermon he received consolation, and adds, "Christ then became precious to me, yea, all in all. Then I could say of wisdom, 'Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.' That I still think was the day of my espousal. Glory be to God, for the riches of his grace to me.—Why me, Lord, &c." He was soon after baptized, and received into the church under the pastoral care of Mr. Hart.

After finishing his classical education, he spent one year in the study of divinity with that gentleman. Being called by the church, he preached his first sermon on the 17th of February, 1758: and the 26th of February, 1759, was ordained in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, to the work of an evangelist.

Immediately afterwards, however, he settled at James Island, a most pleasant situation opposite the city. Soon after he visited the place of his nativity, and on the twenty-third of May, the same year married Hannah, the daughter of Evin Morgan, Esq., merchant of that place, by whom he afterwards had fourteen children. He also took his degree at the university there, and returned to his society on James Island. But he had not continued above eighteen months with his affectionate and united people, before a violent attack of a pulmonary complaint, forced his removal to another climate. He accordingly fixed himself with his family at Bordentown, New-Jersey, where he supplied two different congregations for the space of two years. His health somewhat improved, but by no means restored, determined him at length to visit New-England, hoping that the exercise, together with the change of air, might yet further mend his impaired constitution.

On his arrival here, 1763. at the request of the Second Baptist Church, he removed his family to Boston, and after preaching

one year as an assistant to the late Rev. Mr. Bound, accepted an invitation to settle with the First Baptist Church, and was installed over it January 9, 1765.

By nature he was endowed with a sprightly genius, a good capacity, and an uncommon vivacity and quickness of apprehension. His feelings were peculiarly strong and lively, which imparted energy to whatever he did, and under the influence and control of religious principles, served to increase and diffuse his eminent piety. To this constitutional ardor both of sentiment and action, which led him to enter with his whole soul into every subject which engaged his attention, he united a remarkable delicacy of feeling and sense of propriety, and such sprightliness and affability in conversation, such ease and politeness of manners, and at the same time such a glow of pious zeal and affection, as enabled him to mingle with all ranks and classes of people, and to discharge all his duties as a Christian minister and a citizen, with dignity, acceptance, and usefulness. The lively interest he appeared to take, in whatsoever affected the happiness or increased the pleasure of his friends, the gentleness of his reproofs and the gratification he seemed to feel in commending others, united to his social qualities, endeared him to all who knew him.

The popularity of a preacher commonly declines with his years. Dr. Stillman, however, was a singular exception to this general remark. He retained it for upwards of forty-two years; and his congregation, which upon his first connexion with it was the smallest in the town, at the age of seventy, the period of his death, he left amongst the most numerous.

As a minister of Christ, his praise was in all the churches; and wherever his name has been heard, an uncommon degree of sanctity has been connected with it. His principles were highly calvinistic, and all his sermons bore strong mark of his warm attachment to that system. The natural strength and ardor of his feelings, indeed, imparted zeal to whatever opinion he espoused, and activity to whatever duty he performed. Yet with all his quickness of perception, and acuteness of feeling, his temper was under admirable control, and he was always the thorough master both of his words and actions. Thus embracing what have been denominated the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, he explained and enforced them with clearness, and with an apostolic zeal and intrepidity.

On the leading principles of the gospel, he always preached and conversed as a Christian minister, who took a deep and hearty interest in their diffusion and establishment. But he did not depend for suc-

cess on his zeal and fidelity. He knew that what he was, and what he was enabled to do in the cause of God, were wholly by his gracious influence.

Whilst he realized his own entire dependence, and that of others, he was animated in duty, believing that the Lord meeteth all who rejoice and work righteousness, those who remember him in his ways.

A subject on which he often spoke with grateful adoration was, the true and proper Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ. His views of sin as an infinite evil necessarily impressed upon his mind this truth. He considered the Saviour as an infinitely worthy object of divine worship, and in consequence of this dignity of character qualified to make atonement for sin. On this foundation rested his hope of salvation; and if this were not a reality, he despaired of entering into glory, and believed the salvation of every sinner an impossible event. But having no doubt on this cardinal point, he was enabled to preach the gospel with clearness.

On the subject of the trinity and unity of God, he literally believed the declaration of John, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one;" but as to an explanation of the manner or mode of subsistence of the divine nature, he would say he had nothing to do; for revelation did not explain it. He only declared it as a truth to be believed on the divine testimony.

The total moral depravity of man was a principle on which he much insisted on all proper occasions. He had no idea that there was any latent spark of holiness in the heart of a natural man, which, as some suppose, can be kindled by the exertions of the sinner, and kept alive by the same means. This opinion he reprobated with all his heart, viewing it as a denial of that grace which is revealed in the gospel, and as having a natural tendency to take the crown of glory from the head of IMMANUEL. In contradiction of this error, he would often remark on this text as a motto congenial to the feelings of a believer, "Upon himself (Jesus) shall his crown flourish." So far was he removed from this mistake, that he believed the real Christian, though renewed by the Holy Spirit was constantly dependent on God's immediate agency for the origin and continuance of every gracious exercise. Although he believed the entire sinfulness of the natural heart, he did not erroneously connect with it a licence to sin, nor suppose that men are released from moral duties because they are indisposed to them. From the fact that man is endowed with reason, will and affections, he ar-

gued his moral obligation to believe what God has revealed and obey what he has commanded.

As his views of man's depravity were clear and distinct, he of consequence saw the necessity of regeneration by the free and sovereign agency of the Holy Ghost. That operation of God by which this change is effected, he did not consider as a mere circumstantial alteration or new modification of the sinful affections, but that a new disposition was given to the soul, well described by Paul as a new creation. In this change he supposed the person was brought to have entirely new views of moral subjects.

Respecting the atonement of Christ, his sentiments were honorary to truth. He considered it as an illustration of the divine perfections not discoverable by any other medium; exhibiting to all intelligent beings the odious nature of sin, God's love to holiness, and his unspeakable mercy to the guilty. He viewed the merits of Christ in his obedience and death, as having an infinite value, and as possessing a sufficiency for the salvation of every individual of the human race, had it been the will of God to make its application to the conscience so extensive; but from divine revelation he learned that its design was particular, respecting, in its application to the heart, the elect only. He did not however, connect with this the erroneous idea of some, that all men were not under obligation to repent of their sins and believe the gospel; but whilst he believed the condemnation of sinners was by the moral law, he supposed that this condemnation would be greatly aggravated by a rejection of the gospel, and that they would be treated as those who despised God's grace.

His ideas of the faith which accompanies salvation were, that it was a belief of the gospel; a hearty reception of that plan of grace which is revealed in Christ Jesus, accompanied with love and every gracious exercise. He rejected the error, that the essence of faith consists in a person's believing that Christ died for him in particular; no such proposition being contained in the word of God, and no one being warranted to believe this till he has good evidence of his regeneration.

From his ideas of faith he naturally inferred that good works would uniformly follow. These he zealously enforced as an evidence of faith, but not as designed to originate it. Practical godliness was a subject on which he often preached, and which he urged on believers from the noblest gospel motives.

The purpose of God in his eternal election of a certain number of the human race to salvation, was a principle dear to Dr. Stillman, as a truth clearly revealed. Be-

lieving the carnal mind, or natural heart, to be enmity against God, he very justly concluded, that if any sinners were saved, their salvation must be effected by an influence extraneous from themselves. To imagine with some, that God had left it with depraved men to meet him in any conditions they were to perform, he would represent as dishonary to the Divine Majesty, who will not give his glory to another. Neither could he believe that any of God's designs originated in time; but that all his purposes were, like himself, eternal. This was his ground of encouragement to preach, knowing that God had determined by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe, and that he had promised to make a willing people in the day of his power.

From his clear apprehension of eternal personal election, he was firmly established in the final perseverance to eternal glory of all those who are regenerated by the Spirit of God; and that the grace given is an incorruptible seed.

The opinion that religious establishments are contrary to the New Testament, was defended by him. His ideas on this subject are plainly expressed in his sermon before the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1779. The interference of rulers as such, in matters of conscience, he ever considered as an infringement of natural right.

In this sermon he showed that his own ideas on this subject were similar to those of the immortal Locke. He was a cordial friend to religious liberty; and all his conduct in life towards Christians from whom he differed, manifested that he was heartily willing that every conscientious citizen should worship in the manner which agreed with the dictates of his conscience, after a candid examination of the word of God.

He preached much to the feelings, and to the heart; and numbers on whose minds naked reason and simple truth could produce no serious effects, his powerful eloquence was a happy means of touching and reclaiming. Nor was he only a preacher of righteousness. Few men ever exemplified more than he did, the virtues he recommended to others. Whilst he exhibited to his flock the various trials and comforts of Christians, whilst he guided them in the way to eternal life, he led them also by his own example.

His sermons were always studied, and it was his judicious practice principally to write them. Yet from his manner of delivery, (a manner peculiar to himself) he always appeared as easy as if speaking extempore. Indeed it was his constant method to add at the moment such thoughts as occurred to his mind whilst speaking.—These thoughts were as naturally connected with the subject as though they had

been a studied part of it; and as they were usually delivered with much pathos, they had the happiest effect upon the audience.

As a public speaker, as a pulpit orator, he was second perhaps to none. Nature had furnished him with a pleasant and most commanding voice, the very tones of which were admirably adapted to awaken the feelings of an audience, and he always managed it with great success. His manner, though grave and serious, was peculiarly graceful, popular, and engaging. His remarkable animation gave additional interest to every subject he handled. Those who heard him might with propriety have said of him what was said of another eminent preacher—"This man is in earnest; he believes what he says, and he says what he believes. Verily this is a man of God. Ten such men, and Sodom would have stood."

His eloquence was of the powerful and impressive rather than of the insinuating and persuasive kind, and so strikingly interesting, that he never preached to an inattentive audience. And even those who dissented from him in some minor theological opinions, were still pleased with hearing him, for they knew his sincerity. They knew him to be a good man.

Few persons are alike eminent in all the different duties of the ministerial office; but it would perhaps be difficult to say in which of these Dr. Stillman most excelled.

In prayer he always seemed to his audience as if engaged with a present Deity. His addresses to heaven were generally short, but very comprehensive; they were solemn and edifying, and usually very feeling and impressive; and thus coming from the heart, they seldom failed to reach the hearts of others.

In the chamber of sickness and affliction, he was always a welcome visitor. So well could he adapt his conversation, as to comfort or to caution, to soothe or to awaken, just as the case seemed to require. And if he administered reproof, it was done in so delicate and mild a manner, that it oftener conciliated esteem than created offence. In his prayers with the sick and afflicted, however intricate the occasion, he was always both appropriate and highly devotional. So eminent was his character for piety, and so universally was he beloved, that he was often called to the sick and afflicted of other denominations. And his sympathetic feelings, and his fervent supplications seldom failed to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded bosom. The sick would almost forget their pains, and the mourner cease to sigh. How many wounded hearts he has bound up, and from how many weeping eyes he has wiped the tears away—how many thoughtless sinners

he was the means of awakening, and how many saints he has edified and built up unto eternal life—how many wavering minds he has settled, and to how many repenting sinners his words have administered peace, can be fully known only at the great day!

It having pleased the author of Wisdom to visit Dr. Stillman with peculiar trials, and having largely experienced the supporting influence of religion under them, he was eminently qualified to administer consolation to others. Few persons could describe with such accuracy, or enter with such facility into the feelings and exercises of the tempted, tried believer. Like a skilful surgeon, he knew when the wound was sufficiently probed, and when to apply the healing balm of promise.

In the course of a few years he was called to bury seven of his children, all adults, and some of them with rising families, having previously buried five children in infancy. But notwithstanding his domestic trials were so great, his Christian patience and submission were equal to them all. Such was his perfect confidence in the wisdom of God's government, that with all his extreme sensibilities, his mind lost nothing of its lively confidence, or of its cheerful hope.

Dr. Stillman was possessed of great benevolence of heart, and was a sincere lover of persons of every Christian denomination, whom he esteemed pious and good.—Though from education and from principle a Baptist himself, he never believed that the peculiarities of any sect ought to form a separating line, or hinder the union of good men for the advancement of the common cause of the Redeemer. With many such he long lived in habits of undissembled friendship, and by them his death will not very soon cease to be regretted.

With a view more especially to assist young men in attaining a suitable education for the ministry, he successfully employed his talents and zeal in aiding the interests of Brown University, Rhode Island, which owes much to his exertions.

It might be mentioned as a proof of the high estimation in which his talents were held as a preacher, that there is scarcely any public occasion on which he has not at one time or another officiated. The university of Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in 1761. The college in Rhode Island, of which he was both a Trustee and a fellow, in 1778 gave him a diploma of Doctor in divinity. He was elected a member of the Federal Convention for the town of Boston the same year, and distinguished himself there by a most eloquent speech in its defence. In 1789 he was appointed to deliver the anniversary oration on independence to the

town of Boston, which he accomplished in a manner both handsome and acceptable.

The social feelings of the Doctor were strong, and his powers of conversation such as always pleased. In his manners there was an unaffected elegance and ease, which rendered him uncommonly agreeable to every circle. The affability and kindness with which he treated persons of every description, were not less the effect of a natural delicacy than of a general knowledge of mankind. Hence to the great he never could appear servile, nor imperious to those in humbler stations. To both he was the gentleman, and in private company as much esteemed as he was popular in his public performances. His benevolent heart was feelingly alive to distress of every kind, and in contributing to its alleviation in every shape he was actively useful. We find his name amongst the first members of the Humane Society of this commonwealth. Of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society he was a useful officer, and of the Boston Dispensary a member from its beginning, and president at his death. The Boston Female Assylum is likewise much indebted to his exertions. He was also an almoner of the private charity of many individuals, who confided in his knowledge and judgment of suitable objects.

Such was the faithfulness with which he discharged the various duties incumbent on him as a minister of the gospel; such was his zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls, that it may be truly said of him, he was the happy man. Holy, spiritual religion was not with him a transient, visionary thing, but the element in which he breathed. His soul was often so enlarged in declaring the glorious gospel, and in expatiating on the riches of God's grace as manifested in his word, that he not only seemed himself to enjoy a prelibation of heaven, but to have been enabled by divine influence to communicate this blessedness to others; so that his friends have often said, after having heard his private conversation or public preaching, Truly our fellowship was with the Father, with his Son Christ Jesus, and with one another through the Spirit's influence.

To his church and people he was strongly attached and particularly attentive. Nor did he ever suffer any calls of relaxation or amusement to interfere with the conscientious discharge of the smallest professional duty. His duty was indeed always his delight, and nothing in his mind ever stood in any sort of competition with it.

His congregation always reciprocated his warm attachment to them. They ever sat delighted under his preaching, and felt a pride in him as an accomplished pulpit ora-

tor, no less than a love for him as an excellent preacher; and neither of them were any ways diminished by the attention of strangers who visited the metropolis, and were commonly desirous of hearing this celebrated minister before they left it.

It was his constant prayer that his life and usefulness might run parallel: in this his desires were gratified. He had now attained the age of seventy when the time of his departure had arrived. A slight indisposition detained him at home the two last Lord's days of his life. On the Wednesday following the second of them, without any previous symptoms, he was suddenly attacked at eleven o'clock, A. M. by a paralytic shock. At ten at night he grew insensible, and at twelve his useful life and labors were terminated together. Could he have selected the manner of his death, it had probably been such an one as this which spared him the pain of separation from a flock he was most ardently attached to, and a family he most tenderly loved; a scene which, to a person of his feeling mind notwithstanding all his religion, must, have occasioned a shock.

On the Monday following his death, his remains were attended to his meeting house, where a pathetic discourse was delivered on the occasion, by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin, pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, to an immensely thronged and deeply affected assembly, from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8; after which his remains were conveyed to the tomb, amidst the regrets of a numerous concourse of people, who crowded around his bier, anxious to take a last look of the urn which contained the relics of him, who once to them was so dear, but whose face they should now behold no more.

Dr. Stillman was of the middling stature, of slender habit of body, yet remarkably upright. He was dark complexioned, and rather pale. His countenance, though naturally open and cheerful, yet either from principle or habit more frequently presented the appearance of thoughtfulness and solemnity. The vivacity of his mind was strongly marked in the features of his face, which enabled him with uncommon ease to give language to the passions whenever his subject required it.

The gracefulness of his person, the elegance of his manners, and above all, the dignity of his whole deportment were such, as could not fail of interesting the feelings of all who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him.

Dr. Stillman's works, excepting one Oration, consist altogether of Sermons.—*Benedict.*

A
HISTORY
OF THE
BAPTISTS IN NEW ENGLAND,
FROM 1602 TO 1804.

CONTAINING
A VIEW OF THEIR PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE, DECLENSIONS
AND REVIVALS, OPPRESSION AND LIBERTY.
WITH A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF
THE BAPTISTS IN THE SOUTHERN PARTS OF AMERICA,

BY ISAAC BACKUS, A. M.

LATE PASTOR OF A CHURCH IN MIDDLEBOROUGH.

PREFACE.

THE experience of mankind, from age to age gives the best light to direct our ways of any human means: and the record of the word of God is our only sure guide to eternal life. Comparing spiritual things with spiritual, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is the way to bring us to that happy end; and though the writings of all uninspired men are imperfect, yet by comparing their various accounts together, we may gain much instruction from them about the accomplishment of prophecy, and many other things.

These things were much upon my mind in early life, especially about the history of my own country. And when the knowledge of experimental religion was given me, above threescore years ago, it increased my attention to these things. But when some of our chief ministers requested me to engage to write our history, in 1771, the greatness of the work and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary materials, were great objections in my way. Yet their importunity prevailed; and I spent much of my time in going to, and searching of the records of the old colonies of Plymouth, the Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and of the United Colonies, which last are at Plymouth. I also searched ma-

ny other records and papers, as well as books of various kinds, and inquired of intelligent persons, to get all the light I could from every quarter. And our first volume was published in 1777, the second, in 1784, and the third in 1796; and I never heard any thing published against the work, though I desired that it might be corrected.

As several things have come to light of late, that, I had not before, and my ability for writing is continued to old age,* I have thought it to be my duty to reduce the most useful things into one volume, with a concise view of our southern States, as well as to bring the history down to the present time. And as writers are often incorrect in their dates, I have paid much attention to that subject; and have given an exact table of events, according to what light I could gain, following the old style, until the new took place in 1752.

Many of the new things in this volume were taken from Winthrop's journal published in 1790; from the publications of the Historical Society at Boston, and from a book which I borrowed of them, called "The Bloody Tenet," of which I know not of another copy in America. The accounts of our southern States were collected partly when I was in North Carolina and Virginia, in 1789, and partly from other sources of intelligence. And in the expe-

* Eighty on January 20, 1801.

rience of two centuries, in this great country, we may see a great variety of different schemes of government that have been tried, which may direct our choice to what is right, and to avoid evil ways; especially to guard against all cruelty, deceit and violence. These things are humbly presented to the public, by their aged friend.

ISAAC BACKUS.

MIDDLEBOROUGH, August 30, 1804.

CHAPTER. 1.

Their first church formed—They divide into two—They remove to Amsterdam—One goes to Leyden—They increase to three hundred—Part of them come to America—Here many of them die—Yet the rest are prospered—Robinson dies in Holland—Yet more came over—Their charter given—Their church order.

The light of Revelation, and the superstitions and persecutions of the church of England, were the causes of the first planting of New-England. A number of people near the borders of the counties of York, Nottingham and Lyncoln, were so much convinced of the corruptions of the church of England, that they withdrew from her in 1602, and formed another church, in which they covenanted together, to walk in all the ordinances and commadments of God, according to the light he had given, or should give them out of his holy word. But for so doing they were cruelly persecuted by the ruling powers of the national church. Yet they increased so much in about four years, as to divide into churches; and this increased the resentment of their enemies so much, that they removed to Amsterdam in 1603. One of these churches had the aged Mr. Richard Clifton and Mr. John Robinson for their pastors; but Clifton died at Amsterdam.* And as contentions had broken out in the church Mr. Robinson and his peolpe removed to Leyden in 1609, though to their temporal disadvnatage. There they lived in peace and harmony, and increased to three hundred communicants.

This caused much uneasiness in the church of England, and many things were published against them. Mr. Richard Bernard of Nottinghamshire in particular, wrote a large book against them, which Mr. Robinson answered in 1610; and he observes, that because one Bolton, in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, formed a church in a way of separation from the church of England, which persecution

brought him to renounce, and afterwards to hang himself; and Robert Brown, a minister of that church came out and formed several separate churches, and yet turned back again into the national church, Mr. Bernard brought these instances as arguments against all who separated from them. Upon which Robinson said. "The universal apostacy of all the bishops, ministers, students in the universities, yea, of the whole church of England in Queen Mary's days (a handful in comparison excepted) might more colorably be urged by the papists against Mr. Bernard, than some few instances against us.

The fall of Judas, an apostate, of Nicolas one of the seven deacons, and of Demas, one of Paul's special companions in the ministry, sufficiently teach us that there is no cause so holy, nor calling so excellent, as not to be subject to the invasion of painted hypocrites.* And as Mr. Bernard referred to many evils in the primitive churches, as a plea that the church of England might be a true church of Christ, notwithstanding all her corruptions, Robinson says, "It is true that the apostles mentioned them, but always with utter dislike, severe reproof, and strict charges to reform them.

Rom. xvi. 17. 1 Cor. v. 1 Thess. v. 14. 2 Thess. iii. 6. 1 Tim. vi 5 Rev. ii. 14 —16, 20. But how doth this concern you? Though Paul and the apostles with him; yea, though Christ himself from heaven should admonish any of your churches to put away any person, though never so heretical or flagitious, you could not do it."† "Your prelates govern, or rather reign, but teach not; your parish priests teach so much as they dare for fear of their imperious lords, but they govern not."‡ ' Nothing hath more advanced the throne of anti-christ in former days, nor doth more uphold it at this day than the people's discharging themselves of the care of public affairs in the church, on the one side, and the priest and prelates arrogating all to themselves, on the other."|| "And I doubt not but Mr. Bernard, and a thousand more ministers in the land (were they secure of the magistrate's sword, and might they go on with good license) would wholly shake off their canonical obedience to their ordinaries, and neglect their citations and censures, and refuse to sue in their courts, for all the peace of the church, which they commend to us for so sacred a thing."§

This remark was plainly verified in the vast numbers who afterwards came over to New England, who did not separate from

* Prince's Chronology. p. 251.

† Robinson, page 53—55.

‡ Robinson, page 82.

|| Robinson, page 359, 304.

§ Robinson, page. 14.

* Prince's Chronology, page 251.

the national church before they came away. The following account may give us some idea of his views of gospel doctrines.—James Arminius, a professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, died there in 1609; but the opinions he had advanced have caused much controversy ever since. It was so sharp at Leyden in 1612, between the two professors in their university, that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other; but Mr. Robinson, though he preached thrice a week, and wrote sundry books, beside many other labors, yet went constantly to hear them both, whereby he was grounded in the controversy, and saw the force of all their arguments. And in 1613, Episcopius set forth sundry Arminian theses at Leyden, which he would defend in public against all opposers; upon which Polyander, and the chief preachers of the city, desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him.

But being a stranger, he was loth to engage; yet the other telling him, that such was the ability and expertness of the adversary, that truth was in danger of suffering if he would not help them, he at length yields; and when the day came he defended the truth and foiled the opposer, so as to put him to an apparent nonplus in a great and public audience. The same he does a second and a third time, upon like occasions; which caused many to praise God, and highly esteem Mr. Robinson.*

Thus it appears that Mr. Robinson was a firm believer of those doctrines which are called Calvinism, while he was earnest for allowing all men liberty of conscience; and that the contrary behavior of many was not owing to that plan of doctrine, but to other causes. For the rulers in Holland held firmly to that doctrine, and yet they established such religious liberty as was not then enjoyed in any other part of Europe. But though their religious privileges were great, yet many other things caused Mr. Robinson and his people to desire a removal to a better country. For most of them had been bred to husbandry, which they had not advantages to follow in Holland; and the language and manners of the Dutch were not agreeable to them, and their little regard to the Sabbath, and other religious duties, were offensive to them; and the climate of the country was not favorable to their health, but their children were oppressed with labor and disease, so as to abate the vigor of nature in early age; neither could they be willing to lose their interest in the English nation, and the government thereof, if they could obtain liberty of conscience from thence. And they believed that if they

could have such liberty granted them in America many would remove thither who would enlarge the English dominions, and also spread the light of the gospel among the heathen. They therefore sent two agents to England in 1617, to petition for such liberties and privileges. And having received some encouragement from the council there, who had the care of the American affairs, Mr. Robinson and Elder Brewster wrote to them these encouraging considerations. "1. We verily believe and trust that the Lord is with us; to whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that he will graciously prosper our endeavors according to the simplicity of our hearts. 2.—We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land.

3. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.

4. We are knit together as a body, in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord; of the violations whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straightly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. 5. It is not with us, as with other men, whom small things can discourage, and small discouragements cause to wish ourselves at home again."

Herein they were not mistaken, as will soon appear; for though contentions in said council, and other things, delayed their proceedings for three years, and they could not obtain a promise of liberty of conscience in this country, but only that the king would connive at them, and not molest them if they carried peaceably, yet casting themselves on the care of Providence, they resolved to venture." But as they could not obtain help enough, from the merchant adventurers in England, to carry over half their society at first, Mr. Robinson was obliged to stay with the majority in Holland, while elder Brewster came with the rest to America. And before they came away Mr. Robinson gave them this solemn advice. Said he, "We are now to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether I shall live to see your faces again: but whether he hath appointed it or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels to follow me no further than I have followed Christ. And if God shall reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am very confident that the Lord has more truth and light yet to break forth out

* Prince's Chronology, p. 36, 28.

* Prince, p. 51, 52.

of his holy word." Here he took occasion to bewail the state and condition of the reformed churches who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation. "As for example, the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them, a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God has not revealed his whole will to them. And were they now living, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. And here I must put you in mind of our church covenant, wherein we promise and covenant with God and one another, to receive whatsoever light or truth that shall be made known to us from his written word. But withal, I exhort you to take heed what you receive for truth, and well to examine and compare it with other Scriptures before you receive it; for it is not possible that the christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."*

And after an affectionate parting, Mr. Robinson, on July 27, 1620, sent them the following letter:

"Loving Christian Friends.

I do heartily, and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections, and most earnest longing after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you: I say constrained; God knowing how willing and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in the first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in myself, with great pain (and as natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you; and although I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly; yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to

both a narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us to be swallowed up in one danger or other.—Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from evil, whether in life or death.

"Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what lieth in us, especially with our associates; and for that watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence being given by others. Wo be to the world for offences; for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and men's corruptions, that offences come, yet wo unto the man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Mat. xviii. 7 And if offences in the unreasonable use of things in themselves indifferent be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. ix. 15. how much more in things simply evil, in which neither the honor of God, nor love to man is thought worthy to be regarded; Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving offence, except withal we be armed against taking of them when they are given by others; for how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences! as the scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence either want charity to cover offences, or duly to weigh human frailties; or lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Mat. vii. 1—3. As indeed in my own experience, few or none have been found who sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, who have nourished this touchy humor. But besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience of this way; as first, there are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities of one another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you expected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the

* Winslow against Gorton, p. 97, 98.

covering and preventing of incidental offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community* will minister continual occasion of offence, and be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance.

And if taking offence causelessly or easily at man's doings, be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself! which we certainly do, so oft as we murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions wherewith he is pleased to visit us. Store up therefore patience against the evil day; without which we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works. There is a fourth thing carefully to be provided for; viz: that with your common employments you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding as a deadly plague of both your common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected every manner of way; let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with violence, before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit; so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God (which you are) be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

"Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using civil government among yourselves, and are not furnished with special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will promote the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations; not beholding in them the ordinarieness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; not being like the foolish multitude, who honor the gay coat more than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of the Lord; but you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth is honorable in how mean persons soever; and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more occasionally to perform, because you are (at least for the present) to have them for your ordinary governors which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

"Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those be-

fore mentioned in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers among you so well able both to admonish themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend to your care and conscience, joining therein with my daily incessant prayer unto the Lord, that he who made the Heavens and the earth, and sea, and all rivers of water, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you, and we also, for and with you, may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust and in whom I rest an unfeigned well-wisher to your happy success in your hopeful voyage.

JOHN ROBINSON.*

This they received at Southampton in England; and these excellent instructions had lasting influence upon their posterity. Two ships had been provided to carry them to America, but after sailing twice, and turning back, one of them was left, and the other sailed from Plymouth, September 6, and landed on Cape Cod, November 11. And as this was northward of where they had any patent, they drew a covenant for their civil government, which was signed before they landed by John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Isaac Allerton, William Brewster, Miles Standish, John Alden, Samuel Fuller, and thirty three more, their whole number being 101 souls. Mr. Carver was chosen their governor; and they had a tedious time to find out a place to settle in; but on December 16, 1620, the ship came into the harbor which they called Plymouth, and then they had to build themselves habitations, in a cold winter season, without any friend to help them. They intended to have gone to Hudson's river, but the Dutch had hired the master of the ship deceitfully to prevent it; though God meant it for their good; for the Indians were numerous there, while there were none here. A great sickness a few years before had laid this place desolate, and had swept off most of the Indians for forty miles round, so that those who remained were glad of their help against the Naragansets, where the sickness did not reach; and here were fields ready cleared for them, who had no cattle to help them till several years after.

How wonderful are the works of God! Yea, and his judgments are a great deep;

* For seven years their affairs were managed in one common stock.

* Morton, page 7-10.

for by reason of their long voyage, and the difficulties of the winter following, without good accommodations, near half of their company died in six months, among whom was governor Carver and his wife.—Yet the survivors were wonderfully supported and the chief sachem of the Indians in these parts came to Plymouth in March, 1621, and entered into a friendly covenant with them, which lasted all their days. Afterwards some friends in England wrote to them, and said, “we are still persuaded, you are the people that must make a plantation and erect a city in those remote places, when all others fail.”* And they will be remembered to the latest posterity.

Massassoit, the sachem who had made a league with them, having found out a plot which was laid against the English in the spring of 1623, by some Indians in the Massachusetts Bay, informed our fathers of Plymouth of it and advised them to cut off a few leaders in it, whom he named, which they did, and so the plot was entirely crushed.† Such a scarcity also came upon them in that year, that they had no bread at Plymouth from the time of their planting until their corn was grown; but they lived upon fish, deer, fowls and ground nuts. And to add to their trials, a great drought came on with heat, from the third week in May to the middle of July, so that their corn withered as if it were dead; and a ship which they had long expected did not arrive, but they thought they saw signs of its being wrecked on the coasts. This was distressing indeed; but their authority set apart a day of fasting and prayer to seek help from their God, and they found it was not in vain; for though the former part of the day was clear and hot, yet before their exercise was over the clouds gathered, and distilled next morning in gentle showers, and so for fourteen days together, which revived their corn and other fruits, so that they had a plentiful harvest. And soon after, the ship which they expected arrived, and another in a few days wherein came, sixty of their friends.‡ And they never had such scarcity afterwards.

Mr. Robinson and most of his people were detained in Holland, until after a short sickness, he died there on March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age, greatly lamented by his people both there and here. His family came over afterwards, and his son Isaac lived to be above ninety years old and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable. The company of adventurers in England would not be at the expense of conveying these and others from Leyden, and yet demanded the pay for their former

expenses. Therefore in 1628 their friends here engaged to do it, when William Bradford, Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, John Howland, John Alden, and Thomas Prince, with four friends in London after having the trade of this colony secured to them, undertook to pay the debts of the colony in England, which were eighteen hundred pounds sterling, and also to bring those friends over.* And in August 1629, thirty-five families arrived at Plymouth, from Leyden, the transporting of whom cost five hundred and fifty pounds sterling, besides supporting of them above a year more, till they had a harvest of their own, all of which was freely given them.† A wonderful instance of Christian generosity.

On January 13, 1630, the Council for New England gave a patent to William Bradford and his associates and assigns of all that part of New England between Cohasset rivulet towards the north, and Narraganset river towards the south, the western ocean towards the east, and between a straight line directly extending up into the main land toward the north from the mouth of Narraganset river, to the utmost bounds of a country in New England, called Pacanokit, alias Swamset, westward, and another straight line extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset river towards the west, so far into the main land westward as to the utmost limits of the said Pacanokit or Swamset extend; and also a tract of land extending fifteen miles wide on each side of Kennebeck river, &c.,‡ and this continued a distinct government until 1692. In 1621, they chose a governor and one assistant with him; in 1624, they chose five assistants; and in 1633, they chose a governor and served assistants, and continued that number as long as they remained a distinct government.

As to the government of the Church, they held the power to be in each particular Church, to receive and exclude members, and to choose and ordain officers though they would act in fellowship with sister churches. As to officers, they held to having pastors, ruling elders, and deacons. Their ruling elders were to have the gifts of public teachers, but not to administer the ordinances of baptism and the holy supper. Such was Mr. William Brewster, from their first coming to this land, until he died in 1644. They also held that every brother in the church might improve his gifts in public teaching, if he had gifts that could edify the brethren, to whom they were to be subject. Some of their proofs for it were these: One apostle says,

* Historical Society, vol. 3, page 33,

† Prince, p. 129—133.

‡ Ibid, p. 137—139.

* Historical Collections at Boston, 1794, p. 61.

† Prince, p. 165, 192.

‡ Prince, p. 196, 197.

"he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort. And ye may all prophecy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 31.—And another says, "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ." 1 Peter, iv. 10, 11.* Though they took much pains yet they never obtained a pastor here, until Mr. Ralph Smith came over with the Salem company in 1629, and not being wanted there, he came that year to Plymouth, and was their pastor about six years.

CHAPTER II.

A Church settled at Salem—Governor Winthrop comes over with their charter—Church and State united—Williams banished—His great service in the Pequot war—A Synod at Cambridge—A new court called, who punished many whom the synod had condemned.

AFTER our fathers at Plymouth, through great dangers and difficulties, had prepared the way, many who disliked the corruption and oppressions in the church of England made preparation for a removal into this country. Mr. John White, a minister at Dorchester in England, prevailed with a number of wealthy men to write over to Roger Conant and others, who were scattered in different places, to repair to Cape Ann, and they would send over money and goods to assist them in planting an fishing; and they did so with success. And on March 19, 1628, the Council for the affairs of New England which lies between lines drawn three miles north of every part of Merimack river, and three miles south of every part of Charles river and the Massachusetts bay, and extending west from the Atlantic ocean to the south sea. And they sent over Mr. John Endicott as governor of said people, who made Salem to be their chief town; and on March 4, 1629, king Charles granted the Massachusetts charter, including all the lands before described, to be holden of him and his heirs and successors. And Mr. Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton, with two other ministers and above three hundred persons with them, came over to

Salem and gathered a church, and ordained these two ministers on August 6, 1629, and also a ruling elder; and they received the right hand of fellowship from the church of Plymouth the same day.* So early did they join with those here, whom many had censured for separating from the church of England in their native country.

And on June 12, 1630, governor Winthrop arrived at Salem; and about fifteen hundred people came over that year bringing the Massachusetts charter with them, and the churches of Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown, were soon formed and organized like Salem, as Charlestown also was in 1632. At first they received members by a general declaration of their faith, and the discovery of a regular walk; but they afterwards required of each one an account of a change of heart by the work of God's Spirit. Mr. John Wilson was the first pastor of the Church of Charlestown and Boston, who was ordained with a ruling elder and two deacons, August 27, 1630. Governor Winthrop says, "We used imposition of hands but with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."† But he afterwards informs us, that when a minister had resigned his pastoral charge of any church, he was then "no minister," by the received determination of their churches; and also they that did not allow any elders to lay on hands in ordinations, but those who were of the church where the ordination was.‡ But in 1648 that liberty was granted in their platform.

The General Court at Boston, May 18, 1631, made a law that no man should hereafter be admitted as a freeman, to have a vote in their government, but a member in some of their churches. On Sept. 4, 1633, arrived a ship, in which came John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone, ministers, and John Haynes, afterwards governor of the Massachusetts, and then of Connecticut. Mr. Cotton was soon settled in the ministry at Boston, where he had much influence, both in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country, till he died. But Mr. Hooker could not agree with him in some things of great importance, though he did in others. Hooker and Stone settled first at Cambridge, and then removed with many others to Hartford, in 1636, and were leaders in the colony of Connecticut, where men were received to be freemen who were not members of their churches. They also held that none had

* Prince, p. 83. 190, 191.

† Journal, p. 20.

‡ Journal, page 257, 265.

* Robinson against Bernard, p. 235.

a right to bring their children to baptism but communicants, while Cotton was for others doing it, if they were not scandalous. And he was for carrying the power of councils higher than Hooker would.

Governor Winthrop gives the following account of the manner of their forming churches, and receiving members into them, which was soon established. It was, that where a church was designed to be gathered, their chief rulers and ministers must be convened, and those who were to be the first members of the church were to tell their experiences before them, and have their approbation, or else they were not to proceed. Of this he relates the following example. In 1635, the most of the church in Dorchester, with their minister, removed up, and planted Windsor, and began the colony of Connecticut; in which year Mr. Richard Mather came over and settled in Dorchester. And on April 11, 1636, many rulers and ministers met there for the purpose of forming a new church; but it was not done, because the most of those who intended to be members were thought not to meet at present to be the foundation of a church, because they had built their hopes of salvation upon unsound grounds, viz. Some upon dreams and ravishes of spirit by fits; others upon reformation of their lives; others upon duties and performances, &c. wherein discovered three special errors. 1. That they had not come to hate sin because it is filthy, but only left it because it is hurtful. 2. That by reason of this they had never truly closed with Christ, (or rather Christ with them) but had made use of him only to help the imperfections of their sanctification and duties, and not made him their sanctification, wisdom, &c. 3. They expected to believe by some power of their own, and not only and wholly from Christ.

These are the views that Governor Winthrop had of Christian experiences, and of how churches should be gathered. And satisfaction was gained the fall after, when a church was gathered there.*

Perhaps he and many rulers and teachers among them, were as wise and pious men as any who ever undertook to establish religion upon earth by human laws, enforced by the sword of the magistrate; and the evils which they ran into ought to be imputed to that principle, and not to any others which they held that were agreeable to the gospel. But as their persecutors in England were then exerting all their influence to bring these people again under their power in religious matters, they took such measures to defend themselves as cannot be justified; and as

Mr. Roger Williams earnestly labored to prevent those measures, and to promote the establishment of full liberty of conscience in this country, they bent all their power against him.

According to his own account, and good information from others, he was born in Wales in the year 1599, and he had the early patronage of the famous Sir. Edward Coke; was educated at the university of Oxford, and was introduced into the ministry in the church of England.

But he soon found that he could not in conscience conform to many things in their worship; therefore he came over to this country, and arrived at Boston in February 1631; and in April he was called to preach at Salem; but as he had refused to commune with the church at Boston, and objected against the oaths they took when they came out of England, and the force in religious affairs which they exercised here, the court at Boston wrote to Salem against him, upon which he went to Plymouth, where he preached above two years, and was highly esteemed by Governor Bradford and others. Mr Prince supposed that he had taken the oath of a freeman at Boston in May 1531, because a man of his name is upon their records in that month; but this was an evident mistake, and I found a Roger Williams upon their records the fall before this minister came to America. As these colonies had received the grant of American lands from the kings of England, Mr. Williams wrote his thoughts against it while he lived at Plymouth, which some liked, and others did not; and as Mr. Skelton was sick at Salem, Williams was invited there to preach in his place, and he obtained a dismission in the summer of 1633, and preached there till Skelton died, August 2, 1634, after which he was ordained in Salem. He had spoken against the meeting of ministers by themselves, once a fortnight, fearing that it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency over the churches;* and greater difficulties soon followed.

Their charter gave them no power to make any laws contrary to the laws of England, and they had sworn to act accordingly; yet when they met at Boston, May, 14, 1634, before they elected their officers, the assembly passed an act which said, "It was agreed and ordered, that the former oath of freemen shall be revoked, so far as it is dissonant from the oath of freemen hereunto written, and that those that received the former oath shall stand bound no further thereby, to any intent or purpose, than this new oath ties them that take the same.

* Winthrop, page 93, 105.

* Winthrop, p. 57.

THE OATH OF A FREEMAN.

I. A. B. being by God's providence an inhabitant and freeman in this Commonwealth, do freely acknowledge myself to be subject to the government thereof, and therefore do here swear by the great and dreadful name of the everliving God, that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support hereunto with my person and estate as in equity I am bound, and will also truly endeavor to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome laws and orders made and established by the same. And further, that I will not plot nor practice any evil against it, nor consent that any shall so do; but will truly discover and reveal the same to lawful authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof. Moreover I solemnly bind myself in the sight of God, that when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matters of this state wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons or favors of any man; so help me God in the Lord Jesus Christ."

And it appears that they never acted any more in the name of the kings of England, until after 1660. And what a stretch of arbitrary power was this! Yet men might still chose whether they would take this oath or not, if they would be content not to be freemen. But when they met again, March 4, 1635, they enacted, "That every man of or above the age of sixteen years, who hath been or shall hereafter be resident within this jurisdiction by the space of six months, (as well servants as others) and not enfranchised, shall take the oath of residents, before the governor, deputy governor, or two of the next assistants, who shall have power to convent him for that purpose; and upon his refusal, to bind him over to the next court of assistants, and upon his refusal the second time to be punished at the discretion of the court. It is ordered that the freeman's oath shall be given to every man of or above the age of sixteen years, the clause for election of magistrates only excepted.

Now as this act was to bind all, Mr. Williams openly preached against it at Salem, for which the governor and assistants convented him before them on April 30; but he refused to retract what he had done, and Mr. Cotton says, "The court was forced to desist from that proceeding."* Indeed he calls it the first of these acts, but

Governor Winthrop shows it to be the second.* And because of it, they at their meeting in May took away some land from Salem, by an act which said, "The land betwixt the Clift and the Forest river, near Marblehead, shall for the present be improved by John Humphrey, Esq.; and as the inhabitants of Marblehead shall stand in need of it, the said John Humphrey shall part with it, the said inhabitants allowing him equal recompence for his labor and cost bestowed thereupon; provided that if in the mean time the inhabitants of Salem can satisfy the court that they have a true right unto it, that then it shall belong unto the inhabitants thereof." And how was that satisfaction to be given? Why they gave up Mr. Williams in the fall after, and when the court met, March 3, 1636, they said, "It was proved to this court that Marble-neck belongs to Salem."

Thus it stands upon their records, though Mr. Cotton pretends that Salem only petitioned for land in May, 1635; instead of their having some taken from them, until they gave him up. That act of taking land from them, appeared so evil to Mr. Williams and his church, that they wrote letters of reproof to the churches where those rulers belonged; upon which their rulers and ministers met in July, and gave Williams notice that he should be banished if he did not give them satisfaction; and Salem church yielded so much to them that he left preaching to them in August. And when the court met in September, Governor Winthrop says, "Mr. Endicot made a protestation in justification of the letters formerly sent from Salem to other churches against the magistrates and deputies, for which he was committed, but the same day he came and acknowledged his fault, and was discharged."† He afterwards acted at the head of their government in hanging the quakers; but as Williams remained steadfast their record says,

Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation both of the magistrates, and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without any retraction; it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without leave from the court."

* Tenet washed, part page 29.

VOL. 1.—M.

* Journal, page 80.

† Journal, p. 84, 86.

As he did not go, they sent for him to come to Boston in January, 1636, but he sent an excuse for not coming; upon which they sent an officer to take him, and to convey him on board a ship bound for England; but when the officer got to Salem, he had been gone three days.* He first went to the place since called Rehoboth; but Governor Winslow wrote to him, that he was then within Plymouth colony, but if he would only go over the river, he would be out of it, and be as free as themselves. And he readily did so, and obtained a grant of lands from the Naraganset Indians, where he began the first civil government upon earth that gave equal liberty of conscience. Though before he obtained it, he says "I was sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread and bed did mean."† And from a view of the great things which God had done for him, he called the place PROVIDENCE.

The nature of true liberty of conscience was very little understood then in the world. And as God had brought the people here, out of an Egyptian bondage, and given them a good land, they imagined that they ought to imitate the children of Israel, in punishing the wicked, and in establishing an holy government in this great country. And from hence, they who opposed such a great and good work, appeared to them exceedingly criminal. A noted man, who was then active among them, thought that Christ called them, not only to assist in building up his churches, but also in pulling down the kingdom of antichrist; and that he said to them, "You are not set up for tolerating times, nor shall any of you be content with this, that you are set at liberty, but to take up your arms, and march manfully on till all opposers of Christ's kingly power are abolished.—Have you not the blessedest opportunity put into your hands that ever any people had? Then fail not in the prosecution of the work, for your Lord hath furnished you with able pilots, to steer the helm in a godly, peaceable, civil government also; then see you make choice of such as are sound both in profession and confession, men fearing God and hating bribes; whose commission is not limited to the commands of the second table, but they are to look to the rules of the first also; and let them be sure to put on Joshua's resolution and courage, never to make a league with any of these seven sectaries. The Gortonists, who deny the humanity of Christ, and most blasphemously and proudly profess themselves to be personally Christ. 2. The Papi-
pists, who with almost equal blasphemy

and pride prefer their own merits and works of supererogation as equal with Christ's invaluable death and sufferings. 3. The Familists, who depend upon rare revelations, and forsake the sure revealed word of Christ. 4. The Seekers, who deny the churches and ordinances of Christ. 5. Antinomians, who deny the moral law to be the rule of Christ. 6. Anabaptists, who deny civil government to be proved of Christ. 7. The Prelacy, who will have their own injunctions submitted unto in the churches of Christ."*

Here we plainly learn the cause why Mr. Williams was treated so cruelly.—But as God overruled the cruel selling of Joseph to the heathen, as a means of saving the lives of many people; so the banishing of Mr. Williams made him a chief instrument of saving all the English in New England from destruction. For he had obtained much knowledge of the Indian language, and friendship with them, when a war was ready to break out with the most powerful nation in the land. Of this a concise view was given, by Governor Trumbull and the general court of Connecticut, in 1774, in answer to a query from England, to know by what title they held their lands. Upon it, they said, "The original title to the lands on which the colony was first settled, was at the time the English came hither, in the Pequot nation of Indians, who were numerous and warlike; their country extended from Naraganset to Hudson's river, and over all Long Island. Saffacus, their great Sagamore had under him twenty six sachems; he injuriously made war upon the English; he exercised despotic dominion over his subjects; he with all his sachems and people were conquered, and made tributaries to the English. The war being ended, considerations and settlements were made with such sachems and people as remained, who came in and received full contentment and satisfaction."†

Some Indians up Connecticut river had been so much oppressed by Saffacus, that that they came down to Plymouth and Boston, so early as 1631, to get some of the English to go up and settle there.‡ And they afterwards went up to trade there several times, before they planted Windsor, and began a fort at Saybrook, in 1635, and Hartford in 1636. But the Pequots killed several men, from time to time until they murdered John Oldham, near Block Island because they went to trade that way. Mr. Williams began at Providence in the spring of 1636, just before Oldham was killed, the news of which they first received from

* Journal, page 92.

† Historical Society, vol. 1, page 276

* Johnson, page 7, 8.

† Said answer, page 4.

‡ Winthrop, p. 25.

him at Boston, July 26; upon which the governor there wrote to him to use all his influence with the Narragansets, to obtain their help against the Pequots. This he did so expeditiously, as to return their answer July 30. Messengers were then sent to the Narragansets, who returned to Boston with a favorable answer on August 13. An army was then sent round by water, to revenge the death of Oldham, and to try to bring the Pequots to terms; but they returned without success.* Upon a sight of their danger, the Pequots sent directly to the Narragansets, with whom they had been at war several years, and desired that they would make peace with them and for all to join together, and to drive the English out of the country; saying, If you should help the English to subdue us you would thereby make way for your own ruin; and we need not come to open battle with them, only fire their houses, kill their cattle, and lie in wait and shoot them as they go about their business, and they will soon be forced to leave the country, and the Indians not be exposed to much hazard.†

What policy was here! and what would the English have done, if they had sent Williams out of the country as they intended? but a kind providence prevented it, and he now wrote an account of these to Boston? upon which they sent to him to do his utmost for their relief; and he says, "The Lord helped me immediately to put my life in my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself all alone in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of my life, to the sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms methought wreaked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut river, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also. But God wonderfully preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces their design, and to make, promote, and finish, by many travels and charges, the English league with the Narragansets and Mohegans against the Pequots.‡ He prevailed with Miantenimo, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, to come to Boston in October, and to covenant with them to war against the Pequots till they were subdued; and they sent a copy of it to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret it to him.||

Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, who lived between New London and Nor-

wich, had revolted from the Pequots a little before, and now joined against them; and the colonies agreed to raise an army against them in the spring.

But the Pequots were too early for them, and sent an army up the river in April, and killed several, and captivated others; upon which Connecticut raised an army of ninety English, and an hundred Mohegan Indians, who went down to Saybrook, where captain Underhill joined them with nineteen men upon which twenty of the others were sent back, and then the army sailed to the Narraganset bay, under the command of captain John Mason of Windsor. After they landed, many of the Narragansets joined them, and they marched over Powcatuck river, and encamped in the night; but the Narragansets were so much afraid of the Pequots, that they all forsook the English, and the Mohegans went behind them. Yet captain Mason and his men assaulted Mistick fort in Stonington, a little before day, May 26, 1637, and by fire and sword destroyed six or seven hundred Pequots, in about an hour, when only seven were captivated, and about seven escaped; while he had but two men killed, and twenty wounded.* Saffacus was at another fort where some of his own men were for killing him, because he had caused this dreadful war; but others pleaded for him, though they all concluded to flee over Connecticut river. After which general Stoughton came up with 120 men, and Mason and part of his men joined him and they pursued the Pequots beyond New Haven, and Saffacus fled to the Mohawks, who cut off his head, and informed the English of it. So many Pequots were slain or captivated, that the rest sued for peace, which was granted upon condition of their quitting their name, and former habitations, and being dispersed among the Mohegans and Narragansets, who should pay an annual tribute for them, while others were servants to the English.

All this was accomplished in about six months, as appears by the journal of Governor Winthrop, the history of captain Mason, and other accounts; and Indian sachems, came to Boston in 1538, from all the country, as well as from Long Island, to express their gratitude to the English for this victory, as Governor Winthrop informs us. And captain Mason says, in his history, that they had but two hundred and fifty men in all Connecticut when the war began, and they were in the midst of those enemies. How wonderful then was their victory, which opened a wide door for the English to fill the country! Governor Eaton and Mr. Davenport, who came over in the time of the war, went and planted

* Winthrop, p. 103—105.

† Preface to Mason's History, p. 4.

‡ Historical Society, vol. 1. p. 277.

|| Winthrop, p. 109, 110.

* Mason's History, p. 10.

New Haven, in 1638, and began another colony, who allowed none to be freemen but communicants in their churches.—About three thousand people came over that year; and it was computed that from 1628 to 1643, about 21,200 persons came over here;* and very few of them had separated from the church of England before they came away. This fully verified what Mr. Robinson said, twenty years before Boston was planted; and it shows how men are influenced in religious matters by the government which they are under.

An act of justice now towards the Indians, served greatly to confirm their friendship. For four young men ran away from Plymouth, and meeting with an Indian near Providence, with a rich pack upon his back, they murdered him for it, and then fled to Rhode Island. Mr. Williams informed Governor Winthrop of it, who advised him to write to Plymouth about it, which he did, and they sent to Rhode Island, and caught three of them, and hanged them, at Plymouth. And though some might think it strange, that three English should be executed for one Indian, yet none can tell how many lives this saved afterwards.

Yet all the great services which Mr. Williams did for the Massachusetts, could not prevail with them to take off his sentence of banishment, though Governor Winthrop was for it. A fear of their enemies in England had a great hand in this; for on April 28, 1634, King Charles gave a commission to archbishop Laud, and eleven men more, to revoke all the charters which he had given to these colonies, and to make such new constitutions and laws as they thought meet for them; and also to displace their governors and other officers, and to appoint others in their room; to impose tithes for the clergy, and to punish all those who disobeyed them with fines, imprisonment, or death. And though Governor Winslow was sent over their agent and got this commission revoked, yet Laud caused him to be imprisoned in London seventeen weeks, for teaching sometimes at Plymouth, and for marrying people as a magistrate, which Laud called an invasion of the ministerial office.† And to guard against such tyranny, was of great importance. Another reason was, that they expected to obtain so much power here, as to give a wound to anti-christ in other countries. For a man who was well acquainted with their views, speaking of the man of sin, says, "Mr. John Cotton, among others, hath diligently searched for the Lord's mind herein, and hath declared some sudden blow to be given to this blood

thirsty monster; but the Lord Christ hath inseparably joined the time, means and manner of this work together."*

The planting of this country, and the great things which God hath done here, has evidently given much light to Europe, and weakened the power of anti-christ there; but the use of force in religious affairs, has been so far from weakening that enemy, that his main strength lies therein. But the Massachusetts still went on in that way, and on March 3, 1636, they said, "This court doth not nor will hereafter approve of any such companies of men, as shall henceforth join in any way of church fellowship, without they shall first acquaint the magistrates, and the elders of the greater part of the churches of this jurisdiction, and have their approbation herein. And further it is ordered, that no person being a member of any church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magistrates and the greater part of the said churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth." And when they met at Boston, May 25, 1636, Henry Vane, Esq., was chosen governor, and John Winthrop, deputy Governor; and he and Dudley were elected to be a standing council for life, and the governor for the time being was to be their president. Endicott was also chosen a counsellor for life the next year: for which their charter gave no right, and no others were ever elected so among them. Five rulers and three ministers were also now appointed, "To make a draught of laws which may be the fundamentals of this commonwealth, and to present the same to the next general court; and it is ordered that in the mean time the magistrates and their associates shall proceed in the courts, to hear and determine all causes according to the laws now established and where there is no law, then as near the laws of God as they can.

So that when their laws were made, their judges were to act thereby in religious affairs, instead of the laws of God. But what followed among them may be a warning to all after ages, against confounding church and state together in their government. For disputes and divisions about grace and works, between their chief rulers and ministers, came on in Boston, and spread through all the country to a great degree. A fast was appointed on account of it, on January 19, 1637, but Mr. Wheelwright then preached a sermon which increased their difficulties, for which he was called before their General Court, March 9, who dismissed him for the present; and when they met May 17, after a sharp contention, Mr. Winthrop was again

* Johnson, p. 13.

† Historical Society, vol. iv. 10. 119, 120.

* Johnson, p. 230.

chosen Governor, and Mr. Vane was left out of office and the case of Wheelright was again deferred. A Synod of minister from all the colonies met at Cambridge, August 30, and sat three weeks, and drew up a list of eighty errors which they said were held in the country; and then the General Court met September, 26, and again dismissed Mr. Wheelright, and dissolved the house of deputies, and called another for November 2, 1637. Such an instance as never was here before or since, of electing the house of deputies twice in one fall. The house they dissolved had 26 deputies, and the new one 31, only eleven of whom were in that which was dissolved.

And now they had a majority to punish those whom the Synod had condemned; and they went on to banish John Wheelwright, William Aspenwall, Ann Hutchinson, and others, and to disarm 76 men 58 of whom were of Boston. Of these Mr. Wheelright and some others went and planted Exeter in New Hampshire, and were dismissed and recommended to form a church there, from the church in Boston;* though Mr. Williams was excommunicated by the church in Salem, after he had been banished by the Court, for things that Governor Winthrop judged to be less dangerous than the other was guilty of.†—Wheelright was banished for what they judged to be sedition and contempt of their government, and Williams for denying that they had any right to make laws, and enforce them with the sword in religious affairs. Wheelright afterwards made a slight confession to them, and was restored to favor, but Williams never retracted his opinion about liberty of conscience, therefore they never would restore him. And how many have there been ever since, who have been more earnest for the use of force in religious affairs, than for the peace and good order of civil government! but wise men learn much by the mistakes of others. Mr. John Haynes was Governor of the Massachusetts in 1635, and pronounced the sentence of banishment on Williams: but he removed to Hartford in the spring of 1637, where he afterwards said to Williams, "I think I must confess to you, that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world, for a receptacle and refuge for all sorts of consciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the bay, as you have been; we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not satisfied"‡ This confirms what was before said of the difference between the Massachusetts and Connecticut governments.

In September, 1638, the Massachusetts made a law to compel all the inhabitants in each town to pay an equal proportion towards the support of religious ministers, though none had a vote in choosing them but communicants in their churches. And they then made another law, which said, "That whosoever shall stand excommunicated for the space of six months, without labouring what in him or her lieth to be restored, such person shall be presented to the court of assistants, and there proceeded with by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or further for the good behaviour, as their contempt and obstinacy upon full hearing shall deserve." But this act was so high and glaring that it was repealed the next year. In the mean time, as adultery was a capital crime by the law of Moses, a law to punish it with death was made at Boston, in 1631, and three persons were banished for it in 1638, and a man and a woman were hanged for it in 1644.

CHAPTER III.

Rhode Island planted—Their first government.—Providence upon another plan.—The Baptist church there.—Their sentiments spread.—Account of Knollys.—A law against the Baptists.—And writings also.—Men in England against them.—The case of Gorton and his company.—Indians against them.—They are banished but obtain relief from England.—Williams obtains a charter: and writes against persecution, and Cotton against him.—Owen for him.—These colonies for severity; but Robinson for liberty.

WHEN such cruelty was exercised at Boston, Mr. John Clarke, his brother Joseph, and many others concluded to remove away; and when they came to Providence Mr. Williams advised them to go to the Island of Aquidnet; and he went with them to Plymouth, to inquire whether they claimed it or not; and finding that they did not, many went there, and signed a covenant on March 7, 1638. in which they said, "We

Exodus, xxxiv. 3, 4. { whose names are underwritten, do here solemnly, in the presence of JEHOVAH, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his, given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.—

William Coddington, John Clarke, William

* Belknap's New Hampshire, vol. i, p. 37.

† Hutchinson's Collections, p. 71.

‡ Historical Society, vol. i. p. 280.

Hutchinson, John Coggshall, *William Aspinwall*, *Thomas Savage*, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Philip Sherman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulstone, *Edward Hutchinson*, *Edward Hutchinson, junior*, Samuel Wilbore, John Sanford, John Porter, Henry Bull."

This I copied from their records. Those whose names are in *Italic* afterwards went back, and were reconciled to the Massachusetts; and most of the others were of note on the Island, which they called Rhode Island. Their covenant to be governed by the perfect laws of Christ as a body politic, seemed to be preferable to the scheme of the Massachusetts; yet as they could not find laws to govern such a body in the New Testament, they went back to the laws of Moses, and elected a judge and three elders, to rule them. And an assembly of their freemen, on January 2, 1639, said, "That the judge, together with the elders, shall rule and govern according to the general rules of the word of God, when they have no particular rule from God's word, by the body prescribed as a direction unto them in the case." But on March 12, 1640, they changed their plan of government, and elected a governor, deputy governor, and four assistants; and they went on till they disfranchised four men, and suspended others from voting in their elections; afterwards Mr. Williams went over to England and obtained a charter which included them in his government.

He had procured a deed of Rhode Island for them, from the Narraganset sachems, on March 24, 1638; and another to himself of Providence, the same day. He and a few friends had been there for two years before; and when he had obtained a deed of the town, he gave a deed to Stuckely, Westcoat, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Green, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Western, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holiman, and such other as the major part of them should admit into fellowship and vote with them.

To these he gave a right in the town freely; but they who were received afterwards, were to pay him thirty shillings a piece. And they were Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas, Harris, William Wickenden, Robert Williams, Richard Scott, William Renolds, John Field, John Warner, Thomas Angell, Benedict Arnold, Joshua Winsor, Thomas Hopkins, Francis Weeks, &c. They all signed a covenant which said,

"We whose names are underwritten, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for

public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil things.*" And I found a record afterward which said, "It was agreed that Joshua Verin, upon breach of covenant, or restraining liberty of conscience, shall be withheld from liberty of voting till he shall declare the contrary." He restrained his wife from going to meeting as often as she desired; and upon this act against him he removed away, as their records show.

And the men who were for such liberty, soon formed the first Baptist church in America. Mr. Williams had been accused before of embracing principles which tended to anabaptism; and in March, 1639, he was baptized by one of his brethren, and then he baptized about ten more. But in July following, such scruples were raised in his mind about it, that he refrained from such administration among them.* Mr. Williams discovers in his writings, that as sacrifices and other acts of worship were omitted by the people of God, while his temple lay in ruins: and that they were restored again by immediate direction from Heaven, so that some such direction was necessary to restore the ordinances of baptism and the supper, since the desolation of the church in mystical Babylon.† But these cases are far from being parallel; for the altar of God in one place, in the land of Canaan, was the only place where acceptable sacrifices could then be offered; while the Christian church is not confined to any place, but Christ is with the saints wherever they meet in his name; and he says to his ministers, Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world, Amen. Mat. xviii. 20, xxviii. 10, 20. And these promises belong only to the children of God, in the way of observing all his commandments, let them be ordained by whom they may. As the priests who could not find a *register* of their lawful descent from Aaron were put from the *priesthood* whom Christ owes under the gospel. Ezra ii. 62. 1 Peter i. 23, xi. 9.

After Mr. Williams left that church in Providence, they chose Mr. Thomas Olney for their pastor, and he served them in that office until he died, in 1682, and through many trials and changes they have continued ever since, and are now a flourishing church. Others had much labor about baptism in these times. Mr. Charles Chaun-

* Winthrop, p. 174—183.

† Reply to Cotton, p. 107.

cey preached at Plymouth above two years, and they would fain have settled him with Mr. Reynor, their other minister; but he believed that gospel baptism was dipping, and that sprinkling for baptism was not *lawful*, as their records show. He therefore went to Scituate, where he practised the dipping of infants.* He was afterwards president of the college at Cambridge.—Governor Winthrop also says, “The lady Moody, a wife and anciently religious woman, being taken with the error of denying baptism to infants, was dealt with by many of the elders and others, and admonished by the church of Salem, whereof she was a member; but persisting still, and to avoid further trouble, she removed to the Dutch against the advice of all her friends. Many others infected with anabaptism, removed thither also.” They went to the west part of Long Island, where Mr. Williams went in 1643, and made peace between the Indians and the Dutch and then sailed for England.†

Mr. Henserd Knollys was a minister in the church of England for nine years, and then he was so cruelly persecuted therein, that he came over to Boston in the spring of 1638: but their rulers called him an Antinomian, and would not suffer him there; therefore he went to Dover on Piscataqua river, where he preached near four years, and then returned to England, and arrived in London in December, 1641. As the war broke out there the next year, liberty for various opinions was caused thereby, and he became a Baptist, and gathered a church in London, where he often had a thousand hearers. He baptized Mr. Henry Jeffy, an eminent minister in that city, and was one who signed the Baptist confession of faith in 1643, which was as clear in the doctrines of the gospel, as was that of the divines at Westminster; a copy of which Mr. Crosby has given at the end of the first volume of his history. He also informs us that Mr. Knollys continued a faithful pastor of his church in London, through great changes and sufferings until he died in peace, September 19, 1691, aged 93 years. And though many things were published against him here, yet Dr. Mather says, “He had a respectful character in the churches of this wilderness.”‡ And Mr. John Clarke was a preacher of the gospel at Newport, until he formed a Baptist church there in 1644, which has continued by succession ever since. But the Massachusetts were so much afraid of the spread of their principles, that they made a law in November that year, which said,

“Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved, that since the first

rising of the Anabaptists, about 100 years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troubles of churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith, though they have (as other heretics use to do) concealed the same till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple; and whereas divers of this kind have, since our coming to New England, appeared amongst ourselves, (as others before them) denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates, and their inspection into the breach of the first table; which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the churches, and hazard to the whole commonwealth it is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy or their lawful right or authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court willfully and obstinately to continue therein, after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment.”

Thus denying infant baptism was made a cause of banishment, by men who knew that many who did so, did not hold the errors mentioned in this law. And Mr. Cotton said in those times, “They do not deny magistrates, nor predestination, nor original sin, nor maintain free-will in conversion, nor apostacy from grace; but only deny the lawful use of the baptism of children, because it wanteth a word of commandment and example, from the Scripture. And I am bound in christian love to believe, that they who yield so far, do it out of conscience, as following the example of the apostle, who professed of himself and his followers, We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth. But yet I believe withal, that it is not out of love to the truth that Satan yieldeth so much, but rather out of another ground, and for a worse end. He knoweth that now, by the good hand of God, they are set upon purity and reformation; and now to plead against the baptism of children upon any of those Arminian and Popish grounds, as those above named, Satan

* Winthrop, p. 273—268—299.

† Magnolia, Book ii, p. 7.

knoweth they would be rejected. He now pleadeth no other arguments in these times of reformation, than may be urged from a main principle of reformation, to wit, That no duty of God's worship, nor any ordinance of religion, is to be administered in his church, but such as hath a just warrant from the word of God. And by urging this argument against the baptism of children Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light.*

Here we may see that Mr. Cotton knew the baptists among them were not such as are described in the above law; though his charity about them was, that they were deceived by the devil, in pleading plain Scripture against infant-baptism, which hath no precept nor example for it in the word of God. And another minister near him, in writing against the baptists, ranks them with our first mother Eve, and says, "Hath God said it? was the old serpentine insinuation to blind and beguile, and to corrupt first the judgment in point of warrant of this or that practice."† As if a calling in question a custom of men, which is not named in the word of God, was as criminal and dangerous as a disputing the authority and truth of his express command. Of this every one must judge for himself. The Presbyterian assembly of divines at Westminster now denied liberty to their Congregational brethren in England, to have gathered churches there, distinct from their parish churches; and said to them, "This liberty was denied by the churches of New England, and we have as just ground to deny it as they; this desired forbearance is a perpetual drawing away from churches under the rule; for upon the same pretence, those who scruple infant baptism may withdraw from their churches, and so separate into another congregation; and so in that, some practice may be scrupled and they separate again."‡ Such is the effect of the use of force in religious affairs. And it now caused much trouble to the Massachusetts, from men who were really very corrupt in their doctrines.

Samuel Gorton had considerable knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, which he made use of to corrupt the word of God. He held the coming and sufferings of Christ to be within his children, and that he was as much in this world at one time as another; or that all which we read about him is to be taken in a mystical sense, which he called spiritual sense. And of the visible church he says, "Pharisaical interpreters, who erect churches as true churches of God, that admit of decay, and

falling from God in whole, or any part thereof, are they who have deceived and undone the world from the foundation thereof unto this day, and are the proper witches of the world, which the Scripture intends." Again he says, "They can strain out the gnat of dipping into, or sprinkling with water in the entrance into their church." And he says, "Antichrist is not to be confined to any one particular man or devil, but every one of that spirit is the original and proper inlet of sin, and inundation of God's wrath into the world, 1 John ii. 18, 22. Neither is the disposition, office and authority of the Son of God, confined and limited to one man; but every one who is of that spirit, hath that royal prerogative or set in him to be the Son of God, even so many as believe in that name." John i. 12.*

And his practice was no better than his principles. For he came over to Boston in 1636, where he caused considerable trouble and then did the like at Plymouth, from whence he went to Newport and behaved so there, that they inflicted corporal punishment upon him. He then went and bought some land near Pawtuxet river, in the south part of Providence, in January 1641; but such contention soon arose among neighbors there, about earthly things, that they came armed into the field to fight; but Mr. Williams interposed and pacified them for the present, and then wrote to Boston for advice and help. This was not granted from thence, unless they would come under the Massachusetts government. And as difficulties continued great in that place, four men went from Pawtuxet to Boston, in September 1642, and submitted themselves and their lands under that government; and then their rulers wrote to Gorton and others to come to Boston, and answer to the complaints of these men.—But they were so far from going, that they wrote a long letter, containing a mystical paraphrase upon their writing, and many provoking sentences against said rulers, and their religious principles and conduct, and a refusal to go, dated November 20, 1642, signed by twelve men. And to get out of their reach, these men went over the river, and bought the lands at Shawomet, of the Indians, and received a deed of it, January 12, 1643, signed by Miantanimo and Pumham.

In May following the General Court at Boston sent men into those parts; and finding that Gorton and his company were gone out of what they called their jurisdiction, they got Pumham and Socononco, two Indian sachems, to come to Boston and to submit themselves and their lands unto

* Cotton on baptism, 1647, p. 3.

† Cobbet on baptism, p. 8.

‡ Crosby, vol. i. p. 136, 187.

* Antidote against Pharisaical teachers, p. 42, 60, 61.

their government; and then to enter a complaint against Gorton and his company, that they had taken away their lands, by the influence of Miantanimo, who forced Pumham to sign the deed, as they said, though he would not receive any of the pay for it. Upon which the Governor and one assistant wrote to Gorton and his company to come to Boston, and answer to these complaints; and they sent to Miantanimo also to come to Boston for the same end.

But Gorton and his company sent a long and provoking letter, and refused to go. Miantanimo went down and justified his sale of those lands, and said those sachems were his subjects, or rulers under him. And it appears by many writings, that he was a man of the greatest powers of mind, and of the greatest influence among the Indians of almost any one in the land, which caused the English to be greatly afraid of him.

After much consultation, commissioners from New Haven, Connecticut, Plymouth, and the Massachusetts, met at Boston in September, and signed articles of confederation for mutual assistance and defence; that two commissioners from each colony should meet once a year, or oftener if necessary, to order the general affairs of all, while the internal government of each should be as before. And the Massachusetts declared that Shawomet was within Plymouth colony, and called upon them to relieve the Indians there; whom they said Gorton's company had oppressed; but rather than attempt it, they gave up all the right they had there to the Massachusetts, and the other commissioners assented to it.

The Massachusetts then put their government into a posture of war, and sent three officers and forty armed soldiers to Shawomet, and brought Gorton and a number of his company by force. They also brought away about eighty head of their cattle, to pay the cost of this expedition. And when they got these men there, they left the affair about lands, and tried them for their lives, upon a charge of heresy and blasphemy; but a small majority saved their lives for that time; and they enacted that Samuel Gorton, John Weeks, Randall Holden, Robert Potter, Richard Carder, Francis Weston, and John Warner, should be confined in seven of their chief towns, during the pleasure of the court, to work for their living, and not to publish their errors nor to speak against the government, each upon pain of death. Some others had smaller punishment.

In the mean time war had broken out between the Naragansetts and the Mohegans, in which Uncas prevailed, and took Miantanimo prisoner, and carried him to Hart-

ford, and left him in the hands of the English, at his own request; and when the commissioners met at Boston in September, they debated about what they should do with him; and though they could not see any right they had to put him to death, yet they feared that if he was set at liberty it would be very dangerous to themselves, and therefore they delivered him to Uncas for him to execute him without torture, which he did.* Thus one evil leads on to others, like the breaking forth of waters.

For the confinement of Gorton and his company did no good to them, and it caused uneasiness to many of their own people; and therefore when the General Court met at Boston, March 7, 1644, they passed an act, which said, "It is ordered that Samuel Gorton and the rest of that company, who stand confined, shall be set at liberty; provided that if they or any of them shall, after fourteen days after such enlargement, come within any part of our jurisdiction, either in the Massachusetts, or in or near Providence, or any of the lands of Pumham and Socononco, or elsewhere within our jurisdiction, then such person or persons shall be apprehended, wheresoever they may be taken, and shall suffer death by course of law; provided also that during all their continuance in our bounds inhabiting for the said time of fourteen days, they shall be still bound to the rest of the articles of their former confinement, upon the penalty therein expressed."

Thus it stands upon their records. And one of the officers who brought them to Boston, says, "To be sure there be them in New-England, that have Christ Jesus and his blessed ordinances in such esteem, that, the Lord assisting, they had rather loose their lives, than suffer them to be thus blasphemed, if they can help it. And whereas some have favored them, and endeavored to bring under blame such as have been zealous against their abominable doctrines; the good God be favorable unto them, and prevent them from coming under the like blame with Ahab. Yet they remain in their old way; and there is somewhat to be considered in it, to be sure, that in these days, when all look for the fall of antichrist, such detestable doctrines should be upheld, and persons suffered, who exceed the beast himself for blasphemy; and this to be done by those that would be counted reformers, and such as seek the utter subversion of antichrist."†

This history was finished in 1652; and it discovers the sincerity of the actors in those measures, which now appear very strange. And if any men had a right to use force with others about religious affairs, perhaps

* Winthrop, p. 262, 295, 303, 305, 306.

† Johnson's Hist, p. 197

these were as pious men as ever did so, as I observed before. But nothing serves more to prejudice sinful men against the truth, than injurious treatment from those who teach it; which Gorton and his company have evidenced even to this day.—For when they were released, they went to Rhode Island, and from thence over to the Naragansetts, where they procured a deed from the Indians of all their people and lands, which they resigned over to the king of England, and appointed Gorton and others as their agents, to carry the same to him, dated April 19, 1644. And they went over to England with it, and there published an account of their sufferings at Boston; and though the king could not help them, yet they obtained an order from the Parliament to the Massachusetts, to allow them to enjoy the lands which they had purchased, and to remove any obstructions that they had put in the way of it. And as the Earl of Warwick was their great friend in this affair, they called their town Warwick. And Gorton taught his doctrines there for many years; and the effects of them, and of the persecutions which these men suffered, with the general nature of sin, have caused a large part of their posterity to neglect all religion to this day; others of them have become professors of religion, but not in the Congregational way.

When Mr. Williams saw how things went here, and that some light opened in England, he went there in the spring of 1643, and published a Key to the language and customs of the Indians in our country; which the Historical Society at Boston reprinted in 1794. And as Sir Henry Vane, who was governor at Boston in the time of the Pequot war, was now a member of Parliament, and had a great regard for Mr. Williams, he used his great influence in procuring a charter for him, "Bordering northward and northeast on the patent of the Massachusetts, east and southeast on Plymouth patent, south on the ocean, and on the west and northwest by the Indians called Naragansetts; the whole tract extending about twenty five miles, unto the Pequot river and country; to be known by the name of "the incorporation of Providence plantations in the Naraganset bay, in New England." It gave them power to form their own government, elect all their officers, and to make all their laws as near the laws of England as they could. This charter was dated March 14, 1644, and was signed by Robert Warwick, Philip Pembroke, Say and Seal, Philip Wharton, Arthur Haslerig, Cornelius Holland, Henry Vane, Samuel Vassel, John Rolle, Miles Corbet and William Spurstow.

With this they sent a letter to the rulers and other friends in Massachusetts, saying,

"Taking notice, some of us of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams, his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemies and oppressors of God's people the prelates; as also of his great industry and travel in his printed Indian labors in your parts, the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America, and in which respect it hath pleased both houses of Parliament, freely to grant unto him and friends with him a free and absolute charter of civil government for these parts of his abode; and withal sorrowfully resenting, that amongst good men, our friends, driven to the ends of the earth, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of other, as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you; there should be such a distance. We thought it fit upon divers considerations, to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavors of a near closing, and of ready expressing of these good affections, which we perceive you bear to each other, in the actual performance of all friendly offices; the rather because of those bad neighbours you are like to find too near you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the west of England and from Ireland;* that howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundation, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshing to your true and faithful friends."†

Mr. Williams arrived at Boston with this letter, in September 1644, and they let him pass on to Providence; but they never took off his sentence of banishment, nor ever allowed of the validity of the charter of his own civil government until 1656.—And we are now to see the cause of it more fully. For Mr. Williams published a book in London that year, which opened the evil of their conduct, beyond any thing he had done before. The title of it is, "The bloody tenet of persecution for the cause of conscience." It appeared to Mr. Cotton to be of so dangerous a tendency to them, that he published an answer to it in 1647, which he called, "The bloody tenet washed, and made white in the blood of the Lamb." But Williams replied to it in 1652, and called it "The bloody tenet yet more bloody, by Mr. Cotton's endeavor to wash it white." And I will give a few extracts from these writings.

A prisoner in London wrote some reasons against persecution which one Hall of Roxbury obtained, and sent it to Mr. Cotton, and he wrote an answer to it. But as Mr. Hall was not satisfied therewith,

* Places that were then in the king's party, but were soon after brought under the parliament.

† Wintrop, p. 356.

he sent it to Mr. Williams who now published the whole controversy. The prisoner first brought the case which Christ has stated, of the children of his kingdom, and the children of the devil, appearing by their fruits in the field of the world, when he said "Let both grow together until the harvest." Matt. xiii. 30. 38. And the prisoner said, "the reason seems to be, because they who are *tares*, may hereafter become *wheat*; they who are blind, may hereafter see; they who resist him may hereafter receive him; they who are now in the devil's snare, and averse to the truth, may hereafter come to repentance; they who are now blasphemers and persecutors, as Paul was may in time become faithful as he did; they who are now idolaters, as the Corinthians once were, may hereafter become true worshippers, as they did; 1 Cor. vi. 9; they who are *no people* of God, nor under *mercy* may hereafter become his people, and obtain mercy. 1 Peter ii. 10."*

Now, though these things are very plain, yet Mr. Cotton went on for more than forty pages, before he came to the case in hand, which the prisoner said in few words; "Tares are antichristians or false christians."† And when Mr. Cotton came to this, he said, "It is not the will of Christ that antichrist, and antichristianity should be tolerated in the world, until the end of the world. For God will put it into the hearts of faithful princes (as they have given their kingdoms to the beast,) so in fullness of time to hate the whore, to leave her desolate and naked, and to burn her flesh with fire. Rev. xvii. 16, 17."‡ Mr. Williams had before said, "This hating and desolating and making naked and burning, shall not arise by way of *ordinance*, warranted by the institution of Christ Jesus; but by way of *providence*, when (as it useth to be with whores and their lovers) the church of Rome and her great lovers shall fall out; and, by the righteous vengeance of God upon her, drunk with the blood of the saints, these mighty fornicators shall turn their love into hatred, which shall make her a poor naked whore, torn and consumed."§ But Mr. Cotton passed this over in silence.

Now if we take the word flesh here to mean riches, it is well known that the king of France did the most to enrich the Pope, of any king upon earth; and the French nation have now taken the riches of the church of Rome to support war and vengeance against her, above all others in the world. And is not this according to that prophecy?

Of civil government, Mr. Williams says, "The sovereign, original, and foundation of civil power lies in the people; and it is evident that such governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for any longer time, than the civil power or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is clear, not only in reason, but in the experience of all commonwealths, where the people are not deprived of natural freedom by the power of tyrants."* Yea, the experience of all America, in her deliverance from the tyranny of Britain, confirms this truth. And as to religion, Mr. Williams says, "Persons may with less sin be forced to marry whom they cannot love, than to worship where they cannot believe.† And I find no answer to this.

Mr. Cotton was so far from thinking that he was a persecutor, that he said, "It is not lawful to prosecute any, until after admonition once or twice, and so the apostle directeth, and giveth the reason, that in fundamental points of doctrine or worship, the word of God is so clear, that he cannot but be convinced in conscience of the dangerous error of his way, after admonition wisely and faithfully dispensed. And then if any one persist, it is not out of conscience, but *against his conscience*, as the apostle saith, Titus iii. 10, 11." Upon which Williams says, "Titus, unto whom these directions were written, was no minister of the civil state, armed with the material sword, who might inflict punishments on the bodies of men, by imprisonments, whipping, fines, banishment and death.—Titus was a minister of the gospel, armed only with the spiritual sword of the word of God, and such spiritual weapons as were mighty through God to the casting down of strong holds; yea, every high thought of the highest heart in the world. 1 Cor. x. 4."‡ And he observes that the charges and exhortations which Christ gave to his ministers, are now applied to civil magistrates in this affair. But upon this Mr. Cotton says,

"Look the answer through, and you shall find not one of the charges or exhortations given to ministers, ever directed by the answerer to civil magistrates; the falsehood of the discussor in this charge upon the answerer is palpable and notorious." And yet in this book he says, "the good that is brought to princes and subjects by the due punishment of apostate seducers, idolaters and blasphemers, is manifold. 1. It putteth away evil from the people, and cutteth off a gangrene, which would

* Bloody tenet, p. 2.

† Bloody tenet, p. 44.

‡ Tenet washed, p. 42, 43.

§ Bloody tenet, p. 216.

* Bloody tenet, p. 137.

† P. 143.

‡ Bloody tenet, p. 137

spread to further ungodliness. Deut. xiii. 5, 2. Tim. ii. 16—18. 2. It driveth away wolves from worrying and scattering the sheep of Christ; for false teachers be wolves. Matt. vi. 15. Acts, xx. 29. And the very name of wolves holdeth forth what benefit will redound to the sheep, by either killing them, or driving them away.”*

If any man will take the pains to examine Mr. Cotton's book well, he will find that his main arguments are taken from scriptures which belong to the church and not to the state. And that passage in the epistle to Titus, about an heretic, condemned of himself, is referred to from one end of his book to the other. And it is implied in the sentence of banishment, passed against Mr. Williams where he is condemned for writing letters against their rulers, “before any conviction.” This idea the court evidently took from Mr. Cotton, who had great influence in their government. And as Williams denied that Christ had appointed the civil sword against false teachers, Cotton said, “It is evident that the civil sword was appointed for a remedy in this case, Deut. xiii. And appointed it was by that angel of God's presence, whom God promised to send with his people, as being unwilling to go with them himself. Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3. And that Angel was Christ, whom they tempted in the wilderness. 1 Cor. x. 9. And therefore it cannot truly be said, that the Lord Jesus never appointed the civil sword for a remedy in such a case; for he did expressly appoint it in the Old Testament; nor did he ever abrogate it in the New. The reason of the law, which is the life of the law, is of eternal force and equity in all ages, Thou shalt surely kill him, because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy God, Deut. xiii. 9. 10. This reason is of moral, that is, of universal and perpetual equity, to put to death any apostate seducing idolater, or heretic, who seeketh to thrust away the souls of God's people, from the Lord their God.”†

From hence Williams called his reply. “The bloody tenet yet more bloody, by Mr. Cotton's endeavor to wash it white;” from which many extracts are made, in the first volume of our History; and also an extract from Dr. Owen, who said “He who holds the truth may be confuted, but he cannot be convinced but by the truth.—That a man should be said to be convinced of a truth, and yet that truth not shine in upon his understanding, to the expelling the contrary error, to me is strange. To be convinced is to be overpowered by the evidence of that, which before a man knew not. I once knew a scholar invited to a

dispute with another man, about something in controversy in religion; in his own, and in the judgment of all the bystanders, the opposing person was utterly confuted: and yet the scholar, within a few months, was taught of God, and clearly convinced, that it was an error which he had maintained, and the truth which he opposed; and then, and not till then, did he cease to wonder, that the other was not convinced by his strong arguments, as he before had thought. To say a man is convinced, when either from want of skill and ability, or the like, he cannot maintain his opinion against all men, is a mere conceit. That they are obstinate and pertinacious is a cheap supposal, taken up without this price of a proof. As the conviction is imposed not owned, so is this obstinacy; if we may be judges of other men's obstinacy, all will be plain; but if ever they get upmost, they will be judges of ours.”*—This the great Dr. Owen published in London, the year after Mr. Cotton's book came out there. But it was so little regarded here, that violent methods were still pursued in this country, though against the minds of many.

When the commissioners of the united colonies met at New Haven, September 9, 1646, they said, “Upon serious consideration of the spreading nature of error, the dangerous growth and effects thereof in other places, and especially how the purity and power both of religion and civil order is already much complained of if not wholly lost in part of New England, by a licentious liberty granted and settled, whereby many, casting off the rule of the word, profess and practice what is good in their own eyes; and upon information of what petitions have been lately put up in some of the colonies, against the good and straight ways of Christ, both in churches and in the commonwealth, the commissioners, remembering that these colonies, for themselves and their posterity, did unite into this firm and perpetual league, as for other respects, so for mutual advice, that the truth and liberties of the gospel might be preserved and perpetuated, thought it their duty seriously to commend it to the care and consideration of each General Court within these united colonies, that as they have laid their foundations and measured the house of God, the worship and worshippers, by the rod God hath put into their hands, so they would walk on and build up (all discouragements and difficulties notwithstanding) with undaunted heart and unwearied hand, according to the same rules and patterns; that a due watch be kept at the doors of God's house, that none be admitted as members of the body of Christ,

* Tenet washed p. 83. 137, 138.

† Ibid, p. 66, 67.

* Folio collection of his tracts, p. 312.

but such as hold forth effectual calling, and thereby union with Christ the head; and that those whom Christ hath received, and enter by an express covenant to observe the laws and duties of that spiritual corporation; that baptism, the seal of the covenant, be administered only to such members and their immediate seed; that Anabaptism, Familism, Antinomianism, and generally all errors of like nature, which oppose, undermine and slight either the Scriptures, the Sabbath, or other ordinances of God, bring in and cry up unwarrantable revelations, inventions of men, or any carnal liberty under a deceitful color of liberty of consciences, may be duly and seasonably suppressed; though they wish as much forbearance and respect may be had of tender consciences seeking light, as may stand with the purity of religion and peace of the churches."

But the commissioners from Plymouth did not concur with this act. They had not lost the impression of the instructions which they received before they came to America; which said, "As the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, but spiritual, and he a spiritual king, so must the government of this spiritual kingdom under this spiritual king needs be spiritual, and all the laws of it. And as Christ Jesus hath, by the merits of his priesthood, redeemed as well the body as the soul;* so is he by the sceptre of his kingdom to rule and reign over both; unto which christian magistrates, as well as meaner persons, ought to submit themselves; and the more christian they are, the more meekly to take the yoke of Christ upon them; and the greater authority they have, the more effectually to advance his sceptre over themselves and their people, by all good means. Neither can there be any reason given why the merits of saints may not as well be mingled with the merits of Christ, for the saving of the church, as the laws of men with his laws, for the ruling and guiding of it. He is as absolute and as entire a king as he is priest, and his people must be as careful to preserve the dignity of the one, as to enjoy the benefit of the other."

CHAPTER IV.

Plan of Williams' government; and of the churches in the Massachusetts.—Cambridge platform.—Williams on national confusion.—Coddington does hurt to his own colony.—Winthrop dies.—Clarke and Holmes suffer at Boston.—Williams and Clarke go to England, and expose

such doings there.—Letter about it from thence.—Cotton dies.—Infant-baptism opposed at Cambridge.—Williams and Clarke opposed in England, and yet prevail.—Williams returns and is President here; and prevails in his colony.—Quakers come over and behave provokingly, and four of them were hanged.

THE severities, that were exercised in the other colonies, caused many of different opinions to remove into Providence colony, where they could have full liberty; and this made it more difficult for them to agree upon their plan of government. But on May 19, 1647, they met at Portsmouth, and elected a President, as their chief ruler, and an Assistant from each of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick; and they were to be Judges in executive courts, and to keep the peace. But six representatives from each town were to make their laws which were to be sent to each town, to be established or disannulled by the major vote of all their freemen. Mr. Williams was their Assistant for Providence; but such difficulties arose in the colony, that he drew a covenant in December following for all to sign who would, wherein they say, "That government held forth through love, union and order, though by few in number and mean in condition, yet hath by experience withstood and overcome mighty opposers; and above all, the several unexpected deliverances of this poor plantation, by that mighty Providence who is still able to deliver us, through love, union and order; therefore being sensible of these great and weighty premises, and now met together to consult about our peace and liberty, whereby our families and posterity will still enjoy these favors; and that we may declare unto all the free discharge of our conscience and duties, whereby it may appear upon record that we are not wilfully opposite, nor careless and senseless, and so the means of our own and others' ruin and destruction; and especially in testimony of our fidelity and affection unto one another here present, we promise unto each other to keep unto the ensuing particulars." And so went on to lay down excellent rules of conduct, in order to remove their difficulties.

The name Providence, which Mr. Williams gave both to his town and colony, and the word HOPE, in their public seal, with the figure of an ANCHOR therein, were designed to hold forth the HOPE that he had in God, that he would succeed the great work that he was engaged in, of establishing a civil government upon the principles of true freedom to soul and body. This appears plain in many of his writings.—But as they now appeared to be weak and

* John xviii. 36. 1 Cor. vi. 20.

to have divisions among them, the Massachusetts still refused to own them as a distinct government, and tried all they could to bring them under their power, which they thought was a holy government; and to continue it so, Governor Winthrop says,

"Two churches were appointed to be gathered, one at Haverhill and the other at Andover, both upon Merrimack river.— They had given notice thereof to the magistrates and elders who desired, in regard of their remoteness and scarcity of housing there, that the meeting might be at Rowley, which they assented unto; but being assembled, most of those who were to join, refused to declare how God had carried on the work of grace in them, because they had declared it formerly in their admission into other churches; whereupon the assembly broke up without proceeding." This was in the fall of 1644.* Their strictness of government, both in church and state, did much towards restraining of immoralities among them; so much that Mr. Hugh Peters, who came over to Boston in 1635, and travelled and labored much in this country, until he went back upon the turn of times in England, where he became very famous, and gave an extraordinary character of New England. When the Parliament had conquered all the king's forces in England, they kept a day of thanksgiving for it, April 2, 1646, and Peters preached a sermon before the Parliament, the Westminster assembly of divines, and the corporation of the city of London, to whom he said, "I have lived in a country where for seven years I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, nor looked upon a drunkard.†" This he said to urge them into like measures with the Massachusetts.

But a greater sight now appears before the world, than was then so much extolled. For the scheme which they so much admired, has long since been broken and dissolved; and the principles which were then despised and persecuted, are now become the glory of America. Roger Williams, John Clarke, Joseph Clarke, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, Samuel Hubbard, and many others in that little colony, held the pure doctrines of grace, and the importance of a holy life, as much as the fathers of the Massachusetts did; and they established the first government upon earth, that gave equal liberty, civil and religious, which is now enjoyed in most parts of America. General Greene also, the second military character in our revolutionary war, sprang from one of the first planters of Providence. These things shew how great men have been mistaken, and that we ever should judge of things by the light of revelation,

and not take any men as our guides, further than they appear to walk in that light.

Many books were brought from England about this time, but none were more disagreeable to the fathers of the Massachusetts, than those which were written against infant-baptism, and for liberty of conscience. Several extracts from those writings have already been given. And the public records at Boston, in 1646, shew that controversies about infant-baptism were a chief cause of their calling a synod, to compose a platform of government for their churches. Ministers were called from all their colonies to assist in this work. But Mr. Hooker of Hartford died before they met, on July 7, 1647. A book of his was printed in London, after his death in which he says, "Children as children, have no right to baptism; so that it belongs not to any predecessors, either nearer or further off, removed from the next parents, to give right of this privilege to their children."* And when the synod met in 1648, and composed their platform, which was approved by their general court, the majority of them agreed with them in this, though Mr. Cotton would have extended it further. And though he, and their churches in general, had allowed no elders to lay on hands in ordination, but the elders of the church in which the pastor was ordained; yet they now said, "In churches where there are no elders, and the church so desire, we see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by the elders of other churches." In this I think they were right; but when they say, "If any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require;† here I must enter my dissent, because this principle is the root of all the bloody persecution that ever was in the world.

Mr. Williams observes, that the attempts for a reformation in England, by the power of the magistrate filled their country with blood and confusion for an hundred years. For says he, "Henry the seventh leaves England under the slavish bondage of the Pope's yoke. Henry the eighth reforms all England to a new fashion, half papist, half protestant. King Edward the sixth turns about the wheels of state, and works the whole land to absolute protestantism. Queen Mary succeeding to the helm, steers a direct contrary course, breaks in pieces all that Edward wrought, and brings forth an old edition of England's reformation, all

* Winthrop, p. 356.

† Peter's Sermon, p. 31.

* Survey of church discipline, part iii. p. 13.

† Platform, cap. ix. xvii.

popish. Mary not living out half her days (as the prophet speaks of bloody persons) Elizabeth (like Joseph) is advanced from the prison to the palace, and from the irons to the crown; she plucks up all her sister Mary's plants, and sounds a trumpet all protestant. What sober man is not amazed at these revolutions!"*

Yet as all those revolutions were made by rulers who were not comparable to the godly magistrates and ministers here, they regarded not the warnings of men whom they thought to be deceived. And a writ was sent from Boston, to cite men in the midst of Providence colony, to come to Boston to answer to complaints that were entered there, dated June 20, 1650; which writ is recorded at Providence. Not only so, but when Mr. Coddington was elected President of his colony, May 16, 1648, he refused to serve, because William Dyre had commenced an action against him about some lands; and in September after he went and tried to get Rhode Island to be received into the confederacy with the united colonies; and as that scheme failed, he went to England, in the year 1651, and obtained a commission for himself to be governor of that Island, separate from the rest of the colony, when he had the deeds of the whole island in his own hands. This caused such a fire of contention among them, that one man was condemned by a vote of the town of Newport, and was carried and shot to death in their presence. How they were relieved will appear hereafter.

Governor Winthrop was an excellent ruler, until he died, March 26, 1649, in his 62d year. He kept a journal of remarkable events in his colony, from 1630, until near his end. Hubbard, Mather, and Prince, made great use of it in their histories. But the first volume of it was published entire 1790, as it never was before. It gives the clearest account of dates, principles and motives of actions in their government, of any work that ever was published. By it we may learn that he was for milder measures with dissenters from their worship, than the majority of their rulers and ministers were; and though they drew him into greater severities than he desired, yet near his end, when Mr. Dudley desired him to sign an order to banish a person for heterodoxy, he refused, saying, "We have done too much of that work already."† He spent a large part of his great estate in promoting the planting of his colony, though he met with much ungrateful treatment therein; but his eldest son went over and procured Connecticut charter and was governor of that colony until he died, in

1575. These were great honors for one family.

Mr. John Clark was an Assistant and the Treasurer of Rhode Island colony in 1649; but that could not secure him from cruel persecution in the Massachusetts two years after, with Mr. Obadiah Holmes, who sprang from a good family in England. When Holmes came over first to this country, he joined to the church in Salem, and was dismissed from thence to the church in Rehoboth, under the ministry of Mr. Samuel Newman. With them he walked about five years, and then he withdrew from Newman, because he had assumed a presbyterial power over the church. Soon after, he and some others became Baptists upon which Newman excommunicated them, and then got them presented to the court of Plymouth, June 4, 1650. And when they came there, they found that one letter was sent to the court against them from Rehoboth, another from Taunton, a third from most of the ministers in Plymouth colony, and a fourth from the court at Boston, all urging sharp dealings with them. But Governor Bradford and his court only charged them to desist from their separate meeting at Rehoboth, and adjourned their case to October court, when they were dismissed without any punishment. Such was then the government of Plymouth colony. But how different was that of the Massachusetts! There Mr. Clarke and two of his brethren went to visit an old brother of theirs at Lynn, beyond Boston, where they arrived July 19, 1651, and held worship with him next day, which was the Lord's day. But Mr. Clarke could not get through his first sermon before he and his friends were seized by an officer, and carried to a tavern, and to the parish worship in the afternoon, and at the close of it Clarke spake a few words, and then a magistrate sent them into confinement, and next day to Boston prison. And on July 31, they were tried before the court of Assistants, by whom Clarke was fined twenty pounds, Holmes thirty, and John Crandal five, or each to be well whipt. When Judge Endicot gave this sentence against them, he said, "You go up and down, and secretly insinuate things into those that are weak, but you cannot maintain it before our ministers; you may try and dispute with them." Therefore Mr. Clarke wrote from the prison to the court, and proposed a fair dispute upon his principles with any of their ministers. And upon their asking what said principles were, he said,

"I testify that Jesus of Nazareth, whom God hath raised from the dead, is made Lord and Christ; this Jesus I say is Christ; in English, the anointed one; hath a name above every other name; he is the anointed

* Bloody tenet, p. 197

† Belknap's Biography, vol. ii. p. 336.

Priest, none to or with him in point of atonement; the anointed Prophet, none to him in point of institution; the anointed King, who is gone unto his Father for his glorious kingdom, and shall ere long return again; and that this Jesus Christ is also Lord, none to or with him by way of commanding and ordering, with reference to the worship of God, the household of faith, which being purchased with his blood as a priest, instructed and nourished by his Spirit as a prophet, do wait in his appointments, as he is the Lord, in hope of that glorious kingdom, which shall ere long appear. 2. I testify that baptism, or dipping in water, is one of the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that a visible believer or disciple of Christ Jesus, (that is, one who manifesteth repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ,) is the only person that is to be baptized or dipped with that visible baptism or dipping of Jesus Christ in water, and also that visible person that is to walk in that visible order of his house, and to wait for his coming the second time in the form of Lord and King, with his glorious kingdom, according to promise; and for his sending down, in the time of his absence, that Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit of promise, and all this according to the last will and testament of that living Lord, whose will is not to be added to or taken from. 3. I testify or witness, that every such believer in Christ Jesus, that waiteth for his appearing, may in point of liberty, yea, ought in point of duty, to improve that talent his Lord hath given him, and in the congregation may ask for information to himself; or if he can, may speak by way of prophecy for the edification, exhortation and comfort of the whole; and out of the congregation at all times, upon all occasions, and in all places, as far as the jurisdiction of his Lord extendeth, may, yea ought to walk as a child of light, justifying wisdom with his ways, and reproving folly with the unfruitful works thereof; provided all this is shewn out of a good conversation, as James speaks with meekness of wisdom. 4. I testify that no such believer, or servant of Christ Jesus, hath any liberty, much less any authority from his Lord to smite his fellow servant, nor with outward force, or arm of flesh to constrain, or restrain his conscience, nor his outward man for conscience sake, or worship of his God, where injury is not offered to any person, name or estate of others, every man being such as shall appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and must give an account of himself to God; and therefore ought to be fully persuaded in his own mind for what he undertakes, because he that doubteth is damned if he eat, and so also if he act, because he doth not eat

or act in faith, and what is not of faith is sin.^{27*}

When he had given this plain testimony, there was a talk that Mr. Cotton would dispute him upon it: but after consulting together, Cotton declined, and Clarke was released from prison, to be gone out of their colony as soon as possible. Crandal also was released with him; but as Holmes had been one of them, they resolved to make him a public example. He was therefore confined until September, and then was brought out to be punished in Boston; and two magistrates, Nowel and Flint, were present to see it done severely. Mr. Holmes, after giving the previous exercises of his own mind, says,

"I desired to speak a few words, but Mr. Nowel answered, It is not now a time to speak; whereupon I took leave, and said, Men, brethren, fathers and countrymen, I beseech you to give me leave to speak a few words, and the rather because here are many spectators to see me punished, and I am to seal with my blood, if God give me strength, that which I hold and practice in reference to the word of God and testimony of Jesus. That which I have to say in brief is this, although I am no disputant yet seeing I am to seal with my blood what I hold I am ready to defend by the word, and to dispute that point with any that shall come forth to withstand it. Mr. Nowel answered, now was no time to dispute; then said I, I desire to give an account of the faith and order which I hold, and this I desired three times; but in comes Mr. Flint, and saith to the executioner, Fellow do thine office, for this fellow would but make a long speech to delude the people; so I being resolved to speak, told the people, that which I am to suffer for is the word of God, and testimony of Jesus Christ. No, saith Mr. Nowel it is for your error, and going about to seduce the people; to which I replied, Not for error, for all the time of my imprisonment, wherein I was left alone, my brethren being gone, which of all your ministers came to convince me of error? And when upon the governor's words a motion was made for a public dispute, and often renewed upon fair terms, and desired by hundreds, what was the reason it was not granted? Mr. Nowel told me, it was his fault who went away and would not dispute; but this the writings will clear at large. Still Mr. Flint calls to the man to do his office; so before, and in the time of his pulling off my clothes, I continued speaking, telling them that I had so learned that for all Boston I would not give my body into their hands thus to be bruised upon another account,

* Clarke's Narrative, p. 9, 10.

yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a wampum peague,* to free it out of their hands; and that I made as much conscience of unbuttoning one button as I did of paying the thirty pounds in reference thereunto. I told them moreover, that the Lord having manifested his love towards me, in giving me repentance towards God, and faith in Christ and so to be baptized in water, by a messenger of Jesus, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, wherein I have fellowship with him in his death, burial and resurrection, I am now come to be baptized in afflictions by your hands, that so I may have further fellowship with my Lord, and am not ashamed of his sufferings, for by his stripes am I healed. And as the man began to lay the strokes upon my back, I said to the people, though my flesh should fail, and my spirit should fail, yet God would not fail; so it pleased the Lord to come in and fill my heart and tongue as a vessel full, and with an audible voice I broke forth, praying the Lord not to lay this sin to their charge, and telling the people that now I found he did not fail me and therefore now I should trust him forever who failed me not; for in truth as the strokes fell upon me, I had such a spiritual manifestation of God's presence, as I never had before, and the outward pain was so removed from me, that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength, spitting in his hand three times, with a three corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes. When he had loosed me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart, and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the spectators observed, I told the magistrates, You have struck me as with roses; and said moreover, although the Lord hath made it easy to me, yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge.

"After this many came to me, rejoicing to see the power of the Lord manifested in weak flesh; but sinful flesh took occasion hereby to bring others into trouble, informed the magistrates hereof, and so two more were apprehended as for contempt of authority; their names were John Hazel and John Spur, who came indeed and did shake me by the hand, but did use no words of contempt or reproach unto any. No man can prove that the first spake any thing; and for the second, he only said, Blessed be the Lord; yet these two, for taking me by the hand, and thus saying, after I had received my punishment, were sentenced to pay forty shillings, or to be whipt. Both were resolved against paying

their fine; nevertheless, after one or two days imprisonment, one paid John Spur's fine, and he was released; and after six or seven days imprisonment of brother Hazel, even the day he should have suffered, another paid his, and so he escaped, and the next day went to visit a friend about six miles from Boston, where he fell sick the same day, and within ten days he ended this life. When I was come to the prison, it pleased God to stir up the heart of an old acquaintance of mine, who with much tenderness, like the good Samaritan, poured oil into my wounds, and plastered my sores; but there was present information given of what was done, and inquiry made who was the surgeon, and it was commonly reported he should be sent for; but what was done, I yet know not. Now thus it hath pleased the Father of mercies to dispose of the matter, that my bonds and imprisonment have been no hindrance to the gospel; for before my return, some submitted to the Lord, and were baptized, and divers were put upon the way of inquiry; and now being advised to make my escape by night, because it was reported there were warrants forth for me, I departed; and the next day after, while I was on my journey, the constable came to search at the house where I lodged; so I escaped their hands, and by the good hand of my heavenly Father brought home again to my near relations, my wife and eight children, the brethren of our town and Providence, having taken pains to meet me four miles in the woods, where we rejoiced together in the Lord. Thus have I given you as briefly as I can, a true relation of things: wherefore, my brethren, rejoice with me in the Lord, and give all glory to him, for he is worthy to whom be praise forevermore, to whom I commit you, and put up my earnest prayers for you, that by my late experience, who trusted in God and have not been deceived, you may trust in him perfectly: wherefore my dearly beloved brethren, trust in the Lord, and you shall not be ashamed nor confounded. So I rest yours in the bond of charity,

"OBADIAH HOLMES.*

"Unto the well beloved John Spilsbury, William Kiffen, and the rest that in London stand fast in the faith."

This was carried to England, and published there in 1652; upon which Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was an early magistrate in the Massachusetts, when Boston was first planted, but was now in London, wrote to the ministers of Boston, and said:

* The sixth part of a penny.
VOL. 1.—O.

* Clarke, p. 17—23.

"Reverend and dear friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect.

"It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecution in New-England; that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compel men to come to your assemblies who you know will not join with you in worship, and when they shew their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceive) their public affronts. Truly, friends, this practice of compelling any in matters of worship to do that whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin, for so the apostle tells us, Rom. xiv. 23; and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment. We pray for you, and wish you prosperity every way, and hope the Lord will give you so much light and love there, that you might be eyes to God's people here, and not to practice those courses in a wilderness, which you went so far to prevent. These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you I have heard them pray in public assemblies, that the Lord would give you meek and humble spirits, not to strive so much for uniformity and to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. When I was in Holland about the beginning of our wars, I remember some Christians there, that then had serious thoughts of planting in New-England, desired me to write to the governor thereof to know if those that differ from you in opinion, yet holding the same foundation in religion as Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, and the like, might be permitted to live among you; to which I received this short answer from your then governor, Mr. Dudley. God forbid, said he, our love for the truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors."

To this Mr. Cotton answered, and said,

"Honored and Dear Sir,

"My brother Wilson and self do both of us acknowledge your love, as otherwise formerly, so now in the late lines we received from you, that you grieve in spirit to hear daily complaints against us; it springeth from your compassion for our afflictions therein, wherein we see just cause to desire you may never suffer like injury in yourself, but may find others to compassionate and condole with you. For when the complaints you hear of are against our tyranny and persecution in fining, whipping, and imprisoning men for their consciences, be pleased to understand we look

at such complaints as altogether injurious in respect of ourselves, who had no hand or tongue at all to promote either the coming of the persons you aim at into our assemblies, or their punishment for their carriage there. Righteous judgments will not take up reports, much less reproaches against the innocent. The cry of the sins of Sodom was great and loud, and reached unto heaven; yet the righteous God (giving us an example of what to do in the like case) he would go down to see if their sins were altogether according to the cry, before he would proceed to judgment. Gen. xviii. 20, 21. And when he did find the truth of the cry, he did not wrap up all alike promiscuously in the judgment, but spared such as he found innocent. We are amongst those, (if you knew us better,) you would account of (as the matron of Abel spake of herself) peaceable in Israel. 2 Samuel xx. 19. Yet neither are we so vast in our indulgence or toleration as to think the men you speak of suffered an unjust censure. For one of them, Obadiah Holmes, being an excommunicate person himself, out of a church in Plymouth Patent, came into this jurisdiction, and took upon him to baptize, which I think himself will not say he was compelled here to perform. And he was not ignorant that the rebaptizing of an elder person, and that by a private person out of office and under excommunication, are all of them manifest contestations against the order and government of our churches, established, we know, by God's law, and he knoweth, by the laws of the country. And we conceive we may safely appeal to the ingenuity of your own judgment, whether it would be tolerated in any civil state, for a stranger to come and practice contrary to the known principles of the church estate. As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him. His censure by the court was to have paid, as I know, thirty pounds, or else to be whipt; his fine was offered to be paid by his friends for him freely; but he chose rather to be whipt; in which case, if his suffering of stripes was any worship of God at all, surely it could be accounted no better than will-worship. The other, Mr. Clarke, was wiser in that point, and his offence was less, so his fine less, and himself, as I hear, was contented to have it paid for him, whereupon he was released. The imprisonment of either of them was no detriment. I believe they fared neither of them better at home; and I am sure Holmes had not been so well clad for many years before.

"But be pleased to consider this point a little further. You think to compel men in matters of worship is to make them sin, according to Romans xiv. 23. If the worship

be lawful in itself, the magistrate compelling to come to it, compelleth him not to sin, but the sin is in his will that needs to be compelled to a Christian duty. Josiah compelled all Israel, or which is all one, made to serve the Lord their God. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33. Yet his act herein was not blamed, but recorded among his virtuous actions. For a governor to suffer any within his gates to profane the sabbath, is a sin against the fourth commandment, both in the private householder and in the magistrate; and if he requires them to present themselves before the Lord, the magistrate sinneth not, nor doth the subject sin so great a sin as if he did refrain to come.—But you say it doth but make men hypocrites, to compel men to conform the outward man for fear of punishment. If it did so, yet better be hypocrites than profane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man, but the profane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man.—Nevertheless, I tell you the truth, we have tolerated in our church some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and some Seekers, and do so still to this day.”*

These letters give a plain idea of the sentiments of these two great men in that day, and that of Mr. Cotton, shews the absurdities of his scheme of compulsion about religion. The paying of Mr. Clarke's fine he says, was done “contrary to my judgment.”† Yet Mr. Cotton reports that he consented to it, and reflects upon Holmes for not doing the same. But I have a writing of Governor Jenks, wherein he says, “Although the paying of a fine seems to be a small thing in comparison of a man's parting with his religion, yet the paying of a fine is the acknowledging of a transgression; and for a man to acknowledge that he has transgressed, when his conscience tells him he has not, is but little if anything short of parting with his religion; and it is likely that this might be the consideration of those sufferers.” And though Cotton says, “Hypocrites give God part of his due,” yet in the first Christian church, God struck two hypocrites dead for lying to the Holy Ghost, and said upon it, Of the rest durst no man join himself to them, but the people magnified them. And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women. Acts v. 5—14. And how loud is this warning to all the world against lying and hypocrisy, especially in the affairs of religion! And though Mr. Cotton was exceeding confident that their churches were established by the laws of God, yet the character which he gives of his own

church is more like confusion of all sentiments, than the union described in the first Christian churches.

Mr. Cotton died on December 23, 1652, soon after this letter was written. He was greatly esteemed, both in Europe and America, as a clear preacher of the gospel. And though he was so dark about Christian liberty, yet Mr. Williams says, “Since it pleased God to lay a command on my conscience to come in as his poor witness in this great cause, I rejoice that it hath pleased him to appoint so able and excellent and conscionable an instrument, to bolt out the truth from the bran. As it is my constant grief to differ from any, fearing God; so much more from Mr. Cotton, whom I highly esteem and dearly respect, for so great a portion of mercy given unto him, and so many truths of Christ maintained by him.”* So that his conscience obliged him to write against the errors of a man whom he highly esteemed. And in the same book he sent a letter to Governor Endicott, in which he said, “By your principles and conscience, such as you count heretics, blasphemers and seducers, must be put to death. You cannot be faithful to your principles and conscience, without it.”† Endicott did plead conscience in putting four persons to death about eight years after; and this hath exposed New-England to reproach among the nations ever since, more than any other action they ever did.

The sufferings and writings of the Baptists at this time were a cause of light to many. Mr. Henry Dunstar, president of Cambridge College, had such a turn in his mind, that he boldly preached in their pulpit, that they had no right to baptize any infant whatever. And when Mr. Mitchel, minister in the town, went to talk with him upon the subject, great scruples were raised in his own mind about infant-baptism. But he labored hard to remove them, and at length concluded that they were from the devil, and said, “I resolved that I would have an argument able to remove a mountain, before I would recede from, or appear against a truth or practice received among the faithful.”‡ This was in December, 1653; and Dr. Cotton Mather published it to the world in 1697, and Mr. John Cleave-land of Ipswich, inserted it in a piece he published for infant-baptism in 1784. Thus it has been a tradition in New-England, from the fathers of the Massachusetts to our days, that they who forsake infant-baptism are deceived by the devil, though that practice is not named in the Bible! And Mr. Dunstar was turned out from being president for rejecting it, and such a tem-

* Hutchinson's Collections, p. 401—407

† Narrative, p. 11.

* Preface to Williams against Cotton, 1952, p. 6.

† Tenet more bloody, p. 312.

‡ Mitchel's Life, p. 67—70.

per was discovered against him, that he removed out of their colony, and spent the remainder of his days at Scituate in Plymouth colony, where he died in 1659. Captain Johnson finished writing his history in 1652, just before this event, and then he said, "Mr. Henry Dunstar is now president of the College, fitted from the Lord for the work, and by those that have skill that way, reported to be an able proficient, both in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, an orthodox preacher of the truths of Christ, and very powerful through his blessing, to move the affections."^{*}

At the same time he said, "Familists, Seekers, Antinomians and Anabaptists are so ill-armed, that they think it best sleeping in a whole skin; fearing that if the day of battle once goes on, they shall fall among antichrist's armies; and therefore cry out like cowards, If you will let me alone, I will let you alone; but assuredly the Lord Christ hath said, He that is not with us is against us: there is no room in his army for tolerators."[†] But the Baptists were so far from fear or discouragement, that they boldly persevered in their way, till they obtained deliverance. The towns of Newport and Portsmouth chose Mr. Clarke, and Providence and Warwick chose Mr. Williams, their agents to go to England and plead their cause there. And that they might have a fair trial, the commissioners of the United Colonies, at their meeting in September, 1651, received a writing from Warwick, saying, "May it please this honored committee to take knowledge, that we, the inhabitants of Shawomet, alias Warwick, having undergone divers oppressions and wrongs, amounting to great damage, since we first possessed this place; being forced to seek to the honorable state of Old England for relief, which did inevitably draw great charge upon us, to the further impairing of our estates; and finding favor for redress, were willing to wave for that time (in regard to the great troubles and employment that then lay on that state) all other lesser wrongs we then underwent, so that we might be replaced in and upon this our purchased possession, and enjoy it peaceably for time to come, without disturbance or molestation by those from whom we had formerly suffered. But since our gracious grant from the Hon. Parliament, in replacing of us in this place, we have been and are daily pressed with intolerable grievances, to the eating up of our labors, and wasting of our estates, making our lives, together with our wives and children, bitter and uncomfortable; insomuch that, groaning under our burden, we are

again constrained to make our address to the Parliament." And so gave the Colonies notice to be prepared to answer their complaints there.

This caused the commissioners of the Massachusetts, Bradstreet and Hathorne, to observe that Plymouth gave up those lands to them in 1613, to which others assented, and told of the great pains and expense they had been at about Gorton and his company, and support to the Indians, who said those men had wronged them about their lands; had desired to know if the other colonies would help them to do justice for the Indians. But the commissioners from Plymouth, Brown and Hatherly, declared that what was done in 1643, by men from their colony was going beyond their authority, who had no right over Shawomet lands, and that the Massachusetts had no right to do all that they had done in the heart of Providence colony. And the commissioners from Connecticut and New-Haven owned that it might be so. This is all plain in their records. And Williams and Clarke sailed from Boston with these complaints in November, though Williams had hard work to get a passage from thence, notwithstanding the services he had done for them formerly.

When they arrived at London, each of them published the books which I have before named; and in October they obtained a vacation of Coddington's commission, and an order for their colony to unite again, under their former charter. This was brought over by William Dyre, who left it on Rhode Island, and wrote to Providence and Warwick to come there and act upon it. But as these two towns had acted upon their charter all the while that the island was in confusion, they still remained two parties; and there were many against them in England. Edward Winslow who had been governor of Plymouth, and Edward Hopkins, who had been governor of Connecticut, were then in England.

On April 1, 1653, Mr. Williams wrote to his constituents, and said, "The determination of our controversy is hindered by two main obstructions. The first is the mighty war with the Dutch. Our second obstruction is the opposition of our adversaries, Sir Arthur Haselrig and Colonel Fenwick, who married his daughter, Mr. Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, both in great place; and all the friends they can make in the Parliament and Council, and all the priests both Presbyterian and Independent; so that we stand as two armies ready to engage, observing the motions and postures each of other, and yet shy each of other." But before that month was out, Cromwell dissolved the Parliament, which altered things greatly; and the Presbyterians have never

^{*} Johnson, p. 168. His history was printed in 1651.

[†] Johnson, p. 231.

had so great power in England since, as they had before.

Mr. Williams continued there another year, and then left Mr. Clarke their agent in England, while he came over to settle affairs here. And he brought a letter from Sir Henry Vane, which contained sharp reproofs for their disorders in his colony, and wise advice about removing of them. But Williams found it very hard work to get the two parties together, and yet he did it; and they met on September 12, 1654, and elected him for their president, and then voted to have him send letters of thanks to their benefactors in England. On May 22, 1655, he was again elected president for a year. But some men had been so troublesome among them, that a letter was procured from the Protector in England which said,

"Gentlemen,

"Your agent here hath represented unto us some particulars concerning your government which you judge necessary to be settled by us here; but by reason of other great and weighty affairs of this commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity; in the mean time we are willing to let you know, that you were to proceed in your government according to the tenor of your charter, formerly granted on that behalf, taking care of the peace and safety of those plantations, that neither through intestine commotions or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonor to this commonwealth or yourselves as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things that are before us, they shall, as soon as other occasions will permit, receive a just and sufficient determination. And so we bid you farewell, and rest your loving friend,

"OLIVER P.

"March 29, 1655.

"To our trusty and well beloved, the President, Assistants, and inhabitants of Rhode Island, together with the rest of the Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New-England."

Upon receiving this, their assembly met, June 28, and enacted, "That if any person or persons be found by examination and judgment of a general court of commissioners, to be ringleader or ringleaders of factions or divisions among us, he or they shall be sent over at his or their own charges, as prisoners, to receive his or their trial or sentence, at the pleasure of his Highness and the Lords of his council." And then all open opposition ceased in their govern-

ment. And President Williams wrote in November to the Massachusetts about their opposition to it: but receiving no satisfaction, he wrote again in May 1656, and said,

"Honored Sirs, our first request is for your favorable consideration of the long and lamentable condition of the town of Warwick, which hath been thus. They are so dangerously and so vexatiously intermingled with the barbarians that I have long admired the wonderful power of God, in restraining and preventing very great fires, of mutual slaughters breaking forth between them. Your wisdoms know the inhumane insultations of these wild creatures, and you may be pleased also to imagine, that they have not been sparing of your name as the patron of all their wickedness against our Englishmen, women, and children, and cattle, to the yearly damage of sixty, eighty and an hundred pounds. The remedy, under God, is only your pleasure that Pumham shall come to an agreement with the town or colony, and that some convenient way and time be set for their removal. And that your wisdoms may see just grounds for such, your willingness, be pleased to be informed of a reality of a solemn covenant between this town of Warwick and Pumham, unto which, notwithstanding he pleads his being drawn to it by the awe of his superior sachems, yet I humbly offer, that what was done was according to the law and tenor of the natives (I take it) in all New-England and America, viz: that the inferior sachems and subjects shall plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and supreme sachems; and I humbly conceive that it pleaseth the Most High and only Wise to make use of such a bond of authority over them, without which they could not long subsist in human societies, in this wild condition wherein they are."

And he went on to remind them of the order of Parliament in 1646, that they should remove all obstructions which they had put in the way of those who had purchased the lands in Warwick, so that they might freely enjoy their rights. He also desired them no longer to assume any power over a few persons in Pawtuxet, and to treat their colony as a distinct government.* And his request was granted.

The Massachusetts were awfully requited for their iniquity in these affairs. For when they received Pumham as their subject, they furnished him with arms and ammunition, for hunting; and in Philip's war he joined against the English, and was very active in the war, and so was his son and grandson; and Pumham was killed

* Hutchinson's Collections, p. 279-282.

within twenty miles of Boston, but a few days before Philip.* How righteous are God's judgments.

The Massachusetts were fond of comparing themselves to the Israelites who conquered Canaan; and I have recited a passage in which Captain Johnson has named seven sectaries which they were to subdue, as Israel did the seven nations in the promised land; but as these are far from being parallel cases, so was the success of the two people. For the seed of Jacob were completely victorious, but the Massachusetts never subdued one of the sects which he named. And a new one now arose, who caused more disgrace to them than any others had done.

Out of the confusions in England, George Fox came forth as a zealous preacher of a new doctrine; and in 1650, he and his followers received the name of Quakers, from the trembling motions of their bodies upon various occasions. They increased fast in England, and their sufferings animated them to travel far and near; and in the summer of 1656, some of them arrived at Boston, where they were confined. And when the commissioners met at Plymouth in September, they received a letter from the Court at Boston, which said,

"Having heard sometime since, that our neighboring colony of Plymouth, our beloved brethren, in great part seem to be wanting to themselves in a due acknowledgment and encouragement of the ministry of the Gospel, so as many pious ministers have (how justly we know not)† deserted their stations, callings and relations; our desire is that some such course may be taken, as that a pious, orthodox ministry may be reinstated among them, that so the flood of errors and principles of anarchy may be prevented. Here hath arrived among us several persons professing themselves Quakers, fit instruments to propagate the kingdom of Satan; for the securing of ourselves and our neighbors from such pests, we have imprisoned them all till they be despatched away to the place from whence they came." And the commissioners gave advice accordingly.‡

But such measures were not taken as long as Governor Bradford lived, who died on May 9, 1657, in his sixty-ninth year. And in June following, John Brown and James Cudworth, two of their Assistants, were left out of office, and others were chosen, who were for more severe measures, though not equal to the Massachusetts;

who also wrote repeatedly to the rulers of the Rhode Island colony, to try to draw them into like severities, but without any success.

The Quakers held that they had a light and spirit within them, which was their highest rule of action, and that the scriptures were only a secondary rule; and that the external use of baptism and the Lord's supper was now out of date, and that they had those ordinances inwardly and spiritually. They also held themselves to be inspired by the Spirit of God to teach a more clear and perfect way than men had known since the days of the apostles, if they had not greater light than the apostles had. This spirit taught them to give no titles to rulers, nor other men, and to use *thee* and *thou* to all. Humphrey Norton was scourged at Plymouth, in June, 1658, and then sent out of the colony; upon which he wrote to Governor Prince, and said,

"Thomas Prince, thou who hast bent thy heart to work wickedness, and with thy tongue hast thou set forth deceit; thou in-
aginat mischief upon thy bed, and hatchest thy hatred in thy secret chamber; the strength of darkness is over thee, and a malicious mouth hast thou opened against God and his anointed, and with thy tongue and lips hast thou uttered perverse things; thou hast slandered the innocent by lying, railing, and false accusations, and with thy barbarous heart hast thou caused their blood to be shed. Thou hast through all these things broke and transgressed the laws and ways of God, and equity is not before thy eyes. The curse causeless cannot come upon thee, nor the vengeance of God unjustly cannot fetch thee up; thou makest thyself merry with thy secret malice. The day of thy wailing will be like unto that of a woman that murders the fruit of her womb; the anguish and pain that will enter upon thy reins will be like gnawing worms lodged betwixt thy heart and liver; when these things come upon thee, and thy back bowed down with pain, in that day and hour thou shalt know to thy grief, that the prophets of the Lord we are, and the God of vengeance is our God.

HUMPHREY NORTON."

This I copied from Plymouth records, where it was inserted, that posterity might know how their fathers were treated. And we may here also learn how secular force serves to inflame mistaken zeal; for the various punishments that were inflicted upon those people, caused their zeal to rise the higher, until the commissioners of the United Colonies met at Boston in September, 1658; and then they advised each General Court to make a law to banish Quakers on

* Hubbard on said War, p. 131, 175, 176.

† One of these was Mr. Reyner, who went from Plymouth in 1654, and robbed them of all their church records, so that all the records they since have of former actings in their church, were collected from memory and private writings, as their late pastor told me. And how unjust was this.

‡ Hutchinson's Collections, p. 233—236.

pain of death. And such a law was made at Boston the next month, by the majority of one vote only; and the other colonies would not follow their example. Many other punishments were inflicted upon the Quakers in Plymouth and New Haven colonies, but little or none in Connecticut.

On October 20, 1659, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyre, were condemned to die, for returning after they were banished on pain of death; and the two men were hanged at Boston the 27th. And though the woman was then sent away yet she returned, and was executed June 1, 1660. And on March 14, 1661, William Leddra was hanged there for the like crime. And as Charles the Second had been restored to the crown of England the year before, Governor Endicott and his court wrote to him in December, and said, "Our liberty to walk in the faith of the Gospel in all *good conscience*, was the cause of our transporting ourselves, with our wives, little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land over the Atlantic ocean, into this vast wilderness, choosing rather the pure Scripture worship with a good conscience, in this remote wilderness among the heathen, than the pleasures of England with submission to the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience. Concerning the Quakers, open and capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed gospel, and from the holy Scriptures as the rule of life, open enemies to the government itself as established in the hands of any but men of their own principles, malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our church and state, after all other means for a long time used in vain, we were at last constrained for our own safety to pass a sentence of banishment against them, upon pain of death. Such was their desperate turbulence both to religion and state, civil and ecclesiastical, as that the magistrate at last, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself called for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them; this could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby; their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own act, we with humility conceive a crime bringing their blood upon their own heads."*

But William Robinson had given a paper to the court at Boston, in which he said, "The word of the Lord came expressly to me which did fill me immediately with life and power, and heavenly love, by which he constrained me, and commanded me to

pass to the town of Boston, my life to lay down in his will, for the accomplishing of his service, that he had there to perform at the day appointed." And Marmaduke Stevenson gave them another paper, in which he said: "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson."*

Thus it appears, that both sides pleaded a conscientious obedience to God, in their actings against each other. And from hence we may see that the use of force in religious affairs is a *bloody practice*. And though King Charles put a stop to their hanging any more here, yet he said, "We cannot be understood hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary with the advice of our Parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you do the like there."† And many more dissenters died in prison in his reign, than the bloody queen Mary burnt at the stake. Open executions were now become more odious to the people, than in former days of ignorance and superstition; while private cruelty was borne with, or little regarded. But the vengeance of God will reach the most secret criminals, as well as the most open murderers.

CHAPTER V.

Contention about Baptism.—Two Baptist churches formed.—That at Boston is persecuted three years, and then three of them were banished.—But many are for them here, and clear letters are written in their favor from England.—After they had been confined a year, they were released from Prison.—Injustice about Providence colony exposed.—And they at last prevail.—Williams disputes and writes against the Quakers.—A division in Boston Church.—Clarke's faith and his joyful end.

We shall now return to the affairs of Baptism. They who supposed that each believer stood in the same relation to his children, as Abraham did to his in the covenant of circumcision, brought none to baptism but the infants of communicants in their churches. But as those infants grew up and had children, and yet were not communicants themselves, a great trial came on to know what would become of succeeding generations. A convention of

* Hutchinson's Collections, p. 326, 327.

* Bishop, p. 127--133.

† Hutchinson's Collections, p. 379.

ministers met in 1657, and answered twenty-one questions upon the subject, and had them printed in London. But as this did not relieve them, another convention was called at Boston in 1659, and a synod in 1662, who introduced a half-way covenant, so that they who would own it, and were regular in their lives, might have their children sprinkled, without coming to the ordinance of the supper themselves. This was pleasing to many, while others thought it an apostasy from the first principles of the country; and the controversy about it, in various shapes, has continued ever since.

The first Baptist Church in Wales was formed near Swansea in that country in 1649. Mr. John Miles was their chief leader, and they increased to about three hundred members, by the year 1662, when he was ejected out of his place, by a cruel act of Parliament, which turned two thousand teachers out of their places in one day, for refusing fully to conform to the church of England. He then came over, with the book of church records which he had kept there, and it remains in our Swansea to this day. And at the house of John Butterworth in Rehoboth, in 1663, John Miles, elder; James Brown, Nicholas Tanner, Joseph Carpenter, John Butterworth, Eldad Kingsley, and Benjamin Alby, solemnly covenanted together as a church of Christ, to obey him in all his ordinances and commandments. They were in Plymouth colony, where they had ever enjoyed much more liberty than any had in the Massachusetts. Mr. Brown was son to John Brown, who had long been a magistrate in that colony, and his son served them afterwards in that office for eleven years, in a time when his brethren in the Massachusetts were fined, imprisoned and banished. Indeed Mr. Miles and church were complained of to court, for holding their meetings in Rehoboth, where was a congregational church, and a small fine was imposed upon them for it. But in 1667, the court granted them the town of Swansea, where the church has continued by succession ever since, and is the fourth Baptist church in America.

The fifth was formed in the Massachusetts. The light that was gained in 1653, when President Dunstar preached against infant baptism in Cambridge, caused Thomas Gould, who lived near him in Charlestown, to examine the matter so much, that when he had a child born in 1655, he could not bring it to be sprinkled. For this he was called before the church in Charlestown, and he told them that he could see no light for infant baptism, and therefore could not in conscience bring his child to it. Upon this, ministers, rulers and brethren labored with him, but could not con-

vince him. He was still willing to commune with that church, if they would let him do it without carrying his child to an ordinance, which he had no faith in; and he read that whatsoever is not of faith is sin. And because of this, and also his going out of meeting when they sprinkled infants, they censured him in their church, and punished him in their courts for more than seven years. At length three Baptist brethren came over from England, recommended from churches there, and met with him and others in private houses. And on May 28, 1665, Thomas Gould, Thomas Osborn, Edward Drinker, John George, Richard Goodale, William Turner, Robert Lambert, Mary Goodale, and Mary Newell, "joined in a solemn covenant, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to walk in fellowship and communion together in the practice of all the holy appointments of Christ, which he had, or should further make known unto them."

Goodale came from London, and Turner and Lambert from Dartmouth; the others were of our country, though none of them were church members before, but Gould and Osborn, both of Charlestown, from whence they were excommunicated after they were baptized. These facts I gathered from their records and writings. They were of such a peaceable disposition, and so far from disturbing others, as the Quakers did, that their rulers hardly knew where to find them. But on August 20, 1665, Richard Russell, one of their magistrates, issued a warrant to the constable of Charlestown, requiring him in his Majesty's name, to labor to discover where these people were, and to require them to attend on the established worship, or if they would not, to return their names and places of abode to the next magistrate. This was done and some of them were brought before their court of Assistants in September, to whom they presented their confession of faith, in which they said, "Christ's commission to his disciples is to teach and baptize, and those who gladly receive the word and are baptized, are fit matter for a visible church." But this was loudly complained of, as implying that none were visible saints, who were not baptized by immersion; though they held that they ought to be visible saints before they were baptized. Thus men turn things upside down. And the court of Assistants charged them to desist from their practice; and because they did not, Gould, Turner, Osborn, Drinker and George, were brought before their General Court in October, to whom they presented their confession of faith, and closed with saying, "If any take this to be heresy, then do we with the apostle confess, that after the way which they call heresy, we worship God,

the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, believing all things that are written in the law and the prophets and apostles."

But the Court called this a contemning of their authority and laws, and declared them to be no lawful church assembly, and said, "Such of them as are freemen are to be disfranchised, and all of them, upon conviction before any one Magistrate or Court, of their further proceeding herein, to be committed to prison until the General Court shall take further order with them." Dr. Mather tries to vindicate the Court herein, because the Baptists acted against the law of the government; but a noted Presbyterian minister, says, "This condemns all the dissenting congregations that have been gathered in England since the act of uniformity, in the year 1662." And says he, "Let the reader judge, who had most reason to complain; the New England churches, who would neither suffer the Baptists to live quietly in their communion, nor separate peaceably from it; or these unhappy persons, who were treated so unkindly for following the light of their consciences."*

Yet for following that light, they pursued them with fines and imprisonment, for three years; and then the court of Assistants appointed a meeting at Boston, April 14, 1668, and called six ministers to manage a dispute whether those persons ought not to be banished, for holding a separate meeting from their churches. And they sent a warrant to Thomas Gould, which said, "You are required in His Majesty's name to give notice to John Farnham, Thomas Osborn, and the company, and you and they are alike required to give your attendance at the time and place above-mentioned, for the end therein expressed." And as this was heard of at Newport, Mr. Clarke and his church sent William Hiscox, Joseph Tory, and Samuel Hubbard, to assist their brethren, and they got to Boston three days before the dispute. And it was carried on two days with allowing the Baptists but little liberty to speak for themselves; and it was closed by Mr. Mitchel, with the words of Moses, who said to Israel, If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates; then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose and thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment; and thou shalt do according to the sentence, which they of that place, which the Lord

shall choose, shall shew thee; and thou shalt observe to do all that they inform thee; according to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do; thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor the left. And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest (that standeth there before the Lord thy God) or unto the judge, even that man shall die; and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel. Deut. xviii. 8—12.

Thus the sentence that was given from the law of God, in the place he chose, under the direction of the Urim and Thummim, was applied to the sentence of rulers and ministers at Boston, according to the laws of men. That they then applied this scripture in this manner, appears from their colony records, compared with the writings of Samuel Hubbard and Mr. Gould. And thirty years after, Mr. Stoddard brought the same scripture to prove, that all men ought to submit to a national synod, as I shall prove hereafter.

Their General Court in May called those Baptists before them, to know whether they were convinced of their evil in withdrawing from their churches, by what said ministers had laid before them; but they declared that they were not at all convinced of any evil in so doing. The Court then called them obstinate Anabaptists, whom they were bound in conscience to proceed against; and gave sentence that Thomas Gould, William Turner, and John Farnham, should be gone out of their jurisdiction by the 20th of July, not to return again without their leave. And as Gould was then a prisoner, by the sentence of a former court, he was liberated from thence in order that he might obey this sentence. Mr. Mitchel, who read off said scripture against them, died suddenly eleven days before the time set in their sentence of banishment; but this gave no relief to these sufferers. And because they did not obey their sentence, these three men were imprisoned in Boston for near or quite a year.

How any who feared God, could go on to act against others, as these rulers and ministers did, may seem very strange in our days; but a careful search into their history will open the cause of it, Mr. Wilson the first minister of Boston, was in great esteem with other ministers, who came round him in May past, and desired him to give his dying testimony of what he conceived to be the cause of the displeasure of God against this country. He told them that he had long feared the following sins as chief among others, which provoked God greatly, "1. Separation. 2. Anabaptism,

* Magnalia, B. 7. p. 27. Neal on New-England. Vol. 1.—P.

3. Corahism, when people rise up as Corah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ. 4. Another sin I take to be, the making light of, and not subjecting to the authority of synods.* These things he delivered as his dying testimony and he died August 7, 1668, just after those Baptists were put in prison there. No one can easily tell how great an impression such things had upon their minds. Indeed some were of a different opinion and when their General Court met in the fall, they presented a petition in favor of those sufferers, and said, "We humbly beseech this honored Court, in their Christian mercy and bowels of compassion, to pity and relieve these poor prisoners; whose sufferings are doubtful to many, and some of great worth among ourselves, and grievous to the hearts of God's people at home and abroad. Your wisdoms may be pleased to think of some better expedient, and seriously to consider whether an indulgence justifiable by the word of God, pleaded for and practiced by Congregational churches, may not, in this day of suffering to the people of God, be more effectual, safe and inoffensive than other ways, which are always grievous, and seldom find success." And they spoke highly of the good lives of those Baptists, as another plea in their favor. Captain Hutchinson, Captain Oliver, and many others signed this petition; but some were fined for it, and others compelled to confess their fault, for reflecting on the court. But Deputy-governor Willoughby was against these proceedings.† An account of these things was sent to England, and a letter from thence to Captain Oliver said:

"My Dear Brother:

"The ardent affection and great honors that I have for New-England transport me, and I hope your churches shall ever be to me as the gates of heaven. I have ever been warmed with the apprehension of the grace of God towards me in carrying me thither. But now it is otherwise; with joy to ourselves and grief to you be it spoken. Now the greater my love is to New-England, the more am I grieved at their failings. It is frequently said here, that they are swerved aside towards Presbytery; if so, the Lord restore them all. But another sad thing that much affects us is, to hear that you even in New-England persecute your brethren; men found in the faith; or holy life; agreeing in worship and discipline with you; only differing in the point of baptism. Dear brother, we here do love and

honor them, hold familiarity with them, and take sweet counsel together; they lie in the bosom of Christ, and therefore they ought to be laid in our bosoms. In a word, we freely admit them into churches; few of our churches, but many of our members are Anabaptists; I mean baptized again. This is love in England; this is moderation; this is a right New-Testament spirit. But do you now bear with, yea, more than bear with the Presbyterians? Yea, and that the worst sort of them, those who are the corruptest, rigidest; whose principles tend to corrupt the churches; turning the world into the church, and the church into the world; and which doth no less than to bring a people under mere slavery. It is an iron yoke, which neither we nor our Congregational brethren in Scotland were ever able to bear. I have heard them utter these words in the pulpit, that it is no wrong to make the Independents sell all they have and depart the land; and many more things I might mention of that kind; but this I hint only, to shew what cause there is to withstand that wicked tyranny which was once set up in poor miserable Scotland, which I verily believe was a great wrong and injury to the reformation. The generality of them here, even to this day, will not freely consent to our enjoyment of our liberty; though through mercy the best and most reformed of them do otherwise. How much therefore would it concern dear New-England to turn the edge against those who, if not prevented, will certainly corrupt and enslave, not only their own, but also your churches? Whereas Anabaptists are neither spirited nor principled to injure nor hurt your government nor your liberties; but rather these be the means to preserve your churches from apostacy, and to provoke them to their primitive purity, as they were in the first planting; in admission of members to receive none into your churches but visible saints, and in restoring the entire jurisdiction of every congregation complete and undisturbed. We are hearty and full for our Presbyterian brethren's equal liberty with ourselves; oh, that they had the same spirit towards us! But oh, how it grieves and affects us, that New-England should persecute! Will you not give what you take? Is liberty of conscience your due? And is it not as due unto others who are found in the faith? Amongst many scriptures that in the fourteenth of Romans much confirms me in liberty of conscience thus stated. To him that esteemeth anything unclean, to him it is unclean. Therefore though we approve of the baptism of the immediate children of church members, and of their admission into the church when they evidence a real work of grace; yet to those

* Morton, p. 195, 6.

† Hutchinson, vol. 1. p. 227—269.

who in conscience believe the said baptism to be unclean, it is unclean. Both that and mere ruling elders, though we approve of them, yet our grounds are mere interpretations of, and not any express scripture. I cannot say so clearly of any thing else in our religion, neither as to faith or practice. Now must we force our interpretations upon others, pope like? How do you cast a reproach upon us who are congregational in England, and furnish our adversaries with weapons against us. We blush and are filled with confusion of face, when we hear of these things. Dear brother, we pray that God would open your eyes, and persuade the hearts of your magistrates, that they may no more smite their fellow servants, nor thus greatly injure us their brethren, and that they may not thus dishonor the name of God. My dear brother, pardon me, for I am affected; I speak for God, to whose grace I commend you all in New-England; and humbly craving your prayers for us here, and remain your affectionate brother.

“ROBERT MASCALL.

“Finsbury, near Morefield,
“March 25, 1659.”

This was copied by Mr. Samuel Hubbard, from whence I took it. Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, and ten other ministers wrote to the Massachusetts rulers the same day, in a moving manner, and said, “We are sure you would be unwilling to put an advantage into the hands of some, who seek pretences and occasions against our liberty, and to reinforce the former rigor. Now we cannot deny but this hath already in some measure been done, in that it hath been vogueed, that persons of your way, principles and spirit, cannot bear with dissenters from them. And as this greatly reflects upon us, so some of us have observed how already it has turned to your disadvantage.” Yet Dr. Mather says, “I cannot say that this excellent letter had immediately all the effect it should have had.”* So that they were imprisoned about a year, because they would not voluntarily go out of that jurisdiction. And the year after, six magistrates gave a warrant to take up Gould and Turner again, and Turner was actually put in prison upon the old sentence, and lay there a long time; but Gould went and lived and preached upon Noddle’s island in the harbor, where they did not pursue him. For a great many rulers and others abhorred such conduct. But we must now take a review of other things.

When the rulers of the Massachusetts yielded to the order of Parliament about Warwick, they were far from giving up

their designs upon the lands in Providence colony. They claimed much of the west part of it, because of the Pequot conquest; and in 1657 and 1658, they sent men and got deeds of much land in the heart of the Narraganset country. The Narraganset Indians were also so uneasy about the death of their great sachem Miantenimo, that they often attempted to revenge his death, but were overpowered by forces sent once and again, from the Massachusetts; and in 1660, they compelled those Indians to mortgage all their lands to them, for what they said was due the Massachusetts. And because two Baptist brethren, Tobias Sanders and Robert Burdick, went to work upon lands which they had procured from their government in Westerly, they were imprisoned by the Massachusetts in 1662, who then wrote to the rulers of Providence colony about it, as appears by the records of both colonies. In the mean time Mr. Winthrop went over to England, and obtained a charter, dated April 23, 1662, which united New-Haven and Connecticut in one colony. Their eastern boundary was described to be “By the Narraganset river, commonly called Narraganset Bay, where said river falleth into the sea.” And by this general description they claimed the Narraganset country. For when the commissioners of the united colonies met at Boston in September, they wrote to the rulers of Providence colony, and mentioned this charter to Connecticut, which they said granted the lands at Pawcatuck and Narraganset, which we hope will prevail with you to require and cause your people to withdraw themselves and desist from further disturbance.”

Now they should have remembered, that in 1643, they interpreted the Narraganset river, the western boundary of Plymouth colony, so as to include the lands where Gorton was settled; and all that the Massachusetts did to him was founded upon that interpretation, which supposed Pawcatuck to be the western boundary of Plymouth colony. Yet now they would claim all the Narraganset country by Connecticut charter. What great blindness was here! And it was soon discovered by the charter which Mr. Clarke procured for his colony, dated July 8, 1663, which said, “Pawcatuck river shall be also called, alias, Narraganset river; and to prevent future disputes that otherwise might arise thereby forever hereafter, shall be construed, deemed and taken to be the Narraganset river, in the late grant to Connecticut colony, mentioned as the eastwardly bounds of that colony.” Yet they were so resolute that it should not be so, that they proposed to send an agent over to England, to get that line al-

* Magnalia, B. 7. p. 27, 28.

tered. Upon which Mr. Williams wrote to Connecticut rulers, and said :

"It looks like a prodigy or monster, that countrymen among savages in a wilderness; that professors of God and one Mediator, of an eternal life and that this is like a dream, should not be content with those vast large tracts which all the other colonies have (like platters and tables full of dainties) but pull and snatch away their poor neighbor's bit or crust; and a crust it is, and a dry hard one too, because of the natives continual troubles, trials, and vexations." And as to claims from the Pequot conquest, he said, "Having ocular knowledge of persons, places, and transactions, I did honestly and conscientiously, as in the holy presence of God, draw up from Pawcatuck river, which I then believed and still do, is free from all English claims and conquests. For although there were some Pequots on this side the river, who by reason of some sachem's marriages with some on this side lived in a kind of neutrality with both sides; yet upon the breaking out of the war, they relinquished their land to the possession of their enemies the Narragansets, and Nyanatics, and their land never came into the condition of the lands on the other side, which the English by conquest challenged; so that I must affirm, as in God's holy presence, I tenderly waved to touch a foot of land in which I knew the Pequot wars were maintained, and were properly Pequot, being a gallant country. And from Pawcatuck river hitherward, being but a patch of ground, full of troublesome inhabitants, I did, as I judged inoffensively, draw our poor and inconsiderable line." And he says of their second charter, "Mr. Winthrop, upon some mistake, had intrenched upon our line and it is said upon the lines of other charters also; but upon Mr. Clark's complaint, your grant was called in again, and it had never been returned, but upon a report that the agents, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clarke, were agreed by mediation of friends; and it is true they came to a solemn agreement under hands and seals, which agreement was never violated on our part."*

This letter was dated June 22, 1670. And though the case was not then carried again to England, yet this line was not settled in fifty years after. But in 1720, Governor Jenks was sent over an agent upon this controversy, and it was settled in 1729, the line to be Pawtucket river. And in 1741, their easterly line was settled, which gave their colony Littlecompton, Tiverton, Bristol, Warren, Barrington, and Cumberland, which they had not enjoyed before. Thus all the lands, and all the liberties that

were asked for by Mr. Williams and Mr. Clarke, were finally obtained in that colony, though others exerted all their powers against it. And these things give great encouragement to all who may come after us, to perseverance in right ways, and a warning against all injustice and oppression.

Mr. Williams had also another difficulty now to encounter, in which he was successful. Though Mr. Coddington and other men of note, submitted to his government in 1656, yet as they soon joined with the Quakers, they refused to be active in that government. Their plea was, that they were obliged in conscience to refrain from taking any oath. Therefore the form of an engagement to the government was enacted for them in 1665, which it was hoped they would take; but in March, 1666, they objected against it and prevailed with their Assembly to make a law to allow them to make their submission in their own words, either before the court or before two magistrates. And then they were as fond of being rulers as any men, and Mr. Nicholas Easton was governor in 1672 and '73; and Mr. Coddington in 1674 and '75, who were then Quakers. And as Williams believed that their principles were hurtful to civil government, as well as dangerous to the souls of men, and George Fox and other teachers of theirs were come over, he wrote fourteen propositions upon the subject, and sent them to Newport, proposing to Fox or his friends, to hold a dispute upon seven of them at Newport, and upon the other seven at Providence, upon any days that they should appoint. Fox then sailed for England, but John Stubs, John Burnyeat, and William Edmondson undertook it; and Williams held a dispute with them in August, 1672, three days at Newport, and one at Providence. And he wrote a large account of it, which was printed at Cambridge, in 1676; and soon after it came out several of the Quakers were left out of office. Upon this Mr. Coddington sent the book over to Mr. Fox, with a bitter letter against Williams, and he with Burnyeat wrote a reply, which they called, "A New-England firebrand quenched." And it was printed in England, in 1678.

Mr. Williams dedicated his book to them wherein he said, "From my childhood, now above three score years, the father of lights and mercies touched my soul with the love of himself, to his only begotten Son, the true Lord Jesus, to his holy Scriptures, &c. His infinite wisdom hath given me to see the city, court and country, the schools and universities of my native country, to converse with some Turks, Jews, Papists, and all sorts of Protestants; and by books to know the affairs and religions of all countries. My conclusion is, that *Be of good*

* Historical Society, Vol. 1. p. 278—290.

cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee, Mat. x. 2, is one of the joyfulest sounds that ever came to poor sinful ears. How to obtain this sound from the mouth of the Mediator who spoke it, is the greatest dispute between the Protestants and the bloody whore of Rome; and this is also the greatest point between the Protestants and yourselves, as also, in order to this, about what the true Lord Jesus Christ is.*

They were so much upon what Christ did within them, that he says George Fox, in a former book, "cannot endure to hear the word *human*, as being a new name and never heard of in Scripture. Fox knows that if Christ be granted to have had such a soul and body as in human or common to man, down falls their Dagon before the ark of God, viz. their idol of a Christ called light within them."† To which it was answered, "There is no such word that call-eth Christ's body and soul *human*; and whether is Christ's body celestial or terrestrial."‡

And this opinion prevailed so much at Newport that Mr. Clark and his church, after much labor, excluded three men and two women from their communion Oct. 16, 1673, for holding "That the man Christ Jesus was not now in heaven nor earth, nor any where else, but that his body was entirely lost." This Mr. Comer says he took from their records. Such was their language then, let it be altered ever so much since. And as to government, Fox published a book in 1659 in which he said "that the magistrate of Christ, the help government for him, he is in the light and power of Christ; and he is to subject all under the power of Christ, into his light, else he is not a faithful magistrate; and his laws are agreeable, and answerable, according to that of God in every man."‡ Williams brought this to prove that their spirit was arbitrary and persecuting; but Fox said, "Is there one word of persecution here? can Roger Williams think himself a Christian, and look upon it to be persecution, for Christ's magistrates by Christ's light and power, to subject all under the power of Christ, and to bring all into this light of Christ? or can he think such an one an unfaithful magistrate? or are those laws, and the execution of them persecution, that are agreeable and answerable to that of God in every man? These are George Fox's words. Such magistrates, such laws, such power and light and subjection is George Fox for, and no other."||

And as two women had appeared as naked as they were born, before many people, the one at Salem and the other at Newbury,

and had been whipt for it, which George Bishop called persecution, Williams mentioned it, and that he thought persons must be bewitched to call this persecution. But Fox said, "We do believe thee, in that dark, persecuting, bloody spirit, that thou and the New-England priests are bewitched in, you cannot believe that you are naked from God and his clothing, and blind; and therefore hath the Lord in his power moved some of his sons and daughters to go naked; yea, they did tell them in Oliver's days, and the long Parliament's, that God would strip them of their church profession and of their power as naked as they were. And so they were true prophets and prophetesses to the nation, as many sober men have confessed since; though thou and the old persecuting priests in New-England remain in your blindness and nakedness."*

And through their book they called him a cruel persecutor for disputing against their principles and behavior, while he abhorred the use of any force against them on that account. And having obtained his end in the dispute, he never troubled them or himself any more about it.

But the dispute about baptism was again brought up in the Massachusetts. Mr. John Davenport had published his testimony against the result of the synod of 1662, which allowed persons to bring their children to baptism, who were not fit to come to the Lord's supper themselves; and as a majority of the first church in Boston were of his mind, they obtained him for their pastor, soon after Mr. Wilson died. But a minor part of the church were for the new scheme, and they separated from the majority, pleading that Mr. Davenport had no right to leave his people at New-Haven, in order to be a minister in Boston. And in May, 1669, a number of ministers assisted in forming the minor party into another church: and in July, Governor Bellingham called his council together, fearing, he said, "A sudden tumult, some persons attempting to set up an edifice for public worship, which he apprehended to be detrimental to the public peace." But the majority of his council voted to let them go on; though a hot contention about it continued through the year. And in May, 1670, the House of Representatives chose a committee to inquire into the causes of God's displeasure against this land; and they reported that they were, "declension from the primitive foundation work, innovations in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice; an invasion of the rights, liberties and privileges of the churches, an usurpation of a lordly and prelatical power over God's heritage,

* Williams, p. 51.

† Williams, p. 207, 208.

‡ Fox, p. 43.

|| Fox, p. 229, 230.

* Fox, p. 9.

subversion of gospel order," &c. And the acting of the ministers who formed said new church they called "irregular, illegal, and disorderly." But of fifty members who were in their next house, there were but twenty of these; and they declared against what the others had done.* Such was the influence of ministers in that day. And in May, 1682, Edward Randolph, who was trying to get away their charter, wrote to England, and said, "there was a great difference betwixt the old church and the members of the new church, about baptism and their members joining in full communion with either church. This was so high that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances; but now, hearing of my proposals for ministers to be sent over, they are now joined together, about a fortnight ago, and pray to God to confound the devices of all who disturb their peace and liberties."† That new church is since called Old South.

Whilst Mr. Clarke was in England, a new Baptist church was formed out of the first church in Newport, holding to the laying on of hands upon every member after baptism, about the year 1656, which was the third Baptist church in America, and is still continued by succession. And as other colonies were then trying to draw his colony into violent measures against the Quakers, the Legislature of Rhode Island colony wrote to Mr. Clarke and said, "We have found, not only your ability and diligence, but also your love and care to be such concerning the welfare and prosperity of this colony, since you have been entrusted with the more public affairs thereof, surpassing the no small benefit which we had of your presence here at home, that we in all straits and incumbrances, are embolden to repair to you for further and continued care, counsel and help; finding that your solid and christian demeanor hath gotten no small interest in the hearts of our superiors, those noble and worthy senators, with whom you had to do in our behalf, as it hath constantly appeared in our addresses to them, we have by good and comfortable proof found, having had plentiful proof thereof." And so they went on to entreat him to use all his influence in their favor, that they might not be compelled to persecute the Quakers, and he succeeded therein. This was dated, November 5, 1658, the month after the law was made at Boston to banish them on pain of death.

Mr. Clarke continued their agent in England, until he obtained the charter from the king which I mentioned before, to procure which he mortgaged his farm in Newport,

willing to venture his estate in so good a cause. He came over to Newport in 1664, and their assembly voted to pay him for all his expenses, in obtaining their charter and other ways, and to give him a considerable reward for his services; but it was a long time before they paid him only for his expenses in their service.

From that time he continued the pastor of the first church in Newport, until he died in peace. A small church was formed out of that, in December, 1671, holding to the seventh-day sabbath, which yet continues. This made the sixth Baptist church in America. Mr. Clarke left a confession of his faith in writing, in which he said,

"The decree of God is that whereby he hath from eternity set down with himself what shall come to pass in time, Eph. i. 11. All things, with their causes, effects, circumstances, and manner of being, are decreed by God, Acts ii. 23. Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, &c. Acts iv. 28. This decree is most wise, Rom. xi. 33. Most just, Rom. ix. 13, 14. Eternal, Eph. i. 4, 5. 2 Thes. ii. 13. Necessary, Psalm xxxiii. 11. Prov. xix. 21. Unchangeable, Heb. vi. 17. Most free, Rom. ix. 18. And the cause of all good, James i. 17. But not of any sin, John i. 5. The special decree of God concerning angels and men is called predestination, Rom. viii. 30. Of the former, viz: angels, little is spoken in the holy Scriptures; of the latter more is revealed not unprofitable to be known. It may be defined the wise, free, just, eternal and unchangeable sentence or decree of God, determining to create and govern men for his special glory, viz: the praise of his glorious mercy and justice, Rom. ix. 17, 18, and xi. 36. Election is the decree of God, of his free love, grace and mercy, choosing some men to faith, holiness and eternal life, for the praise of his glorious mercy. 1 Thes. i. 4. 2 Thes. ii. 13. Rom. viii. 29, 30. The cause of the Lord's electing them who are chosen was none other but his mere good will and pleasure. Luke xii. 32. The end is the manifestation of the riches of his grace and mercy, Rom. ix. 23, Eph. i. 6. The sending of Christ, faith, holiness and eternal life, are the effects of his love, by which he manifesteth the infinite riches of his grace. In the same order God doth execute this decree in time, he did decree it in his eternal counsel. 1 Thes. v. 9. 2 Thes. ii. 13. Sin is the effect of man's free will, and condemnation is an effect of justice inflicted upon man for disobedience. A man in this life may be sure of his election, 2 Peter i. 10. 1 Thes. i. 4. Yea, of his eternal happiness, but not of his eternal reprobation; for he that is now profane, may be called hereafter."

* Hutchinson vol. 1. p. 272—274.

† His Collections p. 532.

CHAPTER VI.

This faith, which was also held by Mr. Williams, moved them to spend their lives for the welfare of mankind, and to establish the first government upon earth, since the rise of antichrist, which gave equal liberty, civil and religious, to all men therein. Though many have imagined, that because the leaders of the Massachusetts professed this faith, that it was inconsistent with the allowance of equal privileges to all mankind. Therefore I thought it best here to give a view of the faith of these men, who were persecuted by the Massachusetts because they thought that good men ought to enforce their faith with the sword. But this last opinion should ever bear the blame of all the injuries which they did to others, and not the faith above described.

Mr. Clarke was influenced so much by faith and love, that through many changes, and doing of public business, both in Europe and America, I have never found one blemish upon his character, noticed in any record or writing that I ever saw. In the last day of his life, he said,

"Whereas I John Clarke, of Newport, in the colony of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, in New England, physician, am at this present, through the abundant goodness and mercy of my God, though weak in body, yet sound in my memory and understanding, and being sensible of the inconveniences that may ensue in case I should not set my house in order, before this spirit of mine be called by the Lord to remove out of this tabernacle, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament, in manner following: willingly and readily resigning up my soul unto my merciful Redeemer, through faith in whose death I firmly hope and believe to escape from that second hurting death, and through his resurrection and life, to be glorified with him in life eternal. And my spirit being returned out of this frail body, in which it hath conversed for about sixty-six years, my will is that it be decently interred, without any vain ostentation, between my loving wives, Elizabeth and Jane already deceased, in hopeful expectation, that the same Redeemer who hath laid down a price both for my soul and body, will raise it up at the last day a spiritual one, that they may together be singing hallelujah unto him to all eternity."* O how glorious is such an end!

* Taken from his original will, dated April 20, 1676; and he left the world the same day. His first wife was Elizabeth Harges, who had an annual income of twenty pounds sterling, from lands left her in Bedfordshire. In a power of attorney to recover it, given May 12, 1656, he styled himself John Clarke, physician of London. She died at Newport without issue; and he married Jane Fletcher in February, 1671, by whom he had a daughter; but they both died in 1672. His third wife was the widow of Sarah Davis, who survived him, and he gave her the use of his farm in Newport, during her natural life, and

A terrible Indian war. It prevailed most in the Massachusetts. Some whom they had employed against Providence colony, revenge themselves on their employers. But the Baptist sufferers now overcome evil with good, and the war was closed. Many christian Indians never joined in it. Two Baptist churches formed among them, and others in our days. More severities against the Baptists. Their house for worship nailed up in Boston, and writings against them, which they answered. Death of some of their Ministers. The Massachusetts charter vacated. Then some of their eyes were opened to see their errors.

WE are now come to the time when they had the most terrible war with the Indians, that ever was known in this part of the country. And in it there appeared a vast difference between the Indians who had been well treated before, and those who had been treated injuriously. The execution of the great sachem of the Narragansets, after he had been taken captive, and then delivered up to the English, raised such a spirit of resentment among them, that they often attempted to revenge his death. And such danger of their doing it appeared in 1645, that the colony raised an army against them, when an instruction to their General said, "You are to use your best endeavors to gain the enemies' canoes, or utterly to destroy them; and herein you may make good use of the Indians our confederates, as you may do upon other occasions, having a due regard to the honor of God, who is both our sword and shield, and to the distance which is to be observed betwixt Christians and barbarians, as well in wars as in other negotiations."* And though fear of gunpowder, want of union among themselves, and the want of an able leader, suspended the war for many years, yet it now came on terribly.

Philip, a son and successor to old Massasoit, had been preparing for it several years; and because it was discovered to the English, by one of his friends, that friend was murdered in Middleborough, and the murderers were taken and executed at Plymouth. Upon this the war broke out immediately, and nine men were killed at Swansea, June 24, 1675, and the alarm was given; and an army both from Boston

then the income of it was to go to the poor, and to support civil and religious teaching. It has produced 200 dollars a year, and it has thus been a public benefit ever since. His brother Joseph Clarke was sometimes a magistrate in their government, and he was a member of the first church in Newport, above forty years; and his posterity are numerous and respectable to this day.

* Hutchinson's Collections, p. 151.

and Plymouth met there in four days, and made their head-quarters at the house of Mr. Miles, the Baptist Minister of Swansea. Philip soon fled from his station at Mount Hope, now Bristol, over to the east side of the great river. And upon this the Massachusetts army marched into the Narraganset country, and brought the Indians there to promise not to join Philip, and then returned, and joined with Plymouth forces to fight against him. But he soon came back over the river, and made his way up into Worcester county, where some English were killed in July, as Captain Hutchinson and others were on August 2, near Brookfield. Major Willard then marched up and relieved that town, upon which the Indians went further westward, and burnt most of the houses in Deerfield, September 1, and Northfield a few days after, when one Captain and about twenty men were slain. And on September 18, as Captain Lathrop went with his company to guard some teams, in bringing off grain from Deerfield, they were surprised by the Indians, who slew him, and more than seventy of his men. Deerfield was then deserted, and thirty houses were burnt in Springfield and some men slain there. On October 19, Hatfield was assaulted by many Indians, but they were bravely repulsed, and many of them retired into Narraganset.

Upon a small tract of upland, within a large swamp in that country, they had built and stored the strongest fort that they ever had in these parts. Therefore the colonies raised an army of a thousand men, under General Winslow, and destroyed it on December 19, with great stores of provision, and many hundreds of the enemy; but with the loss of six English Captains, and 170, some said 210 men killed or wounded. A terrible storm of snow made the case much more distressing. And as much provision was destroyed in that fort, the Indians were greatly distressed, and many perished; but a great thaw in January, 1676, enabled them to get some food out of the ground, and they again went up northward, and burnt the deserted houses in Mendon, and made an onset upon Lancaster, February 10, burning their houses, and killed or captivated forty persons, of whom Mrs. Rowlandson, wife to the minister, was one, who published an account of her captivity. Similar mischiefs were done at Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Chelmsford; and on February 21, they came down upon Medfield, but twenty miles from Boston, and burnt many houses, and killed eighteen men. On the 25th they did damage at Weymouth, still nearer to Boston. On March 12, they took Clarke's garrison in Plymouth, killing several persons; and the next day they burnt all Groton to

the ground, so that the place was deserted for some time. In the same month they burnt many houses in Warwick, Providence and Rehoboth. And on March 26, near Pawtucket river, Captain Pierce engaged with a body of Indians, who proved to be more than he expected, when he and near sixty of his men were cut off, though it was said they slew 140 Indians. And the western part of the Massachusetts was now in great distress, so that new forces were raised to help them.

William Turner, and other Baptists, who had suffered from the rulers of the government, were as ready to lend a helping hand against the common enemy, as any among them. He had offered his service in the beginning of the war, but it was not then accepted; but now he was called forth and made Captain of a company, and his brother Drinker Lieut., and the company were mainly Baptists, who marched up at the beginning of this month with others, and drove off the enemy from Northampton, March 14. Many of the enemy then came down the country again, and did much mischief as before described, and they also killed Captain Wardsworth and about thirty of his men at Sudbury, April 18. Most of the western forces were now come down the country, and Captain Turner was left the chief commander above.

Upon this the enemy felt more secure, and seven or eight hundred of them resorted to the great falls above Deerfield upon the fishing design. Two captive lads made their escape, and informed how secure the Indians were, upon which Captains Turner and Holyoke collected about 170 men, and went up silently in the night, and tied their horses at some distance, and a little before the break of day, May 18, came upon them unawares, "fired into their very wigwags, killing many upon the place, and frightening others with the sudden alarm of their guns, made them run into the river, where the swiftness of the stream carried them down a steep fall, and they perished in the waters; some getting into canoes were sunk or upset by the shooting of our men; others creeping under the bank of the river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords. Some of their prisoners owned afterwards that they lost above three hundred men, some of them their best fighting men that were left. Nor did they seem ever to recover themselves after this defeat, but their ruin followed directly upon it." When they were first fired upon, they cried out Mohawks! but when they discovered their mistake in the morning, they rallied their forces, and Captain Turner being unwell, and not being able to guide their retreat so agreeably, 38 men fell, of whom he was one, who was afterwards found and buried.

All the rest of the Baptists were spared and returned.*

Captain Benjamin Church of Duxborough, in Plymouth colony, carried his family on to Rhode Island in the beginning of the war, and he was very serviceable therein. And as he knew that the Sokonet Indians were forced into the war by Philip, he ventured over among them in June 1676, and gained them over to the English, to fight against Philip, and they were very successful from day to day, until they killed him at Mount Hope, August 12, 1676, after which peace was soon restored in these parts.†

This summary of that cruel war is collected from a variety of histories and accounts. Connecticut forces were very helpful in the war, and they lost three captains at the Narraganset fort; namely, Gallop, Seily and Marshal, and a number of their men; but they had scarce any damage done in any of their towns, while they and the Mohegan Indians, did great exploits in the war. It began in Plymouth colony where a few men were killed, and Captain Pierce was of their colony. But the Massachusetts lost eight captains, viz: Hutchinson, Beers, Lothrop, Davenport, Gardner, Johnson, Wadsworth, and Turner, and a great many men. And the towns of Northfield, Deerfield, Brookfield, Mendon, Lancaster, and Groton, were all broken up for some years; and they lost much property.

Mr. John Eliot, of Roxbury, had begun to teach Christianity to some Indians about 1646, and Mr. Winslow their agent in England, obtained a charter from the Parliament in 1649, to incorporate a society to promote the work; and Eliot learned the Indian language and translated the Bible into it, which passed one edition in 1664, and another in 1684, with some other books. Mr. Daniel Gookin, a magistrate and a Major General in their government, was also his helper in the affair; and they had formed twelve praying societies among the Indians before this war, some of them as high up the country as Dudley and Woodstock; but they were all scattered in the war, and many of their praying Indians became bloody enemies, and were slain in the war, or hanged after it at Boston. Those that remained were afterwards collected by Mr. Eliot into four societies; but they are all dissolved since.

But the Indians on Cape Cod, and on the islands south of it, scarce any of them ever joined in the war against the English. They had not only been treated in a friendly manner, but much pains had also been taken to teach them Christianity. Mr.

Richard Bourn engaged in that work as early as 1658, and in 1670 he was ordained the pastor of a church among them, by the assistance of Mr. Eliot and others. And in 1674, he wrote to Major Gookin, that upon and near the Cape there were seven praying societies among the Indians, of whom an hundred and forty could read, and some of them could write. Marshpee, between Sandwich and Barnstable, was the greatest seat of them; and a religious society has continued there ever since, and a Baptist church was formed and organized among them in 1797.

Mr. Thomas Mayhew obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, and went to live there in 1642, where he was the chief ruler of the English inhabitants, and his son Thomas was their minister. And about 1646 he began to preach to the Indians on the Island; and to promote the cause, his father informed them, that by an order from the crown of England he was to govern the English who should inhabit there; that his royal master had power far above the Indian monarchs, but that as he was great and powerful, so he was a lover of justice, and would not invade their jurisdiction, but would assist them if need required; that religion and government were two distinct things, and the sachems might retain their just authority, though their subjects might be Christians. And he practised accordingly, and would not suffer any to injure them, either in goods or lands. They always found a father and protector in him; and he was so far from introducing any form of government among them against their wills, that he first convinced them of it, and even brought them to desire him to introduce and settle it. And a Christian church was formed among them in 1659, in which four officers were ordained in 1670, by Mr. Eliot and others. And they had soon two churches on the Vineyard, and one on Nantucket. Old Mr. Mayhew said in 1674, "There are ten Indian preachers, of good knowledge and holy conversation; seven jurisdictions, and six meetings every Lord's day." So many were on the Vineyard, beside a church at Nantucket.

And when the war came on the next year, the Christian Indians were furnished with arms and ammunition to defend the Islands against the enemy; and they were so faithful therein, that when any landed to solicit them to join in the war, though some were related by blood and others by marriage, yet the Islanders directly brought them before the Governor to attend his pleasure. And by a divine blessing on these means, though the Indians on the Island were twenty to one of the English, yet they lived in peace and security through all that dreadful war on the main land.

* Hubbards's History, p. 157—261.

† Punham, here spoken of, was killed a few days before Philip.

Young Mr. Mayhew had sailed for England, in 1657, and was lost at sea, but he left Peter Folger a schoolmaster among the Indians; and he removed to Nantucket about four years after, and taught them here. He became a Baptist, and there was a Baptist church formed among the Indians on the Vineyard and another at Nantucket, by 1693.* That on the Vineyard continues to this day, but the Indians are nearly all dead on Nantucket. Peter Folger was grandfather to the famous Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

Ninagret, sachem of the south part of the Narragansets, did not join in the war, and their successors have continued there in Charlestown; and in and after 1741, many of them were hopefully converted, and a Baptist church was formed among them which still remains, though many of them have removed up to the Oneida country. Also in 1741, many of the Mohegans were happily changed, of whom Samson Occum was one; but many of them have removed also to said Oneida country.

As ministers and rulers were still earnest to keep up the power of the church over the world, so they could not do it without oppressing the Baptists, who increased considerably. Hence their law to banish them was reprinted in 1672; and they were often fined or imprisoned. Mr. William Hubbard, who preached their election sermon at Boston, May 3, 1676, said, "It is made, by learned and judicious writers, one of the undoubted rights of sovereignty to determine what religion shall be publicly professed and exercised within their dominions. Why else do we in New-England, that profess the doctrine of Calvin, yet practice the discipline of them called Independent or Congregational churches, but because the authority of the country is persuaded that is most agreeable to the mind of God?"† But why did they and their fathers dissent from the church of England? In a dedication of his sermon to their rulers, he said, "If he was not mistaken who said, it is morally impossible to rivet the Christian religion into the body of a nation without infant baptism, by proportion it will necessarily follow, that the neglect or disuse thereof will directly tend to root it out." But this was spoken with a view that good men should ever have the government in their hands.

Hence when Dr. Increase Mather preached their election sermon, May 23, 1677, he referred to Mr. Cotton, who said, "The Lord keep us from being bewitched with the whore's cup, lest whilst we seem to de-

test and reject her with open face of profession, we do not bring her in by the back door of toleration."* And Mather said, "I believe that antichrist hath not at this day a more probable way to advance his kingdom of darkness, than by a toleration of all religions and persuasions."† This he reprinted with other sermons, in 1685, after their charter was taken away. But he suffered so much directly after, that he and others got such a toleration established in Boston in 1693, though they could not get it extended through the country. For fifty years before they lost their charter, no man had a vote for their ministers or rulers, but communicants in their churches; but under their second charter, the wicked had as much power in their government as the righteous, which discovered the necessity of toleration; though their present views were such, as prevented their seeing it.

In September, 1679, Mather was the scribe of a synod that was called to give their opinion about what were the causes of the judgments of God upon the land; and in their result they said, "Men have set up their thresholds by God's thresholds, and their posts by his posts. Quakers are false worshippers, and such Anabaptists as have risen up among us, in opposition to the churches of the Lord Jesus, receiving into their society those who have been for scandal delivered unto Satan; yea and improving those as administrators of holy things, who have been (as doth appear) justly under censure, do no better than set up altars against the Lord's altar." And their result was approved by their General Court.

Upon the coming out of this, from the highest authority in the country, the Baptists carefully reviewed their past conduct, and they found but four men who were censured by Congregational churches, before they received them into their church, and one of them was of Dr. Mather's church, which served to raise his resentment. They therefore sent and obtained copies of their dealings with him, which discovered that the member got angry, and spake and acted in a wrong manner. Upon which the Baptists obliged him to offer satisfaction to that church, which he did both by word and by writing; but as his principles were inconsistent with a returning into their communion, they would not revoke their censure.

This Baptist church had so increased, that in February, 1677, they concluded to divide into two churches; but in January, 1678, they agreed to build them a meeting house in Boston, and not to divide till they could get a minister settled there. Mr. Miles, of Swansea had often preached to

* Magnalia, B. 6, p. 56. Appendix to Mayhew's Indian converts, p. 291—296. Historical Society, vol. i. p. 168—297. vol. 3, p. 189—190.

† Said Sermon, p. 35.

* Tenet washed, p. 192.

† His Sermons, p. 106.

them, and they requested him to become their pastor. and for Mr. John Russell to supply his place in Swansea. But he returned home, and Mr. Russell was ordained in Boston, July 28, 1679. They built their house for worship so cautiously, as not to let others know what it was designed for, until they met in it, February 15, 1679. But in May following, a law was made to take it from them, if they continued to meet in it; therefore they refrained from it for a while. News of that law was sent to England, from whence the king wrote to the rulers here, July 24, 1679, and said, "We shall henceforth expect that there shall be suitable obedience in respect of freedom and liberty of conscience, so as those who desire to serve God in the way of the church of England, be not thereby made obnoxious or discountenanced from sharing in the government, much less that any other of our good subjects (not being papists) who do not agree in the Congregational way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures or other incapacibilities, for the same; which is a severity the more to be wondered at, whereas liberty of conscience was made one principal motive for your first transportation into those parts."

Some friends in London informed the Baptists of this, upon which they met in their house again, but their chief leaders were brought before the court of Assistants for it, in March, 1680; and because they would not promise not to meet there again, the court sent an officer, who nailed up the doors of their house, and forbid their meeting there any more upon their peril, without leave from court. Not long after, the house was opened by an unknown hand, and they met there till May, when the Baptists were convened before the General Court at Boston, and pleaded that the house was built when there was no law against it, and the king had now written in their favor. But the Court only forgave what was past, and forbade their meeting there any more. In the March before, Dr. Increase Mather published a pamphlet against the Baptists in general, and against those in Boston in particular. And in May, Mr. Russell wrote an answer to what he had said against their character, and it was printed in London the same year, with a preface signed by William Kiffen, Hansard Knollys, Daniel Dyke, William Collins, John Harris and Nehemiah Cox, noted Baptist ministers. And they said therein, "It seems most strange that our Congregational brethren in New-England, who with liberal estates, chose rather to depart from their native soil into a wilderness, than to be under the lash of those who upon religious pretences took delight to smite their fellow-servants; should exer-

cise towards others the like severity that themselves with so great hazard and hardship sought to avoid; especially considering that it is against their brethren, who profess and appeal to the same rule with themselves for their guidance in the worship of God, and the ordering their whole conversation." And they observed that persecutors in England then tried to justify themselves by their severities in America.

In 1681, Mr. Willard of Boston wrote an answer to Russell, and Dr. Mather wrote a preface to it, in which he said, "I would entreat the brethren who have subscribed the epistle to consider that the place may sometimes make a great alteration as to indulgence to be expected. It is evident that such a toleration is not only lawful in one place, but a necessary duty, which would be destructive in another place. That which is needful to ballast a great ship, will sink a small boat." From whence we may learn, that it is their weakness and not their strength, which caused them to be so hard with their Baptist brethren. For the extending of baptism to infants in a state of nature, and supporting their worship by force, in the name of their king who forbid it, was indeed weak business.

Mr. John Russell, pastor of the Baptist church in Boston, died there December 21, 1680, much lamented, and his posterity are respectable among us to this day. Elder Isaac Hull was still living, but he was aged and infirm. Therefore the church wrote to London June 27, 1681, and said, "We conceive that there is a prospect of good encouragement for an able minister to come over; in that there seems to be an apparent and general apostacy among the churches who have professed themselves Congregational in this land; whereby many have their eyes opened, by seeing the declensions and confusion that is among them." To this they received a kind answer, dated October 13, 1681, signed by William Kiffen, Hansard Knollys, Daniel Dyke, William Collins, Nehemiah Cox, Edward Williams, William Dix, Robert Snelling, Tobias Russell, Maurice King and John Skinner. And on July 20, 1681, they received John Enblen from England, who became their pastor for about fifteen years, until his death.

Elder Thomas Olney was pastor of the Baptist church in Providence, for above forty years, till he died in 1682, leaving a good character, and his posterity are numerous to this day. Obadiah Holmes was pastor of the first church in Newport, from soon after Mr. Clarke's death, until he died, October 25, 1682, aged 76, and his posterity are now large, in New-England and New Jersey.

By assistance from Boston, a Baptist church was formed at Kittery, in the Province of Maine, in September, 1682, when William Scraven was ordained their pastor; but cruel persecution soon scattered them, some to South Carolina, some to New-Jersey, and some to Boston again, where they were useful afterwards. Mr. Miles of Swansea died there in good old age, February 3, 1683; and Mr. Samuel Luther succeeded him in his office for more than thirty years. In April, the same year, Mr. Roger Williams was taken to rest, and he hath a large posterity among us to this day. He was honored of God to be instrumental of founding the first civil government upon earth, since the rise of antichrist, that allowed equal religious liberty, and he was serviceable therein unto the age of 84. And for godly sincerity in public actings, and overcoming evil with good, it is believed no man on earth exceeded him in that age.

A dreadful storm came upon this country the year after; for the charter of the Massachusetts was vacated in 1684, and amazing confusions followed it. Their government of the church over the world, which had been upheld for fifty years, with a vast deal of labor to themselves, and oppression to others, was now dissolved; and the measures which they had meted to others, were meted to them with a vengeance. Sir Edmund Andros, with his council in 1789, made laws and imposed taxes upon all without any House of Representatives; and they declared that as their charter was forfeited, their lands belonged to the king, and each man must come and buy new titles from them, or be turned off from their lands, which should be disposed of to others. And as the officers of the town of Ipswich refused to assess a tax which was imposed without an House of Representatives, and Mr. Wise their minister justified them in it, he and those officers were brought before the court at Boston, where they pleaded Magna Charta, and the laws of England in their justification. But one of the judges said, "You must not think that the laws of England will follow you to the ends of the earth. Mr. Wise, you have no more privilege left you, than not to be sold for slaves;" and no man of the council contradicted it. And one of them also said, "It is a fundamental point, consented to by all Christian nations, that the first discoverer of a country, inhabited by infidels, gives right and dominion of that country to the prince in whose service the discoverers were sent." But the Massachusetts replied and said, "This is not a Christian, but an unchristian principle."* Yes; and it was as

much so when Mr. Williams was banished for testifying against this and other evils.

Mr. Bradstreet was active in banishing Mr. Williams, and he now felt much of these calamities, when the government was dissolved of which he was at the head. Dr. Mather, also, who had done much against the Baptists, was now cruelly persecuted by evil men; one of whom forged a letter in his name, which was shown to the king and council in England, and exposed him to reproach and sufferings there. And because he wrote to a friend that he thought one of their oppressors here forged said letter, he was prosecuted for defamation on that account, and though he was acquitted upon trial, yet they attempted to take him up again for it. The supporting of ministers in the country was interrupted, and Episcopal worship was forcibly carried into one of the meeting-houses in Boston. These things were so distressing, that when they heard that King James had published a declaration for liberty of conscience, in 1687, the ministers of Boston proposed with their people to keep a day of thanksgiving for it; but Andros said if they did, he would clap a guard of soldiers at the doors of their meeting-houses, and so prevented it. Upon these multiplied troubles, they concluded to send Dr. Mather their agent to England; but their enemies tried to hinder it, and he privately got away, and sailed to England, in the spring of 1688, and thanked the popish king James, for his declaration for liberty of conscience to all.

So great a turn was given to his mind, that he then concluded that the parable of the tares of the field required a general toleration about religion; and he said, "For an uppermost party of Christians to punish men in their temporal enjoyments, because in some religious opinions they dissent from them, or with an exclusion from the temporal enjoyments which would justly belong unto them, is a robbery."* All his life afterwards was agreeable to this belief, though many ministers in our country have been guilty of such robbery ever since. One religious sect have held a power to take away the property of the people for ministers, to the constant injury of dissenters from them.

Dr. Mather had several interviews with King James, till he found him so deceitful, that he refrained from any more concern with him, and waited for William to come to the throne. But Andros was so much afraid of it, that he imprisoned the man who first brought his proclamation to Boston; though this alarmed the country so much, that the people flocked in by thousands, April 18, 1689, and confined Andros and his party, until they were sent to England

* The Revolution in New-England vindicated p. 16—44.

* His Life, p. 69.

by an order from thence; and the former rulers here were restored to their places, and managed the government till the new charter arrived.

CHAPTER VII.

The world governs the church. But Boston is exempted from it. Plymouth colony was so at first. Great declensions are lamented. But they increase. Episcopal society constituted. They try for an establishment here. Ministers try for a lordly power. They obtain it in Connecticut. Hooker was against it. Norwiche and Windsor reject it; and Wise, Moody and Mather also. But Stoddard was not so. The Baptists are favored at Boston. Hollis is liberal to Cambridge college.

THE new charter for the Massachusetts contained many privileges, though it took away some which they had before. It was dated October 7, 1691, and reserved a power in the crown always to appoint the two chief officers of Government; and no law could be made without the consent of the Governor, and when that was obtained, the King in council could disannul any law, within three years after it was made. William intended by this to prevent their making any more persecuting laws, and it had that effect fifty years after, when Connecticut imprisoned men for preaching the gospel, but the Massachusetts could not do so. Yet other evils were not prevented; and taxing of our trade, and being under kingly governors, finally separated these colonies from Britain. Plymouth colony on the one hand, and the Province of Maine on the other, were now united with the Massachusetts.

When the new charter arrived, May 14, 1692, the country was so involved in confusion about witchcraft, that twenty persons were executed on that account, in about four months. And when their General Court met, on October 12, they made laws to compel every town to have and support an orthodox minister, and to empower their country courts to punish every town who neglected it. The whole power of choosing, and of supporting religious ministers was put into the hands of the voters in each town, who acted therein without any religious qualification in themselves. Formerly the church had governed the world, but now the world was to govern the church, about religious ministers. Our Lord says, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." John iii. 3. And his kingdom evidently means his church;

yet no regard is paid to his authority, as far as the world governs in religious affairs.

Therefore Dr. Mather, and other fathers in Boston, obtained an exemption from these laws, in February, 1693, which Boston has enjoyed ever since. But the country in general is governed by the world, about religious ministers, to this day.—When that first law was made, they did not remember that any town had more than one church in it. But now an act was passed to allow each church to elect her own minister, and then to present him to the voters in the society who met with them for worship; and if they received him, all that society must be compelled to support him. If the select men of any town neglected to assess the salary that was ordered for their minister, their county courts were to fine them forty shillings for the first offence, and four pounds for the second. And they attempted to force the town of Swansea to receive a Congregational minister, where there never had been any but Baptist churches, nor ever have to this day. The second church was now formed since.

When they were under the government of Plymouth colony, their ministers were treated as regular ministers, and one of the brethren of the first church in Swansea was elected a magistrate in their government for eleven years together. Neither was a college education held to be essential for a Congregational minister there, as it was in the Massachusetts; for Mr. Jonathan Dunham was ordained the pastor of the church at Edgarton in 1694; and Mr. Samuel Fuller, after preaching sixteen years in Middleborough, was ordained pastor of a church that was constituted there in 1694. He was much esteemed as a gospel minister, until he died there, August 24, 1695, aged 66. Mr. Isaac Cushman was invited to succeed him, but he chose to settle at Plymton, where he before had a call; and he was ordained there in 1698, where he was a great blessing for about forty years. Mr. Samuel Arnold was also the first minister in Rochester, where he was long useful; and neither of these were educated at any college. And though Mr. John Cooke, was censured by Mr. Reynor at Plymouth, a little before he left that church, and robbed them of their records, yet Cooke was a Baptist minister in Dartmouth for many years, from whence spring the Baptist church in the east borders of Tiverton.

The Massachusetts were three years in finding out what to do when a congregation did not concur with their church in the choice of a pastor; but in May, 1695, they enacted, that in such a case, the church should call a council, of three or five churches, and if they approve of the choice of the

church, the congregation must submit and support him; if not, then the church must give up her choice, and call another minister; and so they have acted ever since. And it may be serviceable to know what eminent fathers then thought about the state of religion among them.

Mr. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth delivered the election sermon at Boston, May 16, 1683, when he said, "There is already a great death upon religion, little more left than a name to live: the things which remain are ready to die, and we are in great danger of dying together with it; this is one of the most awakening and humbling considerations of our present state and condition. Oh, the many deadly symptoms of death that are upon our religion! Consider we then how much it is dying respecting the very being of it, by the general failure of the work of conversion; whereby only it is that religion is propagated, continued, and upheld in being among any people. As conversion work doth cease, so religion doth die away; though more insensibly, yet most irrecoverably."* And in 1697, Dr. Increase Matlier wrote a dedication of Mitchel's life, in which he said, "Dr. Owen has evinced, that the letting go this principle, that particular churches ought to consist of regenerate persons, brought in the great apostacy of the Christian church. The way to prevent the like apostacy in these churches is to require an account of those who offer themselves to communion therein, concerning the work of God in their souls, as well as concerning their knowledge and belief."† Three years after, he published another book, which he dedicated to the churches of New-England, to whom he said, "If the begun apostacy should proceed as fast, the next thirty years, as it has done these last, surely it will come to that in New-England (except the Gospel itself depart with the order of it) that the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather churches out of churches." And having clearly proved that Christ has given to his churches the sole right, each of electing her own pastors, he declares it to be "Simonical to affirm that this sacred privilege may be purchased with money." And the next year after this book was published, it was highly recommended by Mr. John Higginson, and Mr. William Hubbard, the two oldest ministers in the government, as may be seen in Wise's works, printed in 1773. Mr. Willard published a book in 1700, in which he says, it hath been a frequent observation that if one generation begins to decline, the next that follows usually grows worse, and so on until God pours out his

Spirit again upon them. The decays which we already languish under are sad; and what tokens are on our children, that it is like to be better hereafter? God be thanked that there are so many among them that promise well; but alas, how doth vanity, and a fondness after new things abound among them? How do young professors grow weary of the strict profession of their fathers, and become strong disputants for those things which their progenitors forsook a pleasant land for the avoidance of!"

A new church was formed in Brattle Street, Boston, in 1699, with a professed design to receive communicants upon lower terms than their fathers did; and in 1700, Mr. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, published a book in London, wherein he expressly held, that the Christian church is national; and that all baptized persons who are not openly scandalous, ought to come to the Lord's Supper, "though they know themselves to be in a natural condition." And by confounding the work of Jewish and Christian officers together, he asserted that the power of receiving, censuring and restoring members is wholly in officers, and says, "The brethren of the church are not to intermeddle with it." Again he says, "A national Synod is the highest ecclesiastical authority upon earth." Finally he says, "Synods have power to admonish, to excommunicate and deliver from those censures, and every man must stand to the judgment of the national Synod. Deut. xvii. 12." These indeed were the same principles which our fathers fled into America to avoid; and this last text is the same which was brought in 1668, to justify their banishing the Baptists.

Episcopalians were also then striving for power over this country. On June 16, 1701, a society was incorporated in England for that purpose, even to propagate what they called the gospel in America. They sent over missionaries, and got so far in about twelve years, as to obtain an order from the crown to bring a bill into Parliament, to establish Episcopacy here, and they expected it would speedily be done, when the Queen was suddenly taken away by death; and they could not get the two succeeding kings to revive the scheme.*

When the General Court met at Boston, October 15, 1702, they made another law to empower each county court, after fining such Assessors of towns as did not obey their orders, to appoint others, to do it, and then to procure warrants from two justices of the quorum, requiring the constables of delinquent towns and districts to collect such taxes, upon the same penalty as for other taxes; and the fines imposed on delinquent

* Said Sermon, p. 11.

† Said dedication, p. 16.

* Chandler's Appeal in 1767, 50—54.

officers were to go to pay said new Assessors for their service. At the same time the ministers through the government were trying for a classical power above all the churches. A number of ministers signed proposals for such a scheme, November 5, 1705, just an hundred years after the gun-powder plot. But Mr. John Wise wrote a sharp answer to these proposals, which prevented their taking place here; though they were soon received in Connecticut; for the third Governor Winthrop died there Nov. 27, 1707, upon which a special meeting of their General Court was called December 17, to choose a new governor. By a law then in force, he was to be chosen out of a certain number of men in previous nomination; but they broke over this law, and elected an ordained minister for their governor; and he readily quitted the solemn charge of souls, for worldly promotion, and was sworn into his new office, January 1, 1708, after which they repealed the law which they had before broken. Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall was the Governor so chosen; and he took the proposals of 1705, and presented them to their Legislature, where it was observed that there was not one text of scripture in them. And as this would not do, the proposals were silently withdrawn; and when they met at Hartford, May 13, 1708, an act was passed which said, "This Assembly, from their own observation, and from the complaint of others, being sensible of the defects of the discipline of the churches of this government, arising from the want of a more explicit asserting of the rules given for that end in the Holy Scriptures, from which would arise a firm establishment amongst ourselves, a good and regular issue in cases subject to ecclesiastical discipline, glory to Christ our Head* and edification to his members, hath seen fit to ordain and it is by authority of the same ordained and required, that the ministers of the churches, in the several counties of this government, shall meet together at their respective county towns, with such messengers as the churches to which they belong see cause to send with them, on the last Monday in June next, there to consider and agree upon those methods and rules for the management of ecclesiastical discipline which by them shall be judged agreeable and conformable to the word of God; and shall at the same meeting appoint two or more of their number to be delegates, who shall all meet together at Saybrook, at the next commencement to be held there,† where they shall compare the results of the ministers of the several counties and out of and from them to draw a form of ecclesias-

tical discipline," which should be presented to the Assembly for their acceptance, and the expense of those meetings was to be paid out of their treasury. This order was obeyed, and a scheme of discipline was drawn up, which was established by law the next month. Their second article says,

"That the churches which are neighboring each to other, shall consociate for mutually affording to each other such assistance as may be requisite, upon all occasions ecclesiastical;" and they formed two kinds of judicatures for that purpose. The first are consociations, consisting of ministers meeting in their own persons, and the churches by their messengers, of whom each church might send one or two, though the want of them should not invalidate the acts of the council; but none of their acts were valid without the concurrence of the majority of the pastors present. They were to be the standing council in each circuit; though in cases of special difficulty they may call the next consociation to sit and act with them. They are to have one or more consociation in each county. They are to have a new choice of messengers and moderators once a year, or oftener; and the last moderator is to call a new meeting when judged proper. Their sentence is to be final and decisive. Their other judicatures are called associations, which are meetings of ministers by themselves in each circuit as often as they think proper, to hear and answer questions of importance, to examine and license candidates for the ministry, to receive complaints from individuals or societies, and to direct to the calling of the council to try the same, if they think proper; to direct destitute churches in calling and settling pastors, and to make complaint to their Legislature against any whom they think negligent of their duty in these things. And each association is to choose one or two delegates, to meet once a year from all parts of their government in a general association.

Their fourth article says, "that according to common practice of our churches, nothing shall be deemed an act or judgment of any council, which hath not a major part of the Elders present concurring, and such a number of the messengers present as to make the majority of the council," which is a naked falsehood; for this was so far from being common, that such a practice was never known before in New-England. If the major vote of the ministers is necessary in all their acts, to what end are any delegates sent from their churches, are they not mere cyphers?

Mr. Hooker of Hartford, one of the best ministers who ever came to America, says, "A particular congregation is the highest

* Can Christ be the head of a worldly government?

† Then the college was there, which is since at New-Haven.

tribunal, unto which the grieved party may appeal in the third place, if private council, or the witness of two have seemed to proceed too sharply, and with too much rigor against him; before the tribunal of the church, the cause may easily be scanned and sentence executed according to Christ. If difficulties arise in the proceeding, the council of other churches should be sought to clear the truth; but the power of censure rests still in the congregation where Christ placed it." And, speaking of the acts of councils, he says, "They set down their determinations, assure truths in their judgments, and so return them to the particular churches from whence they came; and their determinations take place, not because they concluded so, but because the churches approved of what they have determined, for the churches sent them and therefore are above them."*

Thus congregational principles are, that ministers have no right in councils, but as they are sent by each church, and that their judgments are not binding until the church approves of them; but in this new scheme, the ministers attend councils without being sent by their churches, and their judgments are above all their churches. And yet they have the face to call this the common practice of their churches in former times.

Mr. John Woodward was then minister of Norwich, and he got the act of their Legislature, which approved of the scheme, and read off the first part of it to his congregation, without the clause which allowed of a dissent from it; but Richard Bushnell and Joseph Backus, Esquires, their representatives, gave them that clause; but he got a major vote to adopt it, upon which said representatives, and other fathers of the town, withdrew from that tyranny, and held worship by themselves for three months. For this the minister and his party censured them and then sent a letter to their Legislature, that Norwich had sent scandalous men for their representatives, who were under church censure, and they were expelled the house. But it was not long before the minister consented to call a council; and they had council after council for about six years. Mr. Stoddard was moderator of one of them, and the Governor also came there to try what his influence would do. The last council met there, August 31, 1716, and by their advice he was dismissed, and he quitted the ministry and went to farming, for which it is likely he was better qualified.

The church in Norwich determined to abide by their old principles, and it was well known, that when their church was constituted at Saybrook in 1660, with the approbation of other ministers, Mr. James

Fitch was ordained their pastor, by the laying on of the hands of their two deacons, as a token that the power of ordination is in each church. They came and planted Norwich the same year, and Mr. Fitch was greatly esteemed as a minister of the gospel for near fifty years. Mr. Timothy Edwards, father of the President, with his church in Windsor, also refused to receive this new scheme. But many ministers in the Massachusetts were so fond of it, that they presented a petition to their Legislature, in 1715, that they would call a synod to introduce it; and the council voted to grant it, but other branches did not concur. Yet a law was then made, to require each county court to charge the grand jury to prosecute every town or district who neglected to settle or support such ministers as they called orthodox; if they could not bring them to do it, the court was to make complaint to the Legislature, and they were to order such sums to be assessed on delinquent towns as they judged proper, and the ministers were to draw their salaries out of the state treasury. But some others were of a very different mind; for two ministers wrote to Mr. Wise and desired him to print a second edition of his piece against the said proposals, which they said, "will be a testimony that all our watchmen were not asleep, nor the camp of Christ surprised and taken before they had warning." This was the language of Mr. Samuel Moody of York, and Mr. John White of Gloucester, men of eminent piety and usefulness. Mr. Wise complied with their request. Mr. Backus of Norwich had requested the same, when he went as far as Boston and Ipswich to consult about their affairs, before the Norwich minister was dismissed. Dr. Increase Mather also now published a book, in which he said, "For ministers to pretend to a negative voice in synods, or for councils to take upon them to determine what elders or messengers a church shall submit unto, without the choice of the church concerned; or for ministers to pretend to be members of a council without any mission from their churches, nay, although the church declares that they will not send them; is *prelectical*, and essentially differing not only from Congregational, but from Presbyterian principles. And now that I am going out of the world, I could not die in peace, if I did not discharge my conscience in bearing witness against such innovations and invasions on the rights and liberties belonging to particular congregations of Christ."

This was the testimony of the oldest minister then in this province, who had been twice to England, and had been President of Harvard College sixteen years, so that his knowledge must have been very exten-

* Survey of Church Discipline, Part 4, p. 19, 4.

sive, and yet his testimony was little regarded by many. And the declension of the churches kept pace with the corruption of their ministers; for Mr. Stoddard published a sermon from the twelfth of Exodus, in 1707, wherein he held forth, "that as all persons in Israel who were circumcised were required to eat the Passover, so all baptized persons, if they were not scandalous ought to come to the Lord's supper." And he went so far as to say, "That a minister who knows himself unregenerate may nevertheless lawfully administer baptism and the Lord's supper. Men who are destitute of saving grace, may preach the gospel, and therefore administer and so partake of the Lord's supper. For (says he) the children of God's people should be baptized, who are generally at that time in a natural condition. And the sacrament is a converting ordinance for church members only, and not for other men."* Against this doctrine Mather published a dissertation in 1708, wherein he brings the awful case of the man who came in without a wedding garment, and of them who eat and drink the supper unworthily; to avoid which, all are called to examine themselves whether they be in the faith; also that all the churches to whom the apostles wrote were called saints, and faithful brethren in Christ Jesus, and the Lord added to the church such as should be saved; and much more to the same purpose. But as long as he held to infant-baptism, Mr. Stoddard was so far from yielding to him, that he published a reply in 1709, wherein all his arguments turn upon these points, "That if unsanctified persons might lawfully come to the Passover, then such may lawfully come to the Lord's supper; and they who convey to their children a right to baptism, have a right themselves to the Lord's supper, provided they carry inoffensively."† He could plainly see that there was no half way in the Jewish church; and his opponent could see as plainly that fruits meet for repentance were required in order for baptism, even of those who were in Abraham's covenant. But as tradition had taught them both that the Christian church was built upon that covenant, neither of them could convince the other, though they were two of the most able ministers in the land.

By these things Dr. Mather was brought to treat the Baptists in quite another manner than formerly. Mr. Ellis Callender joined to their church in Boston in 1669, and was a leading member of it in 1680, when their house was nailed up; and he became the pastor of it in 1708. On August 10, 1713, his son Elisha became a

member of it, after which he went through Harvard College in Cambridge. Dr. Mather had appeared so friendly to the Baptists, that he and his son, and Mr. John Webb, were called, and assisted in ordaining Mr. Elisha Callender, as pastor of the Baptist church in Boston, May 21, 1718. Dr. Increase Mather, wrote a preface to the ordination sermon, in which he said, "It was a grateful surprise to me, when several brethren of the Antipædobaptist persuasion came to me, desiring that I would give them the right hand of fellowship in ordaining one whom they had chosen to be their pastor." Dr. Cotton Mather preached the ordination sermon, in which he spake much against cruelties which had often been exercised against dissenters by the ruling powers, both in this and other countries, and then said, "If the brethren in whose house we are now convened, met with anything too unbrotherly, they with satisfaction hear us expressing our dislike of every thing that looked like persecution in the days that have passed over us."*

Mr. Ellis Callender was a good man in 1780, when the house was nailed up, in which his son was now ordained by the help of a minister, who then had influence in said event. He was then very zealous against those whom he now gave fellowship to; and this may afford a teaching lesson to after ages. Many are earnest in our days to compel all to support Congregational worship, who are far from acting with the sincerity that their fathers did.

From this time the Baptist principles were in more esteem; and Samuel Jennings, Esq., a representative for Sandwich, was baptized by Mr. Elisha Callender, June 9, 1718, and joined to his church, of which he continued a member until he died in 1764. This did not hinder his being elected again, nor of his serving in other offices for his town. And such a revival came on in Swansea, in 1718, as caused the addition of fifty members to the first church there in five years, of which an account was sent to Mr. Thomas Hollis of London, one of the most liberal men on earth. Dr. Mather had some acquaintance with him, when he was in England thirty years before; and now, hearing of these transactions, his heart was wonderfully enlarged towards our country. Soon after Mr. Callender was ordained, he and his church wrote to friends in London, and an hundred and thirty-five pounds were sent from thence, to enable them to repair their meeting-house. And in 1720, Mr. Hollis sent over so much money as to found a professorship of theology in Harvard College, with a salary of eighty pounds a year to

* Said Sermon, p. 13, 27, 28.

† Appeal to the learned, p. 50, 89.

* Said Sermon, p. 33, 39.

the professor, and ten pounds per annum to ten scholars of good character, four of whom should be Baptists, if any such were there. Also ten pounds a year to the college treasurer, for his trouble, and ten pounds more to supply accidental losses, or to increase the number of students. And in 1726, he founded in that college a professorship of the mathematics and experimental philosophy, with a salary of eighty pounds a year to the professor; and he sent over an apparatus for the purpose, which cost about one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, beside large additions to the college library. No man had ever been so liberal to it before, as was this Baptist gentleman.

CHAPTER VIII.

Freetown oppressed.—Also Tiverton and Dartmouth.—They got relief from England.—Increase Mather died.—His son tries for more power; but is checked from England.—He dies.—Pharoah imitated.—Many are imprisoned.—Religion revived.—Comer converted.—He is serviceable in many places.—He and others die.—Congregational churches at Newport and Providence.—A great work at Northampton.—Several Baptist churches formed.

EQUAL liberty was then enjoyed in Boston, while other towns were oppressed. In 1718, a law was made to compel all the country to assist in building or repairing Congregational meeting-houses; and in 1719, another attempt was made to force Swansea to receive and support one of their ministers, when they had two Baptist churches and three ministers then in town, and no other religious society therein. Freetown, on the east side of Swansea, called Mr. Thomas Craghead, a minister from Ireland, to be their pastor, September 9, 1717, and he accepted of their call; but instead of an amicable agreement with them about his support, he went to the court at Bristol in January, 1718, and procured an order from thence to compel Freetown to pay him a salary of sixty-five pounds a year, to begin from the day he was chosen their minister. And for refusing to pay it, about fourteen of the inhabitants were imprisoned at Bristol, one of whom was a member of a Baptist church in Newport. These things produced much trouble in courts for two or three years, till the minister was forced to leave the town, and the broils therein lasted for several generations.

Tiverton and Dartmouth were the only

remaining towns in the province which had not received any Congregational ministers. Therefore a complaint against them was made to their Legislature in May, 1722, and they voted a salary for such ministers, to be assessed upon all the inhabitants of said towns, which the ministers were to draw out of the state treasury. But their Assessors sent and obtained an account of how much was added to their tax on that account, and then left it out of their assessment. For this, two Assessors of each town were seized in May, 1723, and were imprisoned at Bristol, until they sent to England, and got that act disannulled by the king and council. One of those sufferers was Philip Tabor, pastor of the Baptist church on the borders of Tiverton and Dartmouth. But before the order for their release arrived, two more Assessors of Dartmouth were put in prison, for not assessing a like tax imposed for 1723; though upon the arrival of that order, they were released by an act of the Legislature here. Yet the ministers were so far from yielding to these things, that they presented a petition to their Legislators, in May, 1725,* that they would call a synod, to give their advice about what were the evils which caused the judgments of Heaven upon the country, and what were the evangelical means which should be used to remove the same, signed by Cotton Mather, in the name of the ministers assembled in their general convention. But the consideration of this petition was put off to the next meeting of their Legislature.

Episcopalians sent an account of it to England, and a sharp reprimand was sent from the British court to Lieutenant Governor Dummer, for giving any countenance thereto, as being an invasion of the king's prerogative, who only could lawfully call synods; and a command to cause such a meeting to cease, if it was convened, and to cause the chief actors therein to be punished if they did not immediately disperse. Before this, Dr. Increase Mather died, August 23, 1723, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, having been a preacher of the gospel sixty-five years. We have before seen how he testified against the power which ministers had assumed over the churches; but his son was so fond of it, that when Governor Saltonstall died in 1724, he preached a funeral sermon for him at Boston, and got it printed at New-London. And he published a book in 1726, in which he expressed his resentment against Mr. Wise for writing against the proposals of 1705. Having mentioned that four synods had been called by authority in the Massachusetts, he says, "The synods of New-England know no

* Hutchinson, vol. 2, p. 322.

weapons, but what are *purely spiritual*. They have no secular arm to enforce any canons; they ask none; they want none. And they cannot believe, that any protestant secular arm would, upon due information, any more forbid their meetings, than they would any of the religious assemblies upheld in the country.* Yet many were banished upon the result of the synod of 1637, and the Baptist meeting-house in Boston was nailed up, after the synod of 1679. Yea, and he was now earnest to have Congregational ministers supported by taxes imposed "in the king's name." He approved of the practice of some towns, who involved the salary for ministers in a general town tax;† and there never was any law made here to exempt the Baptists from taxes to Congregational ministers, until after Dr. Mather died, February 13, 1728, aged sixty-five.

But in May following, an act was made to exempt the persons of Baptists and Quakers from such taxes, if they lived within five miles of their respective meetings, and usually attended worship there on Lord's days; of which they must give an account to their county courts in June annually, upon oath or affirmation, after which the clerk of each court was to give a list of their names to the Assessors of each town or precinct. In this, arbitrary power was carried beyond what it was in Egypt; for Pharaoh said, "Go ye, serve the Lord; only let your flocks and herds be stayed." Let their polls be exempted, but their estates and faculties taxed, said the Massachusetts. Herein they imitated him; but they went beyond him in two other points; for Pharaoh said, "Go not very far away;" but these allowed only five miles, though many of their parishoners must go much farther than that to meeting, even to this day; neither did Pharaoh require a list of the people on oath, as these did.

Yet this small favor was denied to dissenters in Rehoboth for this year; and for refusing to pay a tax to Congregational ministers there, twenty-eight Baptists, two Quakers, and two Episcopalians, were seized and imprisoned at Bristol, in March, 1729. Though Governor Burnet and his council gave their opinion in favor of these people, yet they were confined in prison till they or their friends paid the money. In the fall after, an act was passed to exempt their estates as well as their persons, yet still under five-mile limitations.

But we will gladly turn to more agreeable things; for although the majority of Congregational ministers were very corrupt, yet some of them were faithful and

successful. In the beginning of 1705, such a revival of religion was granted at Taunton, in the county of Bristol, under the ministry of Mr. Samuel Danforth, as turned the minds of most of the inhabitants, from vain company and many immoralities, to an earnest attention to religion, and the great concerns of the soul and eternity; and they had something of the same nature at this time in Boston.* In 1721, the Spirit of God was so remarkably poured out upon the inhabitants of Windham in Connecticut, under the ministry of Mr. Samuel Whiting, and such a great change was made, that four-score persons were added to their communion in about half a year, for which they kept a day of public thanksgiving.† One curious event happened there, which I will mention. The word preached was such a looking-glass to one man, that he seriously went to Mr. Whiting, and told him he was very sorry that so good a minister as he was should so grossly transgress the divine rule, as to tell him his faults before the whole congregation, instead of coming to deal with him privately. The minister smiled, and said he was glad that truth had found him out, for he had no particular thought of him in his sermon.

Norwich, ten miles from Windham, enjoyed much of the like blessing the same year, from whence my pious mother dated her conversion. Boston shared something of the same, when God in judgment remembered mercy for many; for the small-pox came into the town in April, 1721, and prevailed through the year. It appeared to have happy effects upon many minds, while it carried a large number into eternity. One instance of conversion there I shall mention. John Comer was born in Boston, August 1, 1704, and sat under the ministry of Dr. Mathers. He was put out to learn a trade; but he had such a desire for learning, that by the influence of Dr. Increase Mather, he was taken from it, and put to school in December, 1720. He had serious concern about his soul from time to time, until he had caught that distemper; and he says, "Nothing but the ghostly countenance of death, unprepared for, was before me, and no sight of a reconciled God, nor any sense of the application of the soul-cleansing blood of Christ to my distressed soul. I remained in extreme terror, until November 22, 1721. All the interval of time I spent in looking over the affairs of my soul; and on that day I was taken sick. As soon as it was told me that the distemper appeared, all my fears entirely vanished, and a beam of comfort darted into my soul, and with it satisfaction from

* An account of the discipline in the churches of New England, p. 172, 173, 184.

† Ibid, p. 21, 22.

* Christian History, Vol. i. p. 108—112.

† Ibid, p. 130—134.

those words, 'Thou shalt not die, but live and declare the works of the Lord.' Yea, so great was my satisfaction, that immediately I replied, to my aunt who told me, then I know I shall not die now; but gave no reason why I said so."

He recovered, and pursued his learning at Cambridge, where he joined to a Congregational church in February, 1723. Ephraim Crafts, his intimate friend, had joined to the Baptist church in Boston just before. This, Comer thought to be a very wrong action, and took the first opportunity he had to try to convince him of it; but after considerable debate, Comer was prevailed with to take Stennett upon Baptism, the reading of which gave a great turn to his mind. However he concluded to be silent about it; and as education was cheapest at New-Haven, he went and entered the College there in September, 1723, and continued a member of it until October, 1724; when infirmity of body caused his return to Boston by water; and a terrible storm at sea, with the death of a dear friend just as he arrived, brought eternity so directly before him, as to spoil his plausible excuses for the neglect of baptism. He informs us, that those words of Christ, "Who-soever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels," had such an influence upon him, that, after proper labors with those he was previously connected with, he was baptized, and joined to the Baptist church in Boston, January 31, 1725, and concluded to pursue his studies in a private way. In May following, he went to keep a school in Swansea, and was soon called to preach the gospel in the first church there; and on May 19, 1726, he was ordained a pastor of the first church in Newport, colleague with elder Peckum.

Mr. Peckum had been pastor of that church sixteen years, but his gifts were small, and he had but seventeen members in his church; though such a blessing was granted on the ministry of Mr. Comer, that thirty-four were added to them in three years. They had no public singing, until he, with a blessing introduced it; neither had they any church records, before he got a book, and collected into it the best accounts that he could get of their former affairs.

As it has been a common thing in all ages when men have declined from the power of religion, to fix upon some external practice to supply the want of it; so this was now evident among the Baptists in these parts, and upon every disputable point too. For in the law of Moses, a great variety of washings or bathings were re-

quired, and also the laying on of hands upon the head of their sacrifices, as a token of their sins being laid thereon; and this evidently pointed to laying our sins upon Christ, who bare our sins in his own body on the tree. And those washings were a clear type of regeneration, which God sheds on us abundantly through Christ Jesus our Saviour. All must allow these to be foundation points. And the same word that is rendered baptism in the sixth chapter to the Hebrews, is rendered washings in the ninth; and divers washings, and carnal ordinances there, refer most certainly to Jewish ceremonies. But the doctrine which was held forth in those washings, and laying on of hands, was evidently the doctrine of the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and our acceptance with God by having our sins laid upon Christ, who made atonement for them.

But receiving it as a foundation principle in Christianity, that every believer must pass under laying on of hands after baptism, in order to be received into church communion, caused a separation among the Baptists in Newport and Providence in 1652, which still continued in Newport. And as Mr. Comer thought that separation to be wrong, and yet that laying on of hands after baptism was warrantable, he preached it up in that way, on November 17, 1728, without first acquainting his church with his being of this mind. Therefore two of the most powerful members, who disliked his searching preaching, took this as a handle to crowd him out of their church. This was a sore trial to him, but they prevailed to have him dismissed in January, 1729, and he then passed under hands, and was received into the second church in Newport, where he preached one half of the Lord's days with elder Daniel Wightman for two years. A revival of religion began in that church a little before, and forty members were added to it in those two years, at the close of which they had one hundred and fifty members, being the largest church in the colony. Governor Jenks then lived in Newport, and communed with that church, who supported Comer liberally. In March, 1731, he went a journey into New-Jersey, and as far as Philadelphia, and was greatly pleased with the faith and order of the Baptist churches in those parts.

Upon his return, receiving an invitation from Rehoboth, he was dismissed from Newport, and removed to Rehoboth in August, where a church was formed, and he was installed their pastor, January 26, 1732. In the mean time, Mr. John Callender from Boston was ordained in the first church in Newport, a colleague with elder Peckum, October 13, 1731. Also Mr. Nicholas Eyres, who came from England to New-York, was called to Newport, and was set-

ted as a colleague with elder Wightman the same month.

Mr. Elisha Callender of Boston had been sent for to Springfield, where he baptized seven persons in July, 1727, and Mr. Comer visited them in October following, and was there when the great earthquake came on in the evening of the 29th of that month. After he was settled in Rehoboth, he visited the people in Sutton and Leicester, in June, 1732, and baptized eight persons in those two towns, one of whom was Daniel Denny, Esq., who came from England. The November following he baptized fifteen at home, in one day; and before the close of 1733, his church had increased to ninety-five members, besides many seals of his ministry who joined to other churches. He was a small man, but of sprightly powers both of body and mind, and did much towards the revival of doctrinal and practical religion among the Baptists; and collected many papers, and wrote many things that have been very serviceable in our history. But his constant labors and exertions in this noble cause, wasted his vital strength, and he fell into a consumption, of which he died in Rehoboth, May 23, 1734, before he was thirty years old. Elder Ephraim Wheaton, pastor of the first church in Swansea, died the 26th of April before, aged seventy-five, having two hundred members in his church. These things I have carefully collected from various records and writings.

On September 16, 1735, a Baptist church was formed in Sutton, and September 28, 1737, Benjamin Marsh and Thomas Green were ordained their joint pastors. But on September 28, 1738, by mutual agreement, the brethren at Leicester became a church by themselves, and Green their pastor. On November 4, 1736, a Baptist church was gathered in Brimfield; and on November 4, 1741, Ebenezer Moulton was ordained their pastor. March 24, 1738, a century after the deed of Rhode Island was obtained of the Narraganset Indians, Mr. John Callender delivered a sermon at Newport, which he published with enlargements, containing the best history of the colony then extant. But his uncle at Boston was taken away by death the last day of that month; and he finished his course in the happy manner following: March 21, he said, "When I look on one hand I see nothing but sin, guilt and discouragement; but when I look on the other, I see my glorious Saviour, and the merits of his precious blood which cleanseth from all sin. I cannot say I have such transports of joy as some have had, but through grace I can say I have gotten the victory over death and the grave." Being asked what word of advice he had for his church, he earnestly replied, "Away with lukewarmness! Away with

such remissness in attending the house of prayer, which has been a discouragement to me, and I have been faulty myself." The Boston Evening Post of April 3, says: "Friday morning last, after a lingering sickness, deceased the Reverend Mr. Elisha Callender, minister of the Baptist church in this town; a gentleman universally beloved by people of all persuasions, for his charitable and catholic way of thinking. His life was unspotted, and his conversation always affable, religious, and truly manly. During his long illness he was remarkably patient, and in his last hours (like the blessed above) pacific and entirely serene; his senses good to the last. *I shall*, said he, *sleep in Jesus*, and that moment expired."

Mr. Comer gives us an account of the first planting of the Congregational churches in Rhode Island colony. Mr. Nathaniel Clap from Dorchester began to preach in Newport in 1695, and continued his labors there, under many discouragements, until a church was formed, and he was ordained their pastor, November 3, 1720. But in 1727, one Mr. John Adams, a young minister, came and preached there; and because Mr. Clap would not consent to have him settled as his colleague, a party council from the Massachusetts divided the church, and Adams was ordained over a majority of the church, April 11, 1728; and Mr. Clap was shut out of his meeting-house, and his people built another for him. But in about two years, Adam's people dismissed him without a recommendation. Congregational ministers also took much pains to introduce their worship into Providence; to promote which, an association of ministers in and near Boston, wrote to Governor Jenks, and other men of note in that town, October 27, 1721, and said: "With what peace and love societies of different modes of worship have generally entertained one another in your government, we cannot think of it without admiration; and we suppose, under God, it is owing to the choice liberty granted to Protestants of all persuasions, in the royal charter graciously given you; and to the wise and prudent conduct of the gentlemen that have been Governors and Justices in your colony." And so went on to desire them to countenance and encourage the preaching of their ministers among them. The town of Providence wrote an answer to them, February 23, 1722, signed by Jonathan Sprague, wherein they say: "This happiness principally consists in their not allowing societies any superiority one over another; but each society supports their own ministry, of their own free will, and not by constraint or force, upon any man's person or estate; and this greatly adds to our peace and tranquility. But the contrary, that takes any man's estate by

force, to maintain their own or any other ministry, it serves for nothing but to provoke to wrath, envy and strife." And they went on to mention how such things were continued in their government.

An anonymous reply to this was published the fall after, which contained a mean reflection against Sprague's character, without any thing that could vindicate their own conduct. In January, 1723, Sprague wrote a brief vindication of his character, and then said, "Why do you strive to persuade the rising generation, that you never persecuted nor hurt the Baptist? Did you not barbarously scourge Mr. Obadiah Holmes, and imprison John Hazel of Rehoboth, who died and came not home? And did you not barbarously scourge Mr. Baker, in Cambridge, the chief mate of a London ship? Where also you imprisoned Mr. Thomas Gould, John Russell, Benjamin Sweetser, and many others, and fined them fifty pounds a man. And did you not take away a part of said Sweetser's land to pay his fine, and conveyed it to Solomon Phips, the Deputy-governor Danforth's son-in-law, who after by the hand of God ran distracted, dying suddenly, saying he was bewitched? And did you not nail up the Baptist meeting-house doors, and fine Mr. John Miles, Mr. James Brown, and Mr. Nicholas Tanner? Surely I can fill sheets of paper with the sufferings of the Baptists, as well as others, within your precincts; but what I have mentioned shall suffice for the present." Mr. Sprague was a minister for many years to a Baptist society, in the east part of Smithfield, then a part of Providence, where he died in January, 1741, aged ninety-three. Mr. Comer knew him, and speaks of him as a very judicious and pious man.

A Congregational church was constituted in Providence, and Mr. Josiah Cotton was ordained their pastor, October 23, 1728. The year before on October 29, 1729, about ten in the evening, came on the greatest earthquake that had then been known in this country, and great numbers were awakened thereby, in all parts of the land, many of whom appeared to be truly turned to God, though others soon forgot their danger. But greater things are before us, as to real reformation, and one instrument of it deserves particular notice; namely, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, who was born at Windsor in Connecticut, October 5, 1703; was educated at Yale college, and began to preach the gospel in 1722, and was ordained at Northampton, colleague with his grand-father Stoddard, February 15, 1727. Mr. Stoddard died February 11, 1729, after having preached there about sixty years. He preached the clear doctrines of grace, and had great success in his ministry, not-

withstanding his opinion about terms of communion and church government, before described.

It was a low time among them for several years, until a revival of religion began in Northampton, in 1733, and it arose so high in the spring of 1735, that Mr. Edwards entertained hopes that about thirty were converted in a week, for six weeks together; so that scarce a grown person in the place remained unaffected, and many children were effectually called. The same work was powerful in about twelve adjacent towns in the county of Hampshire, and they had something of it in various parts of Connecticut. Mr. Edwards wrote a narrative of this great work, in 1736, which was printed in England as well as America, and caused great joy to many; though it was but as a dropping before a plentiful shower, as will appear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

The low state of religion in our land. But a glorious revival was now granted; and it spread far. Yet laws were made against it in Connecticut, and writings against it in the Massachusetts, though inconsistent. Ministers are punished by the General Court of Connecticut. Some make retractions. But President Edwards condemns opposers.

THE first fathers of New-England held, that each believer stands in the same relation to his children as Abraham did to his, in the covenant of circumcision; and therefore that each believer had a right to bring his children to baptism, which no others had. But forty years after, a door was opened for those who had been baptized in infancy, and were not scandalous, to bring their infants to baptism, though none were to come to the ordinance of the supper without a profession of saving grace. Yet in forty years more, an open plea was published, before described, for all baptized persons, who were not openly scandalous, to come to the Lord's supper, as well as to bring their children to baptism. And in a third forty years, these things had turned the world into the church, and the church into the world in such a manner, as to leave very little difference between them. But as it is said of false teachers, "They are of the world, therefore speak they of the world, and the world heareth them," so it was generally in our land. 1 John, iv. 5. And in England the declension had gone so far that in 1736, Bishop Butler said: "It is come I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is

not so much as a subject of inquiry: but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious; and accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.”*

But when the enemy was thus coming in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him. Mr. George Whitefield, who was born in the city of Gloucester, December 16, 1714, converted while in the university of Oxford in 1733, and ordained in 1736, was wonderfully furnished with grace and gifts, to proclaim doctrinal and practical Christianity through the British empire. He sailed from England in December, 1737. He embarked again for America in August, 1739, and travelled and labored with great success, as far northward as New-York. He returned back to Georgia, from whence he went to South Carolina, and sailed from thence to New-England, where he had been earnestly invited, and landed at Newport, September 14, 1740, and preached there three days from whence he came to Boston the 18th. After preaching there and near it many days, he went as far eastward as Old York, to see our excellent Moody; and then he returned and preached at Boston till October 12, after which he went up westward to Northampton, to see Mr. Edwards, and roused the people there; he then turned down by Hartford and New-Haven, and away to New-York, through New-Jersey and Philadelphia, and embarked from Delaware Bay, December 1, 1740. And he then said: “O my soul, look back with gratitude on what the Lord hath done for thee in this excursion. I think it is the seventy-fifth day since I arrived at Rhode Island. My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, one hundred and seventy-five times in public, besides exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of eight hundred miles, and gotten upwards of seven hundred pounds sterling, in goods, provisions and money, for the Georgian orphans. Never did God vouchsafe me greater comforts. Never did I see such a continuance of the divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached.”†

When he went through New-Jersey, he prevailed with Mr. Gilbert Tennant to take a tour into this field, which was white already unto the harvest; and he came to Boston in December, and labored in these

parts till March, when he came round by Plymouth, Middleborough, Bridgewater, Taunton, Newport and Providence, and he returned home through Connecticut. Both of them in their preaching, laid open the dreadful danger of hypocrisy, as well as profaneness, and spake as plainly against unconverted ministers and professors, it was, as any other sort of sinners, and the effects were exceeding great and happy.

Some indeed tried to persuade the world that the change then made in the land, was chiefly owing to the mechanical influence of their terrible words, gestures, and moving ways of address. But Mr. Prince says, “As to Mr. Whitefield’s preaching, it was, in the manner, moving, winning and melting; but the mechanical influence of this according to the usual operation of the mechanical powers, in two or three days expired, with many in two or three hours; and I believe with the most as soon as the sound was over, or they got out of the house, or in the first conversation they fell into. But with the *manner* of his preaching, wherein he appeared to be *in earnest*, he delivered those *vital truths* which animated all our martyrs, made them triumph in flames, and led his hearers into the view of that vital, inward, active piety, which is the mere effect of the mighty and supernatural operation of a *DIVINE POWER* on the souls of men; which only will support and carry through the sharpest trials, and make meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.” As to Mr. Tennant he says: “In private converse with him I found him to be a man of considerable parts and learning; free, gentle, condescending; and from his own various experience, reading the most noted writers on experimental divinity as well as the Scriptures, and conversing with many who had been awakened by his ministry in New-Jersey, where he then lived; he seemed to have as deep an acquaintance with the experimental part of religion as any I have conversed with, and his preaching was as searching and rousing as ever I heard. He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gestures, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusion, shew them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge, wherein they made themselves easy with a form of Godliness without the power.”*

Religion was much revived at Boston, Northampton, and other places in the fall and winter; and in the two years following the work spread through most parts of

* Preface to his Analogy
† Collection of his Journal, p. 437.

* Christian History, vol. li. p. 394—397.

New-England, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, beyond all that was ever known before in America. Several ministers, who were converted before, were now greatly quickened, and spent much of their time in travelling and preaching in various parts of the land. Others who had been blind guides before, were now spiritually enlightened, and heartily joined in this great work; three of them were Mr. William Hobby of Reading, Mr. John Porter of Bridgewater and Mr. Daniel Rogers, a tutor in Harvard college, who all acknowledged Mr. Whitefield to be the instrument of their conversion. A number of young scholars also met with a change in these times, and came into the ministry, in which they did much for the good of souls. Religious meetings, and religious conversation engaged the attention of a great part of the people in most parts of the land. A reformation of life, confessing their former faults and making restitution for injuries done, were evident in many places; and a vast number of all ages made a profession of religion, and joined to the several churches where they lived.

But a great majority of the ministers and rulers through the land disliked this work, and exerted all their powers against it; and as many imperfections appeared therein, this gave them many plausible excuses for so doing. But Mr. Edwards delivered a sermon at New-Haven, September, 1741, in which he well distinguished between the marks of a true work of God, and all false appearances of it, which was printed and spread through the nation, and was much esteemed. An anonymous answer to it was soon published at Boston, and many appeared against the work in the Massachusetts; but they could not get any law made against it, as they did in Connecticut.

Governor Talcott died there in October, 1741, while their legislature was sitting, who then elected another governor, who was greatly in favor of ministerial power; and they called a consociation of ministers to meet at Guilford in November, and they drew up a number of resolves, in one of which they said, "That for a minister to enter into another minister's parish, and preach or administer the seals of the covenant, without the consent of, or in opposition to the settled minister of the parish, is *disorderly*." Mr. Robbins, of Bransford, had done something like it before at New-Haven, for which others had reproved him, and he had made some concessions to them. In December he received a letter from a Baptist minister in Wallingford, informing him that Dr. Bellamy had preached to their society to mutual satisfaction, and desiring that he would do the like. This request appeared agreeable, and he appointed a

meeting for the purpose, January 6, 1742. But two days before that time, a deacon from Wallingford brought him a letter signed by forty-two men in their town, and another signed by two ministers who lived by the way, desiring him not to go to preach to those Baptists, without giving any reason against it, but their desire. And as this did not appear to him a sufficient reason to violate his promise, and to disappoint a people who were desirous to hear the gospel, he went and preached two sermons to them. Yet for this he was complained of as a *disorderly* person, to the consociation of New-Haven county, February 9. He asked how it could be disorderly, since he preached to a particular religious society, at the request of their pastor. They answered that it was not a lawful society, but a disorderly company. He replied that Governor Talcott had advised Wallingford collectors not to distrain ministerial taxes from them; and the authority sent them annual proclamations, for Fasts and Thanksgivings, as to other societies.* But they disregarded these reasons, and expelled him out of their consociation! This was about the time that Mr. David Brainard was expelled out of Yale college, who did most afterwards towards spreading Christianity among the Indians of any man in our day. How far were the above actions from a catholic behavior towards the Baptists, pretended to by many!

Those ministers procured a law to be made in May, 1742, wherein it was enacted, that if any settled minister in their government should preach in the parish of another without his consent, he should lose all the benefit of their laws for his support; and that if any man who was not a settled minister should go into any parish and preach without such consent, he should be imprisoned until he gave an hundred pound bond not to do so again; and if any minister came out of any other government, and preached without such consent, he should be taken up by authority, and carried as a vagrant person out of Connecticut. At the same time they had an old law, by which every person was to be fined ten shillings, who drew off from parish ministers, and met for worship in a place separate from them. What tyranny was this! And though the Massachusetts had no power to make such laws about preachers, yet said Connecticut law was printed in a Boston newspaper, and many did all they could against travelling ministers, and against the work in general.

But Mr. Edwards published a book on the other side in 1742: shewing that the work then going on in the land was a glo-

* That Baptist church in Wallingford was formed, and Mr. John Merriam was ordained their pastor, in 1739.

rious work of God; the duty of all to acknowledge and promote it, and the great danger of the contrary; wherein its friends had been injuriously blamed; what ought to be corrected among them, and what ought positively to be done to promote the work. This book was much esteemed in Europe as well as America. Yet Dr. Charles Chauncy of Boston was so much displeased with it, that he set off and travelled through the country, as far as Philadelphia, picking up all the evils that he could find, and some reports that were not true, concerning the work, and published them in 1743, as an answer to Edwards. In an introduction of above thirty pages, he tries to prove that this work was carried on by the same spirit and errors that were condemned by the Synod of 1637. But what has been before recited, and much more that might be produced, plainly shews the contrary. He then spends three hundred pages upon what he calls, "things of a bad and dangerous tendency, in the late religious appearances in New-England." And the first thing which he so calls, is itinerant preaching, which he says had its rise in these parts from Mr. Whitefield, who was followed by Mr. Tennant and others. And before he cited any scripture against it, he mentioned their law against it in Connecticut, which he observed had been printed in one of the Boston papers. After which he produced what is said in the Scriptures concerning idle, disorderly walkers, who eat the bread of others for naught. 2 Thess. iii. 6—11. And then he mentioned the caution against being busy-bodies in other men's matters. 1 Peter, iv. 15. But this could not answer his turn, without mending the translation, and observing that the word busy-body, is *episcopos*, which is often translated bishop; and the evil here warned against, he says, is "One that plays the bishop in another's diocess."* But it is well known, that the word means an overseer and is so rendered in Acts xx. 28. A busy-body then is an overseer in the affairs of others, and in the two Scriptures which he produced, it is applied to Christians in general, and is not confined to ministers. All should take heed that they do not intermeddle with the affairs of others, which do not belong to them. Two other Scriptures he brings which belong to ministers, that condemn the commending of themselves, and entering into the line of others, and the building upon another man's foundation. 2 Cor. x. 12—17. Rom. xv. 20. And these are his Scriptures to prove, that a minister ought not to preach in any parish where another was settled by the laws of men, without his consent.† But all ought to

know, that the line of conduct which God has drawn in his word, and the foundation which he has laid for his church, is as high above all establishments for worship by human laws, as heaven is above the earth. And the reader will judge whether the above application of those Scriptures to worldly establishments, is not corrupting the word of God. For travelling preachers of the gospel through the world, were the great means that God made use of, to lay the foundation of the Christian church, in the apostolic age. And travelling preaching hath often been blessed for the good of souls in every age, and in every country where the gospel has come.

Another thing which Dr. Chauncy complains of, as of a dangerous tendency, is a spirit of rash and censorious judging; this he says first appeared in Mr. Whitefield, who seldom preached, but he had something or other in his sermon against unconverted ministers. Chauncy says, "I freely confess, had the ministers of New-England lost their character as men of religion, by a deportment of themselves contradictory to the gospel, I should have found no fault with any representations of them as bad men; nay dangerous enemies to the kingdom of Christ: for I am clearly of the mind, that a visibly wicked minister is the greatest scandal to religion, and plague to the church of God; nor is it a hurt, but a real service to the cause of Christ, to expose the characters of such, and lessen their power to do mischief."* But to prove that their character was good, he recites the words of Dr. Cotton Mather, who said, "No man becomes a minister in our churches, till he first be communicant; and no man becomes a communicant, until he hath been severely examined about his *regeneration*, as well as his conversion."†

But when was it so? This testimony was published in 1696; but four years after Mr. Stoddard published his opinion, that if men were not openly scandalous, they ought to come to communion in the church, though they knew themselves to be unregenerate; and this opinion had spread over the whole country before Mr. Whitefield came into it. Nay, Dr. Chauncy himself said afterwards, "The divinely appointed way, in which persons become members of the visible church of Christ, is utterly inconsistent with the supposition, that, in order to their being so, they must be subjects of *saving faith*, or judged to be so."‡ So that out of his own mouth he is condemned.

An uncharitable and censorious spirit is ever to be watched against, much of which appeared in that day among all orders of men. And Dr. Chauncy discovered a large

* Chauncy's Thoughts, p. 36—42.

† P. 43—15.

* Chauncy's Thoughts, p. 140, 141.

† Page 142.

‡ Sermon's on breaking of bread, p. 106.

share of it, and he published many censures of others, and of some in high authority. Governor Law of Connecticut, in a proclamation for their annual fast, February 16, 1743, called all his subjects to confess and be humbled for their sins, which he said were, "The great neglect and contempt of the gospel and the ministry thereof, and the prevailing spirit of error, disorder, unpeaceableness, pride, bitterness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, disobedience, calumniating and reviling of authority; divisions, contentions, separations and confusions in churches; injustice, idleness, evil speaking, lasciviousness, and all other vices and impieties which abound among us." This Chauncy has inserted in his book.* This proclamation was published so early as to have influence in their election of rulers; and Deacon Hezekiah Huntington of Norwich, who had been one of their council three years, was then left out of it, and a man was elected in his room, who had sent men to prison for preaching and exhorting the year before. Huntington had been greatly engaged in the reformation then going on in the land, and he continued steadfast therein all his days.

A new church had been formed in New-Haven, and another at Milford, which had been tolerated by their county court, and they had put themselves under the care of a presbytery in New-Jersey. But the legislature that met at Hartford in May, 1748, enacted, "That those commonly called Presbyterians or Congregationalists shall not take benefit of the act of toleration." And they also declared that no other dissenters from the established way of worship, but such as should "Before the assembly take the oaths and subscribe the declaration provided in the act of parliament, in cases of like nature, should be tolerated." Mr. John Owen of Groton, was complained of for preaching against their laws in May before; therefore he was ordered to be brought before the legislature at their next session.

In the mean time a Presbyterian minister was sent from the Jerseys, to preach to said societies in Milford and New-Haven; and for preaching at Milford, he was taken up by authority, and carried as a vagrant person out of their government. But when he was let go, he came back and preached at New-Haven. And as the people concealed him on week days, an officer came on Lord's day morning and seized him at their meeting-house door and carried him away. Yet he returned again and preached to the people; an account of which was laid before their legislature in October following, when it was enacted, that any min-

ister who should do so again, should be imprisoned until he should give an hundred pound bond not to do so any more. Such was their treatment of a minister of Christ whose name and title since was Samuel Finley, D. D., President of New Jersey college.

As Mr. Owen avoided being taken, and like complaints were exhibited against Mr. Pomroy, both were ordered to be brought before the Assembly the next May. Accordingly, at their meeting at Hartford, May 10, 1744, Owen came with an humble confession, and they forgave him, he paying costs. Pomroy was brought, and stood trial for some hours; but he was condemned, and ordered to be committed, till he would pay costs, and bind himself for one year, in a recognizance of fifty pounds not to offend again in like manner. He then yielded to their requirements. And Mr. James Davenport, who had gone as far in condemning the settled ministers, and in promoting separations from them, as any minister in these parts, wrote a retraction of those things, and sent it to Boston, where Mr. Prince published it in September, 1744.* After which scarce any settled minister in New-England ventured to preach in any parish, without the consent of the settled minister.

Yet Mr. Edwards had before said, "If ministers preach never so good doctrine, and are never so painful and laborious in their work, yet if at such a day as this, they shew to the people, that they are not well effected to this work, but are very doubtful and suspicious of it, they will be very likely to do their people more hurt than good; for the very fame of such a great and extraordinary work of God, if their people were suffered to believe it to be his, and the example of other towns, together with what preaching they might hear occasionally, would be likely to have a much greater influence upon the minds of the people, to awaken and animate them in religion, than all their labors with them. And we that are ministers, by looking on this work from year to year, with a displeased countenance, shall effectually keep the sheep from their pasture, instead of doing the part of shepherds to them, by feeding them; and our people had a great deal better be without any settled minister at all, at such a day as this. The times of Christ's remarkable appearing in behalf of his church, and to revive religion, and advance his kingdom in the world, are often spoken of in the prophecies of Scripture, as times wherein he will remarkably execute judgment on such ministers or shepherds, as do not feed the flock, but hinder their being fed, and so

* His Thoughts, p. 295-6.

* Christian History, Vol. 2. p. 237-240.

deliver his flock from them, as Jeremiah xxiii. Ezekiel xxxiv. Zech. x. Isaiah xlv. &c.* How solemn are these considerations! And we have before seen, that Dr. Increase Mather in the year 1700 said, "If the began apostasy should proceed as fast the next thirty years, as it has done these last, surely it will come to that in New-England, that the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather churches out of churches." And though he knew not the exact time, yet this came to pass in forty-five years in the following manner.

CHAPTER X.

Of Canterbury separation.—Association letter against it.—But separations multiply, though persecuted.—The work at Middleborough.—Of President Edwards.—Of Mr. Whitefield.—Robbins persecuted, but delivered.—Sufferings at Norwich and Canterbury.

MR. ELISHA PAINE was born in Eastham, on Cape Cod, and was well instructed in the principles of the first church in Plymouth, and was well established therein. His father removed his family to Canterbury, in Connecticut, and was one of the men who formed the church there in 1711. He had four sons, whom he brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and they appeared to be acquainted with experimental religion. His son Elisha was become one of the greatest lawyers in Connecticut, and was much prospered in the world, before the law was made in 1741, to imprison men for preaching the gospel; but he then quitted their courts, and went forth preaching the gospel through the land. The church in Canterbury was then without a pastor; and on January 27, 1743, they voted to adhere to the Cambridge platform instead of that of Saybrook. Soon after, Mr. Elisha Paine set off in preaching the gospel to the northward; but for preaching in Woodstock, which then belonged to the Massachusetts, he was taken up in February, and was sent to Worcester jail, under pretence of his breaking a law against mocking or mimicking of preaching. But four ministers in Connecticut, being informed of it, gave a certificate, that they esteemed him qualified to preach the gospel. In May, the court at Worcester were forced to release him, as having been imprisoned without law; and he went round preaching the gospel for about a fortnight, and then returned home. On July 8, he set off

again, and travelled to Providence, Bristol, Boston, Cambridge, and as far northward as Dunstable and Lancaster, preaching with great power. He returned home December 3, having preached two hundred and forty-four sermons, as appears by his journal. In June, 1744, he went and preached at Eastham and Harwich, which caused a separation, and then a Baptist church in Harwich. Upon his return to Canterbury, a division took place there in the following manner: the parish had called a young minister to preach to them, by whom most of the church were not edified. The parish therefore called a committee of their association in August to give advice in the case. Mr. Paine was requested to give his objections against said candidate; but he would not, because they were not called by the church. Another member gave them a copy of the vote of the church against him, which they called the act of the aggrieved part of the church; and they advised the parish to go on and settle said candidate. For this, Mr. Paine wrote to one of those ministers in September, a sharp reproof for wronging the truth in calling that a part of the church, which was the church itself. Upon this he was seized and imprisoned at Windham before the month was out, for preaching in Windham the spring before, without the consent of parish ministers. Mr. Paine gave bonds to the jail-keeper, so as to have liberty to preach in the yard; and he soon had so large a congregation to hear him, that his persecutors found they weakened their own cause by confining him there. They therefore released him about October 19.

In the mean time, as the church in Canterbury had no other way to avoid hearing a man who did not edify them, they withdrew from their meeting-house, and met at another house. And John and Ebenezer Cleaveland, members of it, as they also were of Yale college; being at home in vacation time, met for worship with their own church; but for nothing but so doing they were expelled from the college. And Mr. Paine was repeatedly cited to appear before the ministers of that county, to answer to complaints they had received against him; but he knew them too well to submit himself to their power. Twelve of them met in November, and published a testimony against him in a newspaper. And near all the ministers in Windham county met and published a letter to their people, dated December 11, 1744, signed by Joseph Coite, Ebenezer Williams, Joseph Meacham, Samuel Dorrance, Solomon Williams, Jacob Eliot, Marston Cabot, Samuel Mosely, Ephraim Avery, Ebenezer Devotion, Eleazer Wheelock, Abel Stiles, Stephen White, John Bass, Richard Salter,

* Edwards' Thoughts, 1742, p. 133, 136.

William Throope. They brought Deut. xiii. 1—3, as a warning to their people against hearing Mr. Paine and his brethren, and then said, "The case here supposed is an attempt to draw the people to idolatry, and this, you will say, is not your case. These prophets and dreamers endeavor to draw you to Christ, and not from him; but then they endeavor to draw you from his institutions, to a way of worship which he has not instituted. Though the case is not so strong, yet the argument against your compliance is the same; for whatsoever worship God has not instituted and directed in his word, is false worship, and therefore if there seem to be never so many appearances of God's power attending it, you may not go after it, any more than after a false God."*

Upon which we may observe, that Christ calls the field the world, and says of the wheat and tares, "Let both grow together until the harvest." But he says to his church, "Put away from among yourselves that wicked person." Yet these ministers held the field to be the church, and that Christ would not let his servants root up the tares, "even when they appeared."† But how far is such worship from the instituted church of Christ! Yea, while they were for having the tares grow in the church, they would not let the children of God grow peaceably in the world, but took up and imprisoned many of them.

On November 27, 1744, the church of Canterbury met, and sixteen members against twenty-three, voted to send for their consociation to come and ordain the candidate whom the parish had chosen; and they met there for that purpose on December 26; but not having the majority of the church for him they could not proceed according to their own laws. At length they called the parish together, and got them to vote, that they were willing their legislature should set off those who did not choose their candidate, as a distinct religious society; and so went on and ordained him as the minister of that parish. But as the church did not desire any new incorporation by the laws of men, but only petitioned to be exempted from taxes to a minister they never chose, their petition was disregarded, their goods were torn away, or their persons imprisoned for his support for fifteen years, without the least compassion from the ministers who acted in that ordination. These and many other things, moved a number of teachers and brethren to meet at Mansfield, October 9, 1745, and form a new church; and they elected Mr. Thomas Marsh of Windham to be their pastor, and appointed his ordination to be

on January 6, 1746. But he was seized the day before, and was imprisoned at Windham, for preaching without leave from parish ministers. On the day he was to have been ordained, a large assembly met, to whom Mr. Elisha Paine preached a good sermon, at the close of which about thirteen parish ministers came up, and tried all their influence to scatter that flock, whose shepherd had been smitten; though, instead of it, they elected and ordained Mr. John Hovey as their pastor the next month. Mr. Marsh was confined in prison till June, and then their court released him, and in July he was ordained as a colleague with Mr. Hovey; and many such churches were soon after formed and organized.

What our Lord says about putting a piece of new cloth into an old garment, and new wine into old bottles, was remarkably verified at this time. Great numbers of young converts had joined to their old churches; but a regard to the pure laws of Christ, from the new wine of love to God and love to men, could not be contained in churches which were governed by the laws and inventions of men, obeyed from the love of worldly honor, and gain, or a desire to get life by their own doings, any more than a new piece of cloth could agree with an old garment, or new wine could be contained in old bottles. Instead of it, the rent was made worse, or the bottles were broken.

The consociation of Windham county met in January, 1747, and received accounts of these transactions, and then adjourned a month, and sent citations to Mr. Paine, and others of those ministers, to appear before the lawful ministers of their parishes, or a committee of their council, to offer what they had to say in vindication of themselves. But they were far from an inclination to submit themselves to such judges. When said consociation met again, they published a copy of the confession of faith and covenant of the new church in Mansfield, and their objections against the same, and their judgment against all those new churches, and got these things printed at Boston, in a pamphlet of twenty-two octavo pages. To these means were added the imprisonment of Mr. Frothingham five months, Mr. John Paine eleven months, and Mr. Palmer four months, all at Hartford, for preaching without the consent of parish ministers. Mr. Solomon Paine suffered imprisonment also at Windham for a fortnight, on the same account, and many others suffered the like. And three gentleman, only for being members and deacons in these separate churches, were at different times, expelled out of their legislature, namely, Captain Obadiah Johnson, of Canterbury, Captain Thomas Stevens, of Plainfield, and Captain Nathan Jewet, of Lyme. But

* Association Letter, p. 43.

† Page 21.

overstraining their power weakened it, and it began to decline; for Deacon Hezekiah Huntington was again elected into their council at Hartford in May, 1748; and he continued in that office, and was also judge of probate until he died in 1773. These things were done in Connecticut; but we must now return to the affairs of the Massachusetts.

Mr. Peter Thatcher was the third minister of Middleborough, where he began to preach in 1707, and he was much engaged in that work, especially in and after the glorious year, 1741; and his success was so great, that there were above three hundred and forty communicants in his church when he died, April 22, 1744.* But the parish committee directly after his death, exerted all their influence against the church, about calling another minister. And when the church had voted to hear Mr. Sylvanus Conant four sabbaths upon probation, the parish committee went and got another man to preach there the same days; so that the church withdrew, and met at another place till his probation time was out, and elected him for their pastor, and presented their choice to the parish. Upon this, said committee made a new regulation of voters, wherein they excluded seven or eight old voters, and made about nineteen new ones; and they negatived the choice of the church. But the church sent for a council of five other churches to settle the matter; and by their help Mr. Conant was ordained their pastor, March 23, 1745. Yet less than a quarter of the church called themselves the standing part of it, and went on and ordained another minister the next October, and held the old house and ministerial land, and taxed all the parish for his support. The church built another meeting-house, and went on to support their minister; but such a party-spirit prevailed, even in their legislature, that they could get no relief from thence in about four years. Though such a turn was then made, that the parish was divided into two, promiscuously, and each man had liberty to choose which he would be of, and each was to support his own minister. When this liberty was obtained, the opposing party were soon sick of the minister they had ordained, and used violence against him until they got him away, and obtained a dissolution of their society. Does not this, as well as the experience of Canterbury, shew the great evil of allowing the world to govern the church about religious ministers?

And where church and world are one, it is no better, as now appeared at Northampton. The excellent Mr. Edwards

was settled there, with his grandfather Stoddard, upon the opinion that the Lord's supper was a converting ordinance, and he had gone on fifteen years in that way, until he was fully convinced that it was contrary to the word of God; and he also found that gospel discipline could not be practised in such a way. No sooner was his change of mind discovered, in 1744, than most of his people were inflamed against him, and never would give him an hearing upon the reason of his change of sentiments; but they were resolute to have him dismissed. As he could not get them to hear him preach upon the subject, he printed his thoughts upon it, in 1749, though most of them would not read his book. In it he says, "that baptism, by which the primitive converts were admitted into the church, was used as an exhibition and token of their being visibly *regenerated*, dead to sin and alive to God. The saintship, godliness and holiness of which, according to Scripture, professing Christians and visible saints do make a profession and have a visibility, is not any religion and virtue that is the result of common grace, or moral sincerity, (as it is called,) but *saving grace*." And to prove this, he referred to Rom. ii. 29, vi. 1, 4. Phil. iii. 3. Col. ii. 11, 12.* Though he did not design it, yet many others have been made Baptists by the same Scriptures, and the same ideas from them. But Mr. Stoddard's doctrine had prevailed so far in that part of the country, that in all the county of Hampshire, which then included all our state west of Worcester county, not less than sixty miles wide and seventy miles long, there were but three ministers who did not hold that doctrine; and the church at Northampton denied Mr. Edwards the liberty of going out of that county, for any of those whom he was to choose to settle their controversy. At last they yielded that he might go out of that county for two, as each party was to choose five. But when the council met, in June, 1750, one of the churches whom Mr. Edwards sent to, had sent no delegate to the council, though their minister came and acted in the council, so that by the majority of one vote, Mr. Edwards was separated from the flock he dearly loved. Thus one of the best men in our land was rejected from his place and employment, only for coming into the belief that a profession of saving faith was necessary in all who came into communion in the church of Christ. But as this was evidently a good cause, so God was with him in it, so that he afterwards wrote a book which opened the true nature of the will of moral agents, beyond anything that ever was published in latter ages; and that

* Christian History, vol. ii. p. 77—79, 99.

* On a Right to Sacraments, p. 20—23.

and many other works of his are still greatly esteemed in Europe, as well as America. He was very useful in the ministry, until he died President of New Jersey college, March 22, 1758, in his fifty-sixth year.

Mr. Whitefield came a second time into New-England in the fall of 1744; when such opposition appeared against him, as never was seen before against any minister of the gospel in our land. The corporation of Harvard college soon published a testimony against him, which was followed with one from an association of ministers at Weymouth, and another at Marlborough, with a third in the county of Barnstable, besides many individuals; and in February, 1745, Yale college did the like, and represented that he intended to root out all the standing ministers in our land, and to introduce foreigners in their stead. This was so opposite to truth, that all his life was evidently spent in laboring for the conversion and edification of precious souls, while he left the building and government of churches to others; though when persons were brought to a saving knowledge of Christ, they could not be easy under teachers who were strangers to him, for he says, "A stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him; for they know not the voice of strangers." And if many ministers in our land had not been strangers to Christ, how could they have acted as they did?

Those who had cast Mr. Robbins out of their consociation, for preaching to the Baptists without their consent, could not let him alone; because while he continued a pastor of the first church in Branford, and yet was not with them, it weakened their power. Therefore in May, 1743, they received a complaint against him, signed by six of his people; and they appointed a committee to go to him upon it, before he knew who the complainants were, or what they complained of. But when he found who they were, he went and gave them satisfaction, and they wrote an account of it to said committee, but they would come and insisted upon it, that Mr. Robbins must go and be reconciled to their association. This he tried for without success. Yet, seeing what a storm was gathering, he drew three confessions, and went to another of their meetings, and offered them, wherein he went as far as he could towards giving them satisfaction, short of confessing that he broke the law of God in preaching to those Baptists as he did. But as he could not in conscience confess that, they rejected all his confessions. And in May, 1745, they received a larger complaint against him, without his having any previous notice of it, and another committee was sent to him, who prevailed with him to go and offer a fourth confession to their

association, wherein he pleaded his ignorance of its being a crime to preach to the Baptists as he did, might apologize for him so that a reconciliation might be effected with them and among his people. But they refused to be satisfied with any thing short of his confessing that he broke the law of God in preaching to the Baptists against their consent. He went home and laid this confession before his society, who voted that it was sufficient, and they desired him to continue in the ministry with them, and also that no councils or committees might be sent there again without their request. And his church met, November 4, 1745, and renounced the Saybrook platform, and said, "We receive the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as the only perfect rule and platform of church government and discipline;" though they did not renounce fellowship with the consociated churches.

This was worse in their view than all he had done before; and a much larger complaint was received against him than before, and a consociation was appointed to try it at Branford, September 30, 1746; and Mr. Robbins was required "in the name of Christ" to appear before them. But he drew an answer to each article of their complaint, and laid them before his church, who chose a committee to lay a copy of their former votes before the consociation, and earnestly to deny their jurisdiction over them. This was accordingly done; yet they resolved that Mr. Robbins was under their jurisdiction, and went on to hear accusations against him in his absence, and to condemn him in ten articles of his public teaching, without naming any witnesses, or any time or place when or where either of them were delivered. And concerning his conduct they say, "He hath led off a party with him, to rise up against and separate from the ecclesiastical constitution of this colony, under which this church was peaceably established; reproachfully insinuating in a church-meeting, that under the Saybrook platform it is king association in opposition to Jesus Christ the only King of the church. In which articles, upon mature deliberation, we judge the said Mr. Robbins is criminally guilty of the breach of the third, fifth, and ninth commands, and of many gospel rules, for which he ought to give Christian satisfaction, by making a confession to the acceptance of this consociation."* This he was so far from doing, that he published a narrative of the whole affair at Boston, in which the reader may find all the above particulars.

The consociation waited a year, and then

* Robbins' Narrative, p. 23, 29.

met on September 29, 1747, and after telling much of their lenity, and his obstinacy they say: "This consociation do now, upon the whole, judge, and determine the said Mr. Robbins unworthy the ministerial character and Christian communion; and accordingly do, *in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ*, according to the word of God, and the powers invested in this consociation by the ecclesiastical constitution of this government, depose the said Mr. Philemon Robbins from his ministerial office, and ministerial and pastoral relation to the first church in said Branford, and debar and suspend him from communion in any of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ."* This is in an answer to Mr. Robbins, which they published in 1748; in which they say of his voting with his church to renounce the Saybrook platform, "There was no more validity in such a vote, than there would have been in that, if the major part of the first society in Branford had voted to renounce the civil government of Connecticut."† And a petition was sent to their general court, that they would turn Mr. Robbins out of his meeting-house, that a regular minister might be settled therein. But such glaring conduct opened their eyes, and they ordered a council to be called out of other counties, who prevailed with New-Haven consociation to restore Mr. Robbins to a seat with them, which he held to his death in 1781; but his church sent no messenger with him. And their general court revived their former acts of toleration to dissenters, and ordered a new edition of their laws to be printed, which was done in 1750, out of which their late persecuting laws were left, without any express repeal of them. Governor Wolcott published a pamphlet against the Saybrook scheme; and Governor Fitch endeavored to explain away their power, which has since much declined.

An end was thus put to their imprisoning men for preaching; but still they were resolute for compelling all to support those parish ministers. Let it be observed, that the fathers of Plymouth colony held, that the ministers of Christ are to be supported only by his laws and influence, and not at all by the laws of men enforced by the sword of the magistrate; and many who now came out in a separation from these churches, descended from those Plymouth fathers, and meant conscientiously to follow their good principles, in which others joined them; but for so doing, they suffered much for several years, until their oppressors found their own cause was weakened thereby, and so desisted. A short view of two places, may give a general view of the whole.

The minister of the first church in Norwich was settled in 1717, upon the old principle of New-England; but in 1744, he procured a vote of the major part of the church to admit communicants into it without so much as a written account of any inward change of heart at all. At the same time he openly declared his attachment to the Saybrook platform, which the church renounced when they settled him. Therefore a large number of the church drew off, and formed another church, and settled another minister; yet they were still taxed to the old minister, and many were imprisoned therefor. Of this, and their temper under their sufferings, a private letter from a widow fifty-four years old, may give some idea.

"NORWICH, NOV. 4, 1752.

"DEAR SON,

"I have heard something of the trials among you of late, and I was grieved till I had strength to give up the case to God, and leave my burthen there. And now I would tell you something of our trials. Your brother Samuel lay in prison twenty days. October 15, the collector came to our house, and took me away to prison about nine o'clock, in a dark rainy night. Brothers Hill and Sabin were brought there next night. We lay in prison thirteen days, and then were set at liberty, by what means I know not. Whilst I was there, a great many people came to see me; and some said one thing and some another. O, the innumerable snares and temptations that beset me, more than I ever thought of before! But O, the condescension of Heaven! Though I was bound when I was cast into this furnace, yet was I loosed, and found Jesus in the midst of the furnace with me. O, then I could give up my name, estate, family, life and breath, freely to God. Now the prison looked like a palace to me. I could bless God for all the laughs and scoffs made at me. O, the love that flowed out to all mankind! Then I could forgive, as I would desire to be forgiven, and love my neighbor as myself. Deacon Griswold was put in prison the 8th of October, and yesterday old brother Grover, and are in pursuit of others; all which calls for humiliation. This church hath appointed the 13th of November, to be spent in prayer and fasting on that account. I do remember my love to you and your wife, and the dear children of God with you, begging your prayers for us in such a day of trial. We are all in tolerable health, expecting to see you. These from your loving mother,

"ELIZABETH BACKUS."

They afterwards imprisoned her brother

* Answer to Robbins, p. 117,

† Page 86.

for such taxes, while he was a member of their legislature; and they went on in such ways for about eight years, until the spiritual weapons of truth and love, vanquished those carnal weapons, which have not been so used in Norwich since. And the same may be observed of Canterbury. Mr. Elisha Paine was ordained pastor of a church on Long Island in May, 1752: but as he came over to Canterbury the fall after, he was seized and imprisoned at Windham, November 21, 1752, for a tax to the minister whom the church rejected. Upon which he said, "I cannot but marvel to see how soon the children will forget the sword that drove their fathers into this land, and take hold of it as a jewel, and kill their grand-children therewith. O, that men could see how far this is from Christ's rule! that all things which we would have others do unto us, that we should do even so unto them. I believe the same people, who put this authority into the hands of Mr. Cogswell, their minister, to put me into prison for not paying him for preaching, would think it very hard for the church I belong to, and am pastor of, if they should get the upper hand, and tax and imprison him, for what he should be so unjustly taxed at; and yet I can see no other difference, only because the power is in his hands; for I suppose he has heard me as often as I ever have him, and yet he hath taken from me by force two cows and one steer, and now my body held in prison, only because the power is in his hands." And on December 11, he wrote to the assessors of Canterbury, and reminded them of the cruelty of the two beasts at Rome, and then said: "What your prisoner requests of you is, a clear distinction between the ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut, by which I am now held in prison, and those thrones or beasts in the foundation, constitution and support thereof. For if you can shew, by scripture and reason, that they do not all stand on the throne mentioned in Psalm xciv. 20, but that the latter is founded on the rock, Christ Jesus, I will confess my fault, and soon clear myself of the prison. But if this constitution hath its rise from that throne, then come forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty, for it is better to die for Christ than to live against him. From an old friend to this civil constitution, and long your prisoner.

ELISHA PAINE.*

Five days after he was released; but the extremity of a severe winter kept him long from his family, who suffered much in an unfinished house for want of his help. Mr. Solomon Paine published a book this year

to shew "the difference between the church of Christ, and the churches established by law in Connecticut." And though they continued this oppression until 1771, yet their minister was then dismissed; and many confessed their faults in those oppressions, and equal liberty has been enjoyed in Canterbury ever since.

CHAPTER XI.

The cause why Baptist churches increased in several places, though opposed by many. Two who were against them die. The corruption of many exposed. Episcopalians try for power here. The great earthquake awakens many. More Baptist churches formed. Providence College constituted. Light given about baptism by Pædobaptists; and by writings concerning religious establishments. The evil of them opened. Particularly at Boston. Universalism exposed. New revivals. Whitefield dies. Certificate laws exposed. The war comes on. The Baptists unite with their country in it. The Quakers did not.

WHEN religion was revived in 1741, there were but nine Baptist churches in all the Massachusetts government, and none in New-Hampshire or Vermont. As Pædobaptist instruments were chiefly used in that work, and the most of the old Baptists were not clear in the doctrines of grace, they were generally prejudiced against it. Yet the great change, that was then wrought in many minds, was the evident cause of the spread of the Baptist principles in our land, which have increased ever since. The subjects of that work of grace embraced two ideas which produced this effect. The first is, that saving faith is necessary to give any soul a true right to communion in the church of Christ. The second is, that there is no warrant for a half-way covenant therein. And as infants are generally in the state of nature when they are said to be brought into covenant, infant baptism expires before these principles. Yet, natural affection, education, honor, gain and self-righteousness, all conspire together to prejudice people against becoming Baptists. It is not strange, therefore, that but few became such for many years.

The pastor of the Baptist church in Boston was dark in doctrine, and opposed the revival of religion that began there in 1740; therefore a few of the church drew off, and formed another church in 1742, and ordained a pastor in 1743, who was a clear preacher of the gospel, and many joined with them

* Mr. Paine continued the pastor of his church on Long Island, till he died, in 1775, aged eighty-four years.

from adjacent towns. A second Baptist church was also formed and organized in Rehoboth, in 1743. The like was done at Stonnington in Connecticut, the same year. And they increased so much in New-Jersey, that Mr. Dickinson, the first President of their college, wrote a pamphlet against them, which was printed both in New-York and Boston, in 1746. But it was sent over to London, and Dr. Gill published an answer to it in 1749; to which Mr. Peter Clark replied in 1752; and this examination of the subject caused light to be spread in our land.

More than threescore members of the separate church in Sturbridge, including all their officers, were baptized in 1749. Elder Ebenezer Moulton, of Brimfield, baptized the first part of them, and many others about the same time. In September that year, he baptized ten persons in Bridgewater, and three in Raynham. The month before, a controversy was brought into the separate church in the joining borders of Bridgewater and Middleborough, which was managed in an unhappy manner, and served to prejudice many against the Baptist principles; yet they gradually prevailed, until their pastor and others were baptized in 1751, and others afterwards, who yet held communion with their old brethren for a number of years. Several lively preachers were received among the old Baptists in Narragansett, who had much success there; and Baptist elders went from thence, and baptized many in the separate churches in Connecticut, and it seemed as though all those churches would become Baptists; but for fear of it, fierce opposition was raised against what was called *re-baptizing*, which was declared to be a very wicked action, and some retracted it. This caused much unhappiness, and councils were called upon it, and a general meeting of churches at Exeter, in May 1753, and a larger one at Stonnington in May, 1754; but they could not settle the controversy. Though the communing of all real saints together, appeared to be of great importance, yet many found by degrees that it could not be done in that way; for they saw that if they came to the Lord's supper with any who were only sprinkled in their infancy, it practically said they were baptized, when they believed in their consciences that they were not. And practical lying is a great sin. We ought to use all the freedom towards all men, and towards Christians especially, that we can with a good conscience; but neither Scripture nor reason can require us to violate our own consciences for any cause whatever. And upon these principles the first Baptists church in Middleborough was constituted, January 16, 1756, and their former

pastor was installed in his office, June 23 following. This was the first Baptist church which was formed in an extent of country of more than an hundred miles long, from Bellingham to the end of Cape Cod, and near fifty miles wide, between Boston and Rehoboth, in which are now above twenty churches.

In two years before, gospel preachers from New-York and New-Jersey, had travelled several times to Newport and Swansea, and labored among our old Baptist churches with success; and a reformation in doctrine and conduct followed and also a friendly intercourse with our new churches. Mr. Solomon Paine, who had opposed the Baptists much, died October 25, 1754, and Mr. Thomas Stevenson, November 13, 1755, after which that opposition abated. But a cruel war now came on, which turned the minds of people off from the great concerns of the soul and eternity, to the confusions of this world. The ministers who had been against the late glorious work, were now using all their art to render the doctrines of sovereign grace odious; and the doctrine of Jesus Christ being truly the Son of God, and justification by faith in his righteousness, was treated with scorn and contempt, in a publication at Boston in 1755. And the same spirit appeared in Connecticut. The Baptist minister and church of Wallingford removed from thence in 1750; but when the Congregational minister, who had persecuted Mr. Robbins, died there in 1756, his people had great difficulties about settling another. Among twenty candidates, they could not agree about any one of them. Therefore in the Spring of 1758, they were advised to send to Cambridge, and they did so, and a man came highly recommended from thence, and the majority elected him for their pastor; and appointed his ordination to be on October 11. But instead of acting by Saybrook platform, they sent for such ministers as suited them in their own county, and in other places, who were of their party. God says "Mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple." Rom. xvi. 17, 18. This word has been abundantly cast upon all men who have separated from ministers who were supported by force; though they have paid no regard to two characters described in the text. The first is, them who *cause divisions*; the second is, their acting *contrary to the doctrine* which the Christian church have learned; for Christ himself caused divisions between his church and the world. And because the ministers of Windham

county ordained a candidate in Canterbury in 1744, contrary to the minds of the majority of the church, divisions and offences were caused thereby through the land. Another division was now coming on about *doctrines*; for some members of the church in Wallingford had visited their candidate, and desired to know his thoughts, "about original sin, and the saints' perseverance, the power of free-will, and falling from grace," but he refused to tell them. As they were not willing to sit under such a teacher of souls, there consociation was convened at Wallingford the day before the ordination was to be, to hear and act upon a complaint exhibited against their candidate; but he and his party protested against their meeting at that time, and refused to be tried by them. The ministers whom they had called, formed themselves into a council, and went into the meeting-house, and heard the candidate vindicate himself, before judges that his accusers refused to be tried by. Though while they were there, they received a paper, signed by ninety-five inhabitants of that parish, who possessed about half the freehold estate therein, desiring them not to proceed in the ordination; and also a message from their consociation, warning and beseeching them not then to proceed; yet in the face of all this, they went on and ordained him as the pastor of that parish.

Such an instance was never before known in our land; therefore the consociation adjourned, and called the southern consociation of Hartford county to meet with them; but they could not bring said party to be tried by them; therefore at their meeting of April 3, 1759, they gave the sentence of non-communication against the minister so ordained in Wallingford, and against the members of the church who should continue with him. They declared the ministers of their county who acted in that ordination to be *disorderly persons*, until they gave satisfaction for that offence; and they were, Joseph Noyes, Isaac Stiles, and Chauncey Whittlesey of New-Haven, Samuel Whittlesey of Milford, Theophilus Hall of Meridan, and Jonathan Todd of East-Guilford. Two of these were sons of the old minister of Wallingford, and one of them was the tutor for whom David Brainard was expelled from college.

Mr. Todd and William Hart wrote in favor of these men, and Mr. E. Elles and Noah Hohart wrote against them; and all the above things appear in their publications. Mr. Robbins was one of their judges, in an affair which affords useful lessons. Here we see how SELF can blind the children of men. The scene of these actions was in the same town from whence all their actings against him originated. He only preached

there occasionally; they settled a minister in the parish. He acted against the desire of two ministers and forty-two inhabitants; they against their consociation and ninety-five inhabitants. In the first case the Saybrook scheme was fairly renounced, and the word of God taken in its room; in the other they only protested against the meeting of the consociation at that time, but intended to be of it afterwards. These things caused a division in the town, and another church and minister were settled there; two Baptist churches also are since formed in Wallingford. And their conduct produced like effects in other places.

The preaching of Mr. Ebenezer White of Danbury, was not liked by a minor part of his hearers, and they went and complained of him to their association, and advised to the calling of the consociation of that district to hear and act upon it. But when Mr. White heard of it, he called his church together, June, 28, 1763, and they renounced the Saybrook platform, which many of them never liked, though they did not renounce communion with the churches who were under it. When the consociation of the eastern district of Fairfield county met at Danbury in August, Mr. White and his church informed them of what they had done, and refused to be tried by them. Yet they would hear the case, and finding it to be very difficult, they adjourned, and called in the consociation of the western district of that county to act with them. After other adjournments, and much labor, they at their meeting of March 27, 1764, rejected Mr. White and a large majority of his church, and held the minority as the church and society in Danbury, and refused to recommend Mr. White as a preacher to any people, until he gave them satisfaction. But five ministers entered their protest against this last article, the first of whom was Mr. David Judson of Newtown, who, with his church, afterwards renounced the Saybrook platform. Thus those ministers caused divisions and offences, from place to place, by acting upon that arbitrary scheme. And there are now two Baptist churches in Danbury, and one in Newtown, with 125 members in the three churches, and 104 in the two in Wallingford. These were their numbers in 1802.

What Dr. Chauncey and others had published about Bishops in each parish, encouraged the ministers who were ordained by Bishops in England, to deny that any who were not so ordained could have any just right to administer gospel ordinances. And they erected an episcopal church in Cambridge, near the college; at the opening of which a discourse was delivered, which contained bitter reflections upon the fathers of this country, for their separation from the

church of England. To this Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, published a smart answer, but a reply was returned, said to be written by the archbishop of Canterbury. This controversy was warmly carried on, until the American war came on, which issued in our independence of Britain.

The great earthquake, on the morning of November 18, 1755, served to awaken a number of people, and that and other means were blessed for the conversion of several in the time of the war that then came on. The second Baptist church in Middleborough was formed November 16, 1757, and the third on August 4, 1761, and pastors were ordained in each of them. Baptist churches were likewise formed and organized in 1761, in Norton and in Ashfield.

A revival of religion came on in the third Baptist church in Middleborough in May, 1762, and prevailed so through all the summer, that people held frequent meetings on week days as well as the sabbaths, and great numbers were hopefully converted and added to the church; and it spread among other denominations. Although many said they would all come to want, because they neglected their worldly business so much, yet a few seasonable showers, in a great drought, caused a double crop of corn, so that they had enough for themselves, and much to spare for others at a distance, where their crops were much cut short, which was very convincing to many. This work was much more pure, and people acted more understandingly, than in our former revivals; and if all would learn to seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, they would find an addition of all needful good unto them.

This work was very extensive afterwards in many parts of this land. It came on in Ipswich, under the ministry of Mr. John Cleaveland, near the close of 1763, and caused the addition of ninety communicants to his church in less than a year. And the work was great at Providence, Norwich, and many other places in 1764; and in March that year it was greater at East-hampton on Long Island, where one Jew was converted. And as a Baptist minister went through Woodstock in Connecticut, in December, 1763, he preached a sermon to a few people, one of whom was a young man, who had been a leader in vanity; but he was then seized with conviction, and was converted in March after, upon which four of his old companions came to try if they could not draw him back to his old ways; which they were so far from doing, that his labors with them produced a change in their minds; a great work was wrought in the town, a Baptist church was formed there, and he was ordained their pastor in 1768. And other things concurred to open

a wide door for the spread of Baptist principles in our land.

Until now they had never had the government of any college, for the education of youth in human learning. Their churches in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, had held an annual meeting to promote their welfare, ever since 1707; and it now appeared expedient to them, to endeavor to erect a college in Rhode Island government, for the above purpose. Mr. James Manning, who was born in Elizabethtown, October 22, 1738, graduated at Princeton college in 1762, and ordained a minister of the gospel, appeared to them a suitable man to lead in this work. Therefore, on a voyage to Halifax, he called at Newport, and proposed the affair to a number of Baptist gentlemen, and they liked it well; and though they met with some opposition, yet they obtained a charter for a college, in February, 1764, from their legislature, in which the president was always to be a Baptist, and so were the majority of the corporation, though some of the Episcopal, Quaker and Congregational denominations were to be of it. No religious test was ever to be imposed upon the scholars, though great care was to be taken about their morals.

Mr. Manning removed his family to Warren, in July, where a Baptist church was then formed, and he ministered to them. In September, 1765, he was chosen president of the college, and diligently attended to the duties of it, until seven young gentlemen took their first degrees there, September 7, 1769. In the Spring after the college was removed to Providence, where a large brick edifice was erected for it, and a house for the president, all by personal generosity; and no government upon earth ever gave any thing towards said buildings, or for the college funds; though vast sums had been given by the governments of the Massachusetts and Connecticut to their colleges. But the buildings, library, and funds of this college, were all produced voluntarily, and chiefly from the inhabitants of Providence, many of whom sprung from the planters of the first Baptist church in America. O how far was this from the thoughts of the Massachusetts, when they banished Roger Williams for opposing the use of force in religious affairs!

Mr. Hezekiah Smith was a classmate with Manning, and was ordained a minister of the gospel. Having travelled and preached it to the southward as far as Georgia, he came into New-England in the Spring of 1764, and preached much, among various denominations, with an expectation of going back in the fall; but a destitute parish in Haverhill prevailed with him to stay and preach to them, which he did with

success; and a Baptist church was formed in the heart of the town, May 9, 1765. Upon which many raised opposition against him, and things were published against the Baptists in general; to which answers were returned; and the more their principles were examined, the more they were embraced. Controversies among their opponents had a like effect; for in 1768, Dr. Joseph Bellamy began a dispute against the half-way covenant, which was pursued for several years. Dr. Moses Mather was one who wrote against him, and he held up the covenant with Abraham, as a covenant that all ought to be in, in order to use the means of grace for their conversion. But Dr. Bellamy replied, and said, "the unbaptized have as good a right to read and hear the word of God, as the baptized have; and as good a right to believe and embrace the gospel. For by Christ's last commission, the gospel is to be preached to all nations; yea, to every creature; and that previous to, and in order to prepare men for baptism. Mark xvi. 15, 16. So that there is not the least need of being in his external covenant, in order to have as good a right to hear and believe, and to be justified by the gospel, as any men on earth have; for there is no difference. Romans iii. 22."* And how strong is this reasoning for the baptism of believers only! But greater things were then before them.

When the British court had determined to tax America, their bishops had great hopes of establishing their worship upon it; and one of them then said, "We may assure ourselves that this benefit will flow to the church from our present most gracious sovereign, whenever public wisdom, public care, public justice and piety shall advise the measure. This point obtained, the American church will soon go out of its infant state, be able to stand upon its own legs; and without foreign help, support and spread itself. Then the business of this society will have been brought to the happy issue intended."†

The society, to whom this was preached, had expended vast sums, for sixty-six years, to propagate what they called the gospel in America; and they now discovered what they were after; which was to have Episcopacy supported by force in our country. By the abstract at the end of this sermon, it appears that their society had then only seven ministers in the whole of North Carolina, when they had twenty-three in the Massachusetts and Connecticut. Yet their profession was, to send ministers to gospelize the heathen, or to teach others who had

not a sufficient support for ministers among them. And Dr. Chandler, of New-Jersey, now wrote upon the same argument, which I before referred to; and the danger of their succeeding appeared to be so great, that Dr. Chauncy wrote a large answer to him, wherein he said:

"We are in principle against all civil establishments in religion; and as we do not desire any establishment in support of our own religious sentiments or practice, we cannot reasonably be blamed, if we are not disposed to encourage one in favor of the Episcopal colonists. It does not appear to us, that God has entrusted the state with a right to make religious establishments. If the state in England has this delegated authority, must it not be owned, that the state in China, in Turkey, in Spain, has this authority also? What should make the difference in the eye of true reason? Hath the state in England been distinguished by heaven by any particular grant beyond the state in other countries? If it has, let the grant be produced. If it has not, all states have in common the same authority. And as they must severally be supposed to exert their authority in establishments conformable to their own sentiments in religion; what can the consequence be, but infinite damage to the cause of God and true religion? And such in fact has been the consequence of these establishments in all ages, and in all places."*

The general association of ministers in Connecticut published a letter of thanks to Dr. Chauncy, for writing this book, in a Boston paper, in 1768. But Chandler wrote again, and Chauncy replied, and said, "The religion of Jesus has suffered more from the exercise of this pretended right, than from all other causes put together; and it is with me, past all doubt, that it will never be restored to its primitive purity, simplicity and glory, until religious establishments are so brought down as to be no more."† And yet he had published more, for thirty years, to uphold the Congregational establishments in New-England, than any other man. And if any should plead that he held these not to be real establishments, that plea cannot be truth, because they hold fast three principles here, that are the foundation of all worldly establishments that ever were made under the name of Christianity. The first is, infant baptism, which lays bands upon children before they can choose for themselves; and education, honor, gain and self-righteousness, hold them in that way all their days, in the general custom of the world. The second is, the supporting of religious teachers by force, by the power of the magistrate. The third

* Reply to Mather, p. 75.

† Sermon in London, February 20, 1767, by the Bishop of Landaff, p. 24, 25.

* Answer to Chandler, p. 152, 153.

† Reply, 1770, p. 144, 145.

is, the allowing religious ministers a power of office which the people cannot give nor take away. The church of Rome, and the church of England, were built and are now upheld entirely by these three principles; and the Congregational churches that are established by law in the Massachusetts and Connecticut, hold each of them fast. As long as rulers force the people to support religious teachers, it bribes them to use all their influence in favor of such rulers, and this bribes rulers to continue in that way. And God says, "A gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous." Deut. xvi. 19. And so many wise and righteous men have gone in that way, that it is very difficult for their children to get out of it. But the word of God points out a clear light, which is to direct our feet in the way of peace. And he gives a most solemn warning to all, against adding to or taking from his words, Rev. xxii. 18, 19. And no men can force others to support any religious teachers, without adding to the holy Scriptures, our only safe rule of conduct. What vast expenses would be saved to worldly governments, if that evil was entirely renounced! For the costs of legislatures to make laws about worship, parishes and ministers, is a main part of the expenses of all governments who go in that way. Religious pretences have caused the most of the wars that have been in the world, under the name of Christianity; and the expenses which are occasioned by wars, are as much as half of the support of government in Europe and America.

Yet the holding of ministers above the churches is still a darling point in our country, against all the light which God has given us. For the minister of Bolton, in Worcester county, drank to access on a sacrament day, so as to shock his whole congregation. His church called him to account for it, but he did not give them satisfaction. Three councils, one after another, were called about it, but they were all for continuing him in office there; but as he had assumed the power to negative the acts of the church, and to dissolve their meeting, they called another, and chose a moderator and clerk, and made some proposals to their minister, and adjourned. But as he gave them no satisfaction, they met on August 8, 1771, and dismissed him from them, and the town concurred in it.

Upon this, ministers were much alarmed, and things were published against the church, as daring usurpers of an unwarrantable power; upon which two editions of Mr. Wise's works were printed at Boston, to shew what power the church once had. But the general convention of ministers at Boston, in May, 1773, published a

pamphlet, to try to prove that no church had a right to dismiss their minister, without the direction of a council therein. And in August following, a council of seven churches met at Bolton, and tried hard to have that minister restored again to his office there; and because they could not obtain it, they printed their result at Boston, as their testimony against any such power in their churches. Dr. Chauncy was moderator of that council.

In 1772, a man from England, by the way of New-York, came to Boston, and artfully held up that Christ had paid the debt to justice for all mankind, so that none of them would suffer in hell after the day of judgment. This gave so great a shock to the ministers who held to general redemption, that they published nothing against him in ten years; but in 1782, an anonymous pamphlet came out in Boston against him. And Dr. Chauncy published a book in 1784, wherein he held forth, that the *fire of hell* would purge away the sins of all the race of Adam, so that they would be all saved, after ages of ages.* This the pamphlet, in 1782, had called *purgatory*.†

Now an inspired apostle says, "If the blood of bulls, and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, *purge your conscience* from dead works, to serve the living God!" Heb. ix. 13, 14. This must be done in the present life, or else they who die in their sins will lift up their eyes in torment, and find a great gulf fixed between them and the righteous, which none can pass over. Luke xvi. 22—26. And what madness is it to hold that the fire of hell can purge away any sins, instead of the blood of Christ! Dr. Jonathan Edwards published a full answer to Chauncy, in 1790.

But let us return to more agreeable things. A Baptist church was formed at Newton in New-Hampshire, in 1755, and one at Haverhill, in 1765, which were the first that were formed any where northward of Boston. A great revival of religion then prevailed in New-Hampshire, and the Baptist principle spread therein, until a Baptist church was constituted in Stratham, and a minister was ordained there in 1771, and their increase has been great that way ever since. And a powerful work came on in Swansea and Rehoboth, which increased the Baptist churches there, and raised a new one in Dighton, which is since very large. Old churches gained great light now, about doctrines and gospel order, and more than twenty new churches were form-

* Salvation for all men, p. 24.

† Said Pamphlet, p. 21.

ed in New-England, in three years. And in the close of 1774, such a work came on in Providence, that Dr. Manning baptized an hundred and ten persons in nine months; and many joined to other churches in that town, and the work was extensive in other places.

Mr. Whitefield was taken to his rest before this, after his extraordinary labors, for thirty-four years, in England, Scotland, Ireland and America. He came over seven voyages to our country, in the last of which he landed in South Carolina, in November, 1769, and went to Georgia. From thence he travelled through all the country, as far as the district of Maine: and in fifty-eight days he preached fifty-one sermons, before he died at Newburyport, September 30, 1770; as appears in funeral sermons for him, and in his life published since. And how wonderful were these things!

The first Baptist church in Vermont was formed in Shaftsbury in 1768, and the second was in Pownal in 1773. In the three following years, Baptist churches were constituted at Suffield, Ashford, Hampton and Killingly in Connecticut, and Medfield, Harvard and Chelmsford, in the Massachusetts; when the terrible calamities of the war could not stop this work. Neither could the ill-treatment which the Baptists had met with, turn them against their country, who had oppressed them; for though they had received relief from the British court, several times, yet they saw that this was done for political ends, by men who now aimed to bring all America into bondage. And we shall here take a concise view of the partiality that was often discovered, even when our rulers pretended to relieve us.

The certificate acts which were made from time to time, to exempt us from ministerial taxes, were often violated by our oppressors, especially where new churches were formed. The Baptist church that was formed at Sturbridge in 1749, gave in certificates according to law, and yet they were all taxed to the parish minister; and in two years five men were imprisoned for it at Worcester, and three oxen and eight cows were taken away, beside a great deal of other property. Several men sued for recompense, and at length judgment was given for them in one case; but then other cases were non-suited, under the pretence that the actions were not commenced against the right persons. The Baptists judged that their damages in these cases were not less than four hundred dollars. And a representative from Sturbridge prevailed with our legislature to make a new law, in 1752, to exclude all Baptist churches from power to give legal certificates, until they had obtained certificates from

three other Baptist churches, that they esteemed said church to be conscientiously Anabaptists; that is, rebaptizers, which they never did believe. Yet, rather than to suffer continually, most of the Baptists conformed in some measure to their laws, until they were convinced that true help could not be had in that way, and therefore they concluded in 1773, to give no more certificates, and published their reasons for so doing.

The town of Ashfield was planted in 1751, and a Baptist church was constituted and organized there in 1761, with a large majority of the inhabitants in their favor. They had upheld worship there through all the perils of a long war; yet after it was over, others came in, and ordained a Congregational minister, and taxed the Baptist minister and his people for his support. One condition in the grant of the town was, that they should settle an Orthodox minister, and build a meeting-house; and as the Baptists were taxed for doing that for a Congregational minister, they paid it. But after they had done it, a law was made in 1768, which took the power out of the hands of the inhabitants, and put it into the hands of the proprietors, many of whom did not live in the town, to tax all the inhabitants of the town for the *support* of said minister, and to lay the tax wholly upon the lands, be they in whose hands they might, and to sell the lands if the owners refused to pay it. The word *support* was not in the original grant of the town from the government. Yet in 1770, three hundred and ninety-eight acres of land, owned by the Baptists, was sold, because they refused to pay a tax laid contrary to the original grant of said lands. They sought to the legislature for relief, without any success, for near three years, and then sent to the King in council, and got that law disannulled. But no sooner was the news of it published here, than a malicious prosecution was commenced against the character of a chief father of that Baptist church; and though he was fully acquitted upon trial, yet he got no recompense for his costs and trouble. This plainly discovers what wickedness is the consequence of supporting religious ministers by force.

More of this appeared in other places. After the Baptist church was formed in Haverhill, in 1765, they gave in certificates to the other denomination according to law, and yet they were all taxed to them; and in 1766, a large quantity of goods were taken from one of their society, and they sued for recompense in several courts, until judgment was given in their favor in 1767, by our superior court. Their opponents had promised that this should be a final trial, yet they violated that promise, and

procured another trial in June, 1769, when the case was turned against the Baptists, which cost them two hundred and fifty dollars. And they suffered much other ways for several years, but they have been well treated since. At Montague they made distress upon the Baptist committee, who signed their certificates, and not upon others; and when they sued for recompense, the case was turned against them, both in their inferior and superior courts, upon a pretence that they could not witness for themselves, though there were three of them, and if their names had not been in the lists, they could not have been exempted. And both there and in the Haverhill case, Baptists were not admitted as witnesses of plain facts, because they were parties concerned; though judges and jurors were as much so as they. The Baptists in Berwick and Goreham suffered much in these ways, as many others also did. And as their exempting law expired in 1774, another was made, which required that their certificates should be recorded in each parish where the Baptists lived, who must give four-pence for a copy of it, in order to clear themselves, which is three-pence sterling, the same as was laid on a pound of tea, which brought on the war in America.

The Baptist churches began an annual association at Warren, September 8, 1767, who have done much to defend their privileges, as well as to unite and quicken each other in religion. And when they met at Medfield, September 13, 1774, they chose an agent to go to Philadelphia, when the first congress was sitting there, to join with the Philadelphia association, to endeavor to secure our religious rights, while we united with our country in the defence of all our privileges. And when he came there, said association elected a large committee to help in the affair; and they obtained a meeting of the four delegates from the Massachusetts, before other members of congress, in the evening of October 14; to whom a memorial of our grievances about religious matters was read. This, two of those delegates endeavored to answer, and denied that we had any reason to complain on those accounts. But when leave was given for a reply, plain facts silenced that plea. They then shifted their plea, and would have all the blame of our sufferings laid upon executive officers, and they asserted that our legislature was entirely free from blame. Three of them joined in this plea, and one of them denied that it could be a case of conscience to refuse to give them certificates, and said it was a matter of conscience with them to support ministers by law, and that we denied them liberty of conscience, in denying

their right to do it. But when our agent was allowed to speak, he brought up the case of Ashfield, where near four hundred acres of land were sold for a condition that was not in the original grant of the town, for which the blame lay directly on the legislature; and if the king in council had not disannulled that law, the Baptists might have been robbed of all their lands, as far as any thing has since appeared. He also told them that he could not in conscience give the certificates which they required, which would implicitly allow a power to man, which in his view belongs only to God. And said he, "Only allow us the liberty in the country, that they have long enjoyed in Boston, and we ask no more." This was so plain, that said delegates promised to use their influence towards having that liberty granted to all our government.

But as one of them returned before said agent got home, a report was spread in the country, that he had been to Philadelphia to try to break the union of these colonies in the defence of all their privileges. He therefore soon met our Baptist committee at Boston, who sent in a remonstrance upon this subject to our provincial congress at Cambridge, and they passed a resolve, which acquitted us of all blame in that affair; and we are now to look into their following proceedings.

A congress, elected by the people in twelve colonies, met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and sent a petition to the king for the restoration and continuance of our former privileges, and also made the best preparations that they could to defend them; but their petition was treated with contempt, and an army was sent to compel us to yield to be taxed where we were not represented. A part of the army was sent from Boston in the night, and on the morning of April 19, 1775, they killed eight men at Lexington, and some more at Concord. But the people arose against them, and they fled back the same night, and were confined in Boston eleven months, and then their army fled from thence by sea. And such things then took place in America, as never was seen upon earth before. A minister who came from England, and then lived at Roxbury, said upon a view of our country at that time:

"Now some hundred thousand people are in a state of nature, and yet as still and peaceable, at present, as ever they were when government was in full vigor. We have neither legislators, nor magistrates, nor executive officers. We have no officers, but military ones; of these we have a multitude, chosen by the people, and exercising them with more authority and spirit, than ever any did who had commis-

sions from a governor. The inhabitants are determined never to submit to the act destroying their charter, and are every where devoting themselves to arms.* And a man who was born in this country, and carefully observed the events in it, inserted a note in his private diary, in January, 1776, which said, "Great and marvellous have been our dangers and our escapes. In the midst of the worst kind of wars, we have both peace and plenty. I scarce ever knew the country to be better off for provision. This is a state of trial, and the great changes which are passing over us, serve greatly to shew what is in man. As every one saw himself to be interested in the war, men were forward enough to enlist into the army, and others to supply them; so that perhaps no army was ever supplied more plentifully with provision than ours has been."

Yet a party spirit about religion still remained, and it was remarkably discovered in one place. A young Baptist minister was invited to preach in Pepperell, forty miles northwesterly from Boston, and it had so much effect, that a number of people met with a change; another minister was sent for, and six persons declared their experiences before them, who were judged to be fit subjects for baptism. And on June 26, 1776, they met in a field, by the side of a river, for worship and the administration of that ordinance. But in the midst of their worship, the chief men of the town came at the head of a mob and broke it up. The ministers tried to reason with them about their conduct, but in vain; and a dog was carried into the river, and dipped, in contempt of their opinion. A gentleman of the town then invited the Baptists to his house, near another river, and they held their worship there; but the chief men of the town followed them, and two dogs were plunged in that river; and one young man dipped another there with scorn and derision of the Baptists; and an officer of the town went into the house, and advised these ministers to depart immediately out of town for their own safety. They asked if their lives would be in danger if they did not go, but received no answer. But they secretly agreed with their friends to disperse, and to meet at another place of water; and they did so, and those six persons were baptized, after which the mob offered them some further abuse. These things were laid before the Warren association in September, by whose direction an account of them was published in Boston, which the town of Pepperell answered, and the Baptists replied thereto, and made the town ashamed of what they had done.

At the same time an event took place which weakened the society of Quakers, more than any thing had done before, since they first came into existence. With much art and labor, their church had become numerous, in England and America, which they held to be but one church, and that all their children were born in it, and they did not allow them to hear any teachers but their own. And they had five houses for public worship in the town of Dartmouth, which then included what is now three towns. But after our war began, one of their most noted ministers published a pamphlet, to persuade them to pay what they were taxed for the war, to defend America against Britain. Upon which they dealt with him as a transgressor of the rules of their church, and they expelled him from it in 1778. But this caused a division among them, and it reached to Philadelphia, and it opened a door for their children to go to hear other teachers; and two Baptist churches have been formed since, where there were none before.

The Baptists were so generally united with their country in the defence of their privileges, that when the general court at Boston passed an act, in October, 1778, to debar all men from returning into their government, whom they judged to be their enemies, and named three hundred and eleven men as such, there was not one Baptist among them. Yet there was scarce a Baptist member in the legislature who passed this act.

In the same year a new plan of government was formed for the Massachusetts, which took in their old taxing laws for ministers, who were exceeding earnest for its adoption; but they then failed of their design. But they, by deceitful arts, at length obtained what they were after. And in the mean time, Dr. Chauncy published a sermon in September, 1778, wherein he held up to the world, that the neglect of our legislature, to make an act to compel the people to make up to ministers what their salaries had lacked from the depreciation of our public currency, was an *accursed thing*, which caused the defeat of our army on Rhode Island.

CHAPTER XII

A new constitution formed. Unjust accusations against the Baptists. A plea of conscience against them. Ministers discover their mistakes. The kingdom of Christ described. Connecticut schemes against it. Yet God now revived his work greatly. Methodism described. Bishops come over from England. Epis-

* Gordons' History, vol. i. pp. 427, 428.

copacy abolished in Virginia. A new constitution of government established in America. President Washington favors the Baptists. A great revival on our eastern coasts. Also to the westward.

A CONVENTION met at Boston, September 1, 1779, to form a new constitution of government for us, and they chose a committee to make a draft for it, and adjourned. A general fast was appointed, to pray for direction in the affair, on Nov. 4th; and on the 10th, the article was brought in, to give rulers power to support ministers by force; and in order to get a vote for it, Mr. John Adams accused the Baptists of sending an agent to Philadelphia, when the first Congress was setting there, to try to break the union of these colonies in the defence of all our privileges. And Mr. Paine accused the Baptists of reading a long memorial there, in which were some things against our government, which he believed never existed. Many in the convention were greatly inflamed thereby, and a vote was obtained to adopt said article. And did not these men, "fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness?" Isaiah lviii. 4.

As the Baptist agent was soon informed of these things, he wrote a narrative of the affair, naming his accusers and challenging them to a fair hearing upon it, before any proper judges, and published it in the *Chronicle* at Boston, December 2, 1779; and he has never heard of any answer since. Though when the first General Court upon the Constitution, met at Boston, October 25, 1780, a chief minister of the town said in a sermon before them, "I know there is diversity of sentiments respecting the extent of civil power in religious matters. Instead of entering into the dispute, may I be allowed from the warmth of my heart to recommend, where conscience is pleaded on both sides, mutual candor and love."*

But do any men plead conscience for violating their own promises? Or are any conscientious in denying all the country the liberty which they have long enjoyed in Boston? Yea, what do they do with their consciences in Boston, where the laws are made, since they are not enforced there? And if men call interest conscience, where is their religion? A just answer to these questions may be very serviceable. The views of another minister, who had a hand in forming our Constitution, discovered how far they were from right ideas about the kingdom of Christ; for he said to our General Court.

"The law of self-preservation will always justify opposing a cruel and tyrannical im-

position, except where opposition is attended with greater evils than submission; which is frequently the case where a few are oppressed by a large and powerful majority. This shews the reason why the primitive Christians did not oppose the cruel persecutions that were inflicted upon them by the heathen magistrates; they were few compared with the heathen world, and for them to have attempted to resist their enemies by force, would have been like a small parcel of sheep endeavoring to oppose a large number of ravening wolves and savage beasts of prey; it would without a miracle have brought upon them inevitable ruin and destruction. Hence the wise and prudent advice of our Saviour to them was, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye to another."*

But this is so opposite to truth, that our Lord said to his heathen judge, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from thence." John xviii. 36. And Paul says, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. Therefore all the use of carnal weapons, to support religious ministers, that ever has been in the world, has been a violation of the laws of Christ; for he is the only head of his church, and each church that supports her ministers in the name of any earthly head, is a harlot. And the power of spiritual weapons was such, that God again revived his work in 1779, and it prevailed so far for three years, as greatly to increase the old Baptist churches, and to form above thirty new ones in New-England, beside many more in the southern parts of America. And as pure religion is directly against all offensive wars, and fills the people of God with an earnest desire and pursuit of justice and equity, this revival had a great influence in procuring the peace of 1783.

But as it came on, many discovered more of their own blindness; for a minister of great note in Connecticut said to their legislature, "The pastors are orderly and regularly set apart to the ministry, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, or of those who have regularly derived office power, in a lineal succession, from the apostles and Jesus Christ." And though he knew that the first ministers in our country were ordained by their churches, and

* Cooper's Sermon, p. 37, 38.
VOL. 1.—U.

* West's Election Sermon, May 29, 1776, p. 19.

did not hold to such a succession, yet he said, "These were all ordained before by the bishops in England."* And they had theirs from Rome, the mother of harlots, the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth. Rev. xvii. 5, 18. Great Britain has lost all her power here, and our rulers have sworn to renounce all foreign power over America, and yet they compel the people to support ministers who claim a power of office from England. How shocking is this!

They also accuse us of renouncing the true God, because we have renounced a successive baptism which came from Rome. For so many had been baptized in Connecticut, that their general association set one of their number to write against the Baptists; and he said to them, "When you rebaptize those in adult years, which we have baptized in their infancy, you and they jointly renounce that Father, Son and Holy Ghost, whom we adore and worship, as the only living and true God, and on whom we depend for all our salvation."† Whereas we have only renounced an invention of men, which came from Rome, and is never named in the word of God. Yet we are constantly complained of, because we cannot receive it as his ordinance.

In the year 1784, the year in which Dr. Chauncey held up the doctrine of *Purgatory* in Boston, laws were made in Connecticut to force people to support such ministers, and the like was soon done in the Massachusetts. The chief rulers of New-Hampshire, for many years, were not of the Congregational denomination, and therefore the people did not suffer so much from them, as they did in the Massachusetts and Connecticut, and so I have passed them over. And there is such a mixture in Vermont, that I have no account of great sufferings there. But the behavior of various parties in England at this time, may deserve some notice.

Mr. John Wesley was with Mr. Whitefield in Oxford College, where they obtained the name of Methodists, because of their strict method of acting about religion; and they appeared to be united in one cause, until Wesley came out against particular election and final perseverance, about 1739; after which Mr. Wesley travelled and labored earnestly, in England, Scotland and Ireland, to promote a particular sect, until America became independent of Britain; and then he took the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, and reduced them to twenty-four, with new forms of

prayer and discipline, and printed them in London, in 1784, and called them, "The Sunday service in North America;" thus presuming to be a law-giver for this great country. Many of his followers met in Maryland, December 27, 1784, and drew up a pamphlet, called, "A form of discipline for the Methodist Episcopal church in America." They hold to three orders of office, one above another, called Bishops, Elders and Deacons, beside preachers who are not ordained. They plainly give up the opinion of a lineal succession from the apostles, because it cannot be proved. They hold to perfection in this life, and yet that saints may fall away and perish forever. They hold that Christ died equally for all mankind, and that no man is elected until he is converted. And if any one who was sprinkled in infancy, is not satisfied with it, and will join with them, they will go into the water and baptize him. And they have preached these sentiments through these United States, and into Canada and Nova-Scotia. Many have doubtless been reformed by their means, and some converted; but they readily receive awakened persons to communion, without a profession of regeneration. Hereby church and world are as really bound together, as they were in old worldly establishments; whereas the Son of God says to his children, "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." John xvi. 19. He chose, or *elected* them out of the world, and so they are elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. 1 Peter, i. 2. God the Father hath chosen us in Christ, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy, and without blame before him in love. Eph. i. 3, 4. He chose them that they *should be holy*, and not as they become holy in conversion. If our conversion and holiness were the cause of God's electing us, our salvation would be of works, and not of grace; and this would also exclude all men from hope, who see that they are wholly under sin, and have naturally no good thing in them.

There were many others in England, that held to a lineal succession of office, who wanted to have power in America; but as no bishop could be ordained in England, without swearing to the king's supremacy, Dr. Samuel Seabury went into Scotland, and obtained the name of bishop of Connecticut, from men who claimed a succession from bishops in England, who refused to swear allegiance to King William, after he came to the throne in 1689. But as this

Election sermon at Hartford, May 8, 1783, by Ezra Stiles, D. D., President of Yale College, p. 58, 61.

* An address to his Anabaptist brethren, by Joseph Huntington, D. D. 1783, p. 23.

was not liked in England, letters were written to America about it, and one minister went over from New-York, and another from Philadelphia, and a special act of Parliament then exempted them from said oath, and they were ordained bishops of the states where they belonged, to which they returned in 1786. So that America has men now, whom England allows to be regular bishops, and who can make others so; but as Britain cannot compel us to receive or support them, they have increased their denomination but very little any where, and they have but one minister in all the old colony of Plymouth; and their establishment is abolished in Virginia.

That colony was first planted in 1607, the first of all our colonies, and the church of England had all the government there until 1775, when Britain commenced a war against us, in which dissenters from them prevailed, and took away the support of those ministers by law. And though they tried hard to regain their power afterwards, yet in the beginning of 1786, a law was made, which said:

"Well aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislatures and rulers, civil or ecclesiastical, who being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, have established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards, which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than on our opinions in physics or geometry; that therefore the proscribing any citi-

zen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally, profess and conform to it; that though indeed those are criminal who do not withstand such temptations, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others, only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to itself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

"Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

"And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and therefore to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law, yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right."*

* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, pp. 242-244.

Though many have imagined that such liberty favors infidelity, yet Christianity is in full favor of it; and the power of the gospel, against all the powers of Rome, prevailed as far and farther than the Roman empire extended, for two hundred years. And Christianity has never appeared in the world, in its primitive purity and glory, since infant baptism was brought in, and after it the sword of the magistrate to support religious teachers. Yea, the foregoing declaration of Dr. Chauncey plainly says as much; and the inconsistencies and contradictions, that he and others have been guilty of, serve to confirm the above observations.

The credit of the paper money, which supported our war for several years, gradually declined, until it entirely failed in 1781; so that if a kind Providence had not opened other ways for us, the independence of America could not have been established. And when that was granted, private and public debts, and the fierce methods that were taken to recover them, brought on an insurrection in the Massachusetts, where the war began. It was then found to be necessary for a new plan to be formed for the government of all these states; and this was done in 1787. A large convention met at Boston, in January, 1788, to consider of this new constitution, where men discovered what was in their hearts in various ways. I before observed that a constitution for the Massachusetts was formed in 1778 which was not accepted. But I would observe now, that when it was in suspense, a noted minister said to our rulers, "Let the restraints of religion once be broken down, as they infallibly would be by leaving the subject of public worship to the humors of the multitude, and we might well defy all human wisdom and power to support and preserve order and government in the state."* Yet this same man was in the Convention of 1788, wherein much was said against adopting a constitution of government, which had no religious tests in it; and he was then in favor of the constitution, and to promote the adoption of it, he said, "The great object of religion being God supreme, and the seat of religion in man being the heart or conscience, that is, the reason God has given us, employed on our moral actions, in their most important consequences, as related to the tribunal of God, hence I infer, that God alone is the God of the conscience, and consequently, attempts to erect human tribunals for the consciences of men, are impious encroachments upon the prerogatives of God."†

Can these two paragraphs, from one man,

possibly be reconciled together? Yea, or can any men support ministers by the sword of the magistrate, without acting contrary to a good conscience? The support of the ministers of Christ is as plainly a matter of conscience towards God, as any ordinance of his worship is. This I shall more clearly prove hereafter. In the mean time, the sentiments and example of the greatest men in America, deserve our serious notice.

After General Washington was established as President of these United States, a general committee of the Baptist churches in Virginia presented an address to him, in August, 1789, wherein they expressed an high regard for him; but a fear that our religious rights were not well secured in our new constitution of government. In answer to which, he assured them of his readiness to use his influence to make them more secure, and then said, "While I recollect with satisfaction, that the religious society of which you are members, have been throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends of civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious revolution, I cannot hesitate to believe, that they will be the faithful supporters of a free, yet efficient general government."* And an amendment to the constitution was made the next month, which says:

"Congress shall make no law, establishing articles of faith, or a mode of worship, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition to the government for a redress of grievances."

This was dated September 23, 1789; and it has been adopted by so many of the States, that it is part of the constitution of our general government, and yet the Massachusetts and Connecticut act contrary to it to this day. And so all the evils that worldly establishments have ever produced, ought to be considered as a warning to them; for our Lord assured the Jews, that all the blood which had been shed by former persecutors, whom they imitated, should be required of them. Matt. xxiii. 29—35. And the blood that was shed at Boston, an hundred and forty years ago, brought the greatest reproach upon New-England, of any thing that was ever done in it. A mistaken idea of good, in maintaining the government of the church over the world, was the cause of that evil; but the worst of men in our land have equal votes with the best, in our present government. A view of this caused many fathers in Boston to procure an act to abolish the use of force there for the support of religious ministers; and all

* Payson's Election Sermon, May 27, 1773, p. 20.

† Debates in Convention, p. 143.

* Leland's Virginia Chronicle, pp. 47, 48.

that is done of that nature in the country, is contrary to that example, as well as to our national government.

A work of the Spirit of God at this time discovered the glory of a free gospel; for many new plantations on our eastern coasts had scarce any ministers at all to preach to them, as a view to worldly gain could not draw them there; but a man who was born in 1734, and settled near Kennebec river, was converted in October, 1781, and then said, "Now I began to see the base views I formerly had of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the plan of salvation; for when I had a discovery of actual sins, and of the danger I was exposed to thereby, I would repent and reform, and think what a glorious Saviour Christ was, and that some time or other he would save me from hell, and take me to glory, with a desire to be happy, but no desire to be holy. But, glory to God! he now gave me another view of salvation. Now I saw his law to be holy, and loved it, though I and all my conduct was condemned by it. Now I saw that God's justice did not strike against me as his creature, but as a sinner; and that Christ died not only to save from punishment, but from sin itself. I saw that Christ's office was not only to make men happy, but also to make them holy; and the plan now looked beautiful to me, and I had no desire to have the least tittle of it altered, but all my cry was to be conformed to this glorious plan."

It appeared to him to be his duty to leave the care of his farm to his wife and children, and to go from house to house, for many miles round, to converse with all he could meet with, about the concerns of their souls and eternal salvation. And though many were stupid at first, yet in the beginning of 1782, powerful effects appeared, so that they set up religious meetings, and one after another came out into spiritual liberty, and he and others were led into the Baptist principles, even before they had seen a Baptist minister. But hearing of these things at a distance, some preachers went among them, and the work was promoted thereby, and it went on through the year 1783. In May, 1784, a Baptist church was formed in Bowdoinham, and another in Thomaston, and pastors were settled in each of them. A church was also formed in Harpswell, January 20, 1785, and a pastor was ordained there the fall after. These three churches began an association in 1787, which increased to six churches in 1790, and three hundred and seventeen members.

These new churches had many secret and open enemies to encounter in a wilderness; yet God was pleased to revive his work again in 1791. so that five churches

were formed in that year, and four in 1792. And by August, 1802, they had increased to forty-one churches, and twenty-five ordained ministers, in the counties of Cumberland, Lincoln and Kennebec, and one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four members, beside many preachers who were not ordained. So many in eighteen years. In the mean time there was such a revival granted in and near Swansea, in 1789, and on our western borders in that and the year before, that above five hundred persons were baptized in those places. To open still more clearly the nature of what these people call religion, I shall give a distinct account of one new church on our western borders.

In the adjoining borders of Bethlehem, Sandisfield and Tyringham, in the county of Berkshire, a number of people, who lived remote from parish meetings, set up a meeting among themselves, in 1784, to pray, sing, and to read sermons; and they concluded not to admit any man who was not a Pædobaptist to carry on among them. And they went on in that way, until a man who was a Baptist came to their meeting in the fall of 1787; and as he spake in public at times they allowed him to do so once among them. This he did to their satisfaction, so that they desired him to proceed in that way, and such a blessing was granted on his labors, that a Baptist minister was sent for in March, 1788, when nineteen persons were baptized and formed into a church, called the Second Baptist church in Sandisfield. And they increased to forty members, when Mr. Benjamin Baldwin was ordained their pastor, June 9, 1790. They afterwards met with cruel oppression from the Congregational party, from which they in vain sought for relief in courts; though their oppressors at length gave up such proceedings. Yet declension and coldness came on among the Baptists, until the work of God was again revived among them in June, 1798, and prevailed through the winter after. And they say, "conferences and lectures were attended in Sandisfield, Bethlehem and Tyringham, and in the two last places almost every night in the week. Neither storms of snow, nor piercing cold could obstruct their attending divine worship. The most delicate characters did not observe the severity of the weather, in following Jesus down the banks of Jordan into the liquid grave. This work appeared to go on with great solemnity, and scarce an instance appeared of any overheard zeal, or flight of passion. Both sinners under conviction, and those who were newly brought into the liberty of the gospel, conversed in their meetings with the greatest freedom; they spake one at a time, in the most solemn and impressive manner.

Their enemies were bound, and there was not a dog to move his tongue. It appeared also in the first church, and in neighboring towns. In one year there were added to this church about sixty, and about as many to the first church, and some to other churches. In the following years, about twenty were added to our church each year. Our present number is one hundred and seventy-five, November 12, 1801."

CHAPTER XIII.

Manning's character and death. Others raised to supply his place. The increase of the Baptists makes others expose themselves. Cruelly shown to the Baptists. Their first church in Connecticut better treated. They increase there. Religion greatly revived through the country. Even to Virginia, Georgia and Kentucky. A book from England reprinted against them. Remarks upon it.

DR. MANNING was a faithful preacher of the gospel, and President of our College, for twenty five years, until he was called out of our world, July 29, 1791, in his fifty-third year. He was a good instructor in human learning, but at every commencement he gave a solemn charge to his scholars, never to presume to enter into the work of the ministry, until they were taught of God, and had reason to conclude that they had experienced a saving change of heart. And a tutor in the college, who appeared to have met with such a change in October, 1789, was instrumental of a revival of religion, both in the college and in the town, and he was called into the ministry, and then was a president of the college eleven years. And then another tutor was hopefully converted, and called into the ministry, and has been president ever since. And I hope succeeding ages will follow these examples.

But as the Baptists increased much, in many parts of our land, a minister in the west part of the Massachusetts endeavored to make an improvement upon the plan which Dr. Stiles had published in Connecticut; and his book was so pleasing to many, that it passed six editions in about two years, the last of which was at Boston, in 1793. His text is Mat. vii. 15, 16; and he tried all his art to represent all teachers in our land to be wolves in sheep's clothing, who were not ordained by ministers who hold a succession from England, and who do not regard parish lines. And he says, "A good shepherd attends to his own proper charge; the wolf is a rapacious, prowling animal, not satisfied w'th taking out of

one flock, he roams from flock to flock, and can never have enough." And of an uninterrupted succession from the apostles, he says, "It is by no means necessary, that by historical deduction, we should prove an uninterrupted succession; we have a right to presume it, until evidence appears to the contrary."* But God says, "Who hath required this at your hands to tread my courts? Your hands are full of blood."† Isaiah i. 12, 15. And the bloody hands of teachers in Rome and England, could never convey just authority to any other ministers.

This was so evident to the fathers of this country, that they allowed none to be pastors of their churches but such as each church elected and ordained, as I before proved. And Mr. Cotton said, "The power of the ministerial calling is not derived from ordination, whether Episcopal, or Presbyterian, or Congregational. The power of the ministerial calling is derived chiefly from Christ, furnishing his servants with gifts fit for the calling; and nextly from the church (or congregation) who observing such whom the Lord hath gifted, do elect and call them forth to come and help them."‡

From hence came the name Congregational, the meaning of which many have departed from, though they still usurp the name. But it is well known in America, that it is the election of the people, that gives our civil officers their power, and not the oaths which they take from other officers. And ordination of ministers is no more than swearing them to be faithful in that office. Their being furnished with grace and gifts for it, is the most essential thing in the affair; for an inspired apostle says, "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth; that God in all things may be glorified through Christ Jesus. The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed; feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away. Likewise ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder; yea,

* Lathrops' Discourses, pp. 26, 56.

† Answer to Williams, Part second, p. 82.

all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." 1 Peter iv. 10, 11. v. 1—5.

Here we may plainly see, that the gifts and graces which God bestows on men for the ministry, gives them their internal call to go into that work; and the union of the church in calling and receiving them, and the acting as a united body, is the essence of the government which Christ has established in each of his churches. All men who claim a power of office above the churches, desire to be lords over God's heritage. And we must not forget, that teachers are to be known by their fruits, and not by ordination. Thorns and thistles wound the flesh, or tear away the property of others; which is done by imprisoning their persons, or taking away their goods unjustly. If we regard this rule, which Christ has given to know false teachers by, how plainly do they appear in our land? A great many instances of imprisonment, and spoiling of goods, to support ministers whom the people did not choose; have been given already, and more are before us.

The Baptist church in Barnstable was formed, June 20, 1771, and they were not free of sufferings, though they were not great, until God revived his work there in 1781, and it increased their church and society, and they ordained a pastor therein, in 1788, who had preached to them five years. Yet in that time, and in two years after, more than an hundred and fifty dollars were forced from them for ministers whom they did not hear. But the committee of the Warren association met at Boston, in January, 1791, and wrote to the officers of the parishes who oppressed them, in such a manner as caused them to refrain from proceeding in that way, though they did not restore the money which they had taken away unjustly. Much greater evils were soon after done in another place; for a Baptist church was formed and organized in the south part of Harwich in 1757, and they built them a meeting-house, and carried on their worship for about forty years, when there was no Congregational minister in that parish. But when the Baptists were without a pastor, in the fall of 1792, a Congregational minister was ordained there, and the Baptists treated him in a friendly manner, while they still maintained their own worship, and soon got them another minister. Yet after they had done it, a few of the Congregational party, in the beginning of 1794, taxed all the Baptist church and society to their minister; and near the close of 1795, they imprisoned six men for it, and forced away much property from others. This was so glaringly unjust, and even contrary to the law of the government,

that the Baptists sued for recompense, in 1796, and obtained judgment in their favor, in their county court. But their oppressors appealed to their superior court, and obtained judgment against the Baptists, who in the whole lost above five hundred dollars. False witnesses had an evident hand in this. And as the Congregational party found that their courts favored them, they thought they might do as they pleased.

An aged and pious Baptist deacon, who never was of the Congregational party, wrote to Boston, November 12, 1799, and said, "On the 26th of last July, the collector of Harwich came and seized about four or five bushels of my rye, and carried it off, and sold it for one dollar, and made above two dollars charge on it; and on the 13th of August, the same collector, Edward Hall, came and seized about three tons of my hay, and carried it off, and sold it for forty-nine shillings, and returned me five shillings and six-pence. For all this I was taxed to their minister but seven shillings and a penny. I have given you as exact account as possible. These from yours in gospel bonds,

"ABNER CHASE."

The rye was taken out of the field before it was threshed, so that the exact quantity was not known. Now the only reason that is given in our constitution of government, for empowering rulers to support teachers by force, is because "the happiness of a people, and the good order of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality." But how opposite hereto is the above conduct! Our Lord says, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets," Mat. vii. 12. And is there one man among us, who would be willing to be compelled to support any teacher that he never chose? Yet this is the natural consequence of allowing any men to support teachers by the sword of the magistrate. And this practice has caused the effusion of blood, among all nations, more than any other means in the world. And the combination of rulers and teachers herein, I believe, is the beast and false prophet, which will finally be cast into the burning lake. Rev. xix. 20. When shall this be done, the glory of the latter day will come on, as it is described in the next chapter; though this great event is freely left with Him to whom it belongs. But as God never allowed Israel to use any force for the support of his priests, how can any be willing to use compulsion for the support of religious ministers? No man can be satisfied that others have a right to take away his property for nothing, yea, and worse than nothing.

Any Congregational minister may avoid oppressing the people if he will. This appeared plain in the case of the first Baptist church in Connecticut. It was formed about 1705, in the town of Groton, under the ministry of Mr. Volentine Wightman. They suffered some at first, but when Mr. John Owen became the minister of the town, he was not for forcing any money from the Baptists; and when the great revival of religion came on, he and Wightman were agreed in it, until the latter died, in 1747. His son Timothy Wightman, was ordained in his place, May 20, 1756, and he was a faithful and successful minister, until he died joyfully, November 14, 1796, aged near seventy-eight, when he left two hundred and fifteen members in his church. After which his son, John Gano Wightman, succeeded him in that office. A daughter of their first pastor married a Mr. Rathbun, two of whose sons, and two of his grandsons, are ordained Baptist ministers, and so have been some others of the Wightman family.

Their first minister assisted in forming a Baptist church in Stonnington, in 1743, and a second was formed there in 1765. But a number there and more in Groton were then for continuing the communion of the two denominations together, and many churches were formed upon that plan; and they began a yearly meeting in 1785, called, The Groton Conference. But they have given up mixed communion in later years, and are come into connexion with the rest of our associations.

Much declension and coldness about religion came on in 1797, which was lamented by the faithful of different denominations; but a great work came on in the spring of 1798, in many parts of America. It began at Mansfield in Connecticut, in a remarkable manner. A letter from Windham in October mentions it, and says, "The Spirit of the Lord seemed to sweep all before it, like an overflowing flood, though with very little noise or crying out. It was wonderful to see the surprising alteration in that place in so short a time. I conclude there are not less than an hundred souls converted in that town since the work began. It soon after began in Hampton, but did not spread with that degree of rapidity as it did in Mansfield. The same happy work has lately taken place in Ashford." Soon after this, Hartford, their capital city, experienced the like work among the Congregational and Baptist societies. A Presbyterian minister, who went from the Massachusetts to a town above them, said on February 6, 1799, "I stopped at Hartford, and preached five sermons. The spirit of hearing at Hartford is greater than any representations which have been made.

Young people of both sexes flock by hundreds, and the prospect is flattering in the extreme. Conference meetings are held every night in different private houses. In Mr. Strong's society, sixty are thought to be under conviction, and twenty have been hopefully brought into gospel liberty. In Mr. Nelson's thirty,* and some in Mr. Flint's. This sacred flame has spread into many neighboring towns, and the pious are flocking into Hartford to be eye-witnesses of this glorious work. I have felt myself so much engaged in preaching, visiting and conversing with old and young, that my attention has been literally taken off from wife, children, flock, and bodily infirmities." It was said that this work spread, more or less, into an hundred towns in Connecticut.

In April, 1798, Mr. Blood, pastor of a Baptist church at Shaftsbury in Vermont, had his soul greatly affected with the low state of religion among them, with earnest cries that God would pour out his spirit upon the souls of men, and save them from sin and ruin. In July following, a person who had been converted before, came forward in baptism; and her declaration and example awakened many others, and four were baptized in August, and seventeen in September. And the work went on in such a manner, that on February 21, 1799, he said, "The whole number added to this church, since last May, is one hundred and seventy-five; twenty-five by letter and other ways, and one hundred and fifty by baptism. Our whole number is three hundred and forty-six. Many of this number are removed into different parts of the country; there are, however, nearly three hundred that live in the vicinity, the remotest of them not more than six miles from our meeting-house. There are also about seventy added to the west church in this town since the work began; and thirteen to the east church. In years past there has not been the most cordial fellowship between the three churches in this town; but the Lord has now effected a happy union between us. On the last Lord's-day in January, we all met at one communion table. That happy day my soul had desired for years. Nothing but experience could have made me believe it possible, that I could have felt so much solid delight, anticipated so much trouble, and rejoiced with so much trembling, at one and the same time. That day I trust will never be forgotten by me. In about two months after the work began, the whole town seemed to be affected. Conference meetings were attended two or three times in a week in almost every neighborhood; and it was surprising to me, that scarcely a single instance appeared of any

* Nelson's church are Baptists.

overheated zeal, or flight of passion. Both sinners under conviction, and those newly brought into the liberty of the gospel, conversed in their meetings with the greatest freedom; they spake one at a time a few words, in the most solemn manner I ever heard people in my life. And in general they spake so low, that their assemblies must be perfectly still, or they could not hear them; yet a remarkable power attended their conversation. Sinners would tremble as though they felt themselves in the immediate presence of the great Jehovah. Some of all ranks and characters among us have been taken; from the most respectable members of society, to the vilest in the place. Some of our most noted Deists have bowed the knee to King Jesus; and a number of Universalists have forsaken their delusions, and embraced the truth." And when the Shaftsbury association met in June, 1799, they had accounts that two hundred and fifty-nine had been added in the year, to the three churches in Shaftsbury, and not one member had died in that time. Also that the addition to their whole association that year was seven hundred and thirty-two.

This work was also great on our eastern coasts. Mr. Peter Powers, a Congregational minister on Deer-Island in Penobscot bay, wrote from thence, March 20, 1799, and said, "In the beginning of June last, I was called to Mount-Desert to administer sacraments to a church who have not a stated pastor, and tarried with them about nine days; when, in preaching my second sermon, the glory of the Lord came down in a wonderful manner. One convicted, and hopefully converted under the sermon, was added to the church about two days after, and three others who had before obtained a hope. Three months after this I went again to administer the Lord's supper, at which time I admitted twenty-eight who had hopefully been brought home in the interval. The work of conviction was then going on powerfully in the town, and spreading into those adjoining on the same island. Our association had licensed dear Mr. Ebenezer Eaton to preach, who improved his talent, laboring night and day among them, whom the Lord remarkably owned. How many have been brought out since I was there, I am not informed; but according to the best accounts, there are many. The Lord multiply the number, and add to the church of such as shall be saved.

"I now come a little nearer home. In the beginning of winter, this glorious work began in Sedgwick, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Daniel Merrill. Perhaps there hath not been a work so powerful, and so much like the work fifty-eight years ago.

In a time of such extraordinaries, it could not reasonably be expected but some things would be a little wild and incoherent, considering the various tempers, infirmities and dispositions of mankind: but I believe my young dear brother Merrill, together with experienced Christians, were very careful to distinguish the precious from the vile; to correct errors, to set them in the way of his steps, so that there appears to be no prevalence of enthusiasm among them, according to the best information. How great the number is of those who have been brought to hope, I am not able to give any tolerable account. Some say there are about an hundred, others about double that number; I believe they are all very uncertain. Blessed be God, the work is yet going on there, though not with equal rapidity.

"And now, dear Sir, let your imagination paint to your view the striking scene of an hundred souls, men, women, and children, at the same time under the work of the law. The tears, sobs, groans and cries issuing from scores at a time! All the terrors of the law crowding and pressing in upon them; their sins, in infinite number and aggravations, staring them in the face; all their old vain hopes gone, and cut off, and every refuge failing! Hear them freely confessing their old abominations, their former enmity to the great doctrines of original sin, election, the sovereignty of divine free grace, the power of God displayed in effectual vocation; above all, the justice of God in their damnation! How often are souls brought out into peace and comfort of the love of God, and the sweet consolations of the Holy Spirit! The dead hear the voice of the Son of God, and live. Children are brought to cry, "Hosanna to the Son of David." Indeed this glorious work has been wonderful among children; and God has made instruments of them to perfect praise in carrying on his work.

"This blessed work of God has begun in Blue-Hill; but as yet has not gained the ascendancy. I shall therefore come to my own dear people of Deer-Isle. And here, perhaps, the work is as remarkable as at Sedgwick, but not so rapid. Not more than eight months ago it appeared to me that religion was near expiring among us, except in a very handful of professors. Deism had taken an unaccountable stride, and spread itself over a great number of the inhabitants. And now, no Bible, no Christ; but the Christian religion, and Christians, were the song of the drunkard; and every drunkard, and every vice, was deemed harmless, and offensive to God. I had no reason to think but by the next annual meeting of the town, they would vote the

gospel out from them. When the aforementioned work at Penobscot and Mount-Desert was going on, it seemed to have no influence on our people. This, you may be sure, was very grievous to me. However, I think I was enabled to bear witness to the truth with great freedom. In October, I perceived a more close attention to the word, but nothing special as yet. After I was confined to my house, the work began to appear; and though I could not go abroad to preach at the meeting-house, there was seldom a day but more or less visited me under their trouble, and I preached in my own house when I was not able to stand on my feet. At length we had the assistance of Mr. E. Eaton, whom God remarkably owns. I believe there are about forty, men, women, and children, who have obtained a hope; and great numbers are under pressing conviction. The work is now on the increase. May the Lord continue and still increase it, till they are all brought in. The mouth of Deism is at present stopped, and against the children of Israel not so much as a dog is suffered to move his tongue."

A Baptist minister of Lyme in Connecticut, on June 30, 1799, wrote to Boston, and said, "Though the severity of last winter was tedious, yet I have not heard any one complain, or shrink at the cross, on account of the coldness of the weather. This work has been gloriously carried on in the spirit of love. In the first part of it, there was great crying out, but it gradually subsided into free deliberate conversation on the dreadful situation they were in by nature and their full determination to continue seeking till they should find him of whom Moses and the prophets did write. I never saw less opposition to any work of God I ever was acquainted with. More than a hundred we hope have received the grace of God, and more than eighty have joined with our church. The present number of members, is three hundred and thirty-six."

Extracts from these and other letters were printed in a pamphlet at Boston, and afterwards at Philadelphia. At the same time they had a great work among the Baptists near Kennebec river. Elder James Potter, the instrument of beginning the revival there, had ninety-seven members added to his church in Bowdoin, in 1798 and '99; and five hundred and seventy-five were then added to the whole of their association. And Boston, Bridgewater, Middleborough, and many other places had a share of these blessings; and so had some places to the southward.

I received a letter from Elder Benjamin Watkins of Virginia, dated June 30, 1801, in which he says, "I have lived to see several revivals in our parts, but the last has

been the greatest, which originated about two years ago, in several churches belonging to the middle district association. Before the revival began, wickedness had gotten to a great height. Deism and irreligion abounded on every hand. Professors had become very carnal, many had apostatized, so that there were but a few names in Sardis who had not defiled their garments; so that I had some awful fears about our condition, and was dreading that some great judgment would befall our wretched land. But contrary to my fears, the Lord visited us in a way of mercy, by stirring up his church often to assemble together, and to carry on worship by prayer and fasting, called prayer meetings. And he came amongst us, and the sacred flame has spread in various parts of Virginia; so that we may truly say, the lines are fallen unto us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage.

"Our church, called Spring Creek, has an addition by baptism, since the revival began, of upwards of two hundred members; brother Clay's about the same number, or more; brother Smith's about an hundred; Tomahawk church about fifty; Skin-quarter near an hundred; Elder Webber's church two hundred or more; and several other churches have had some smart additions. The work has chiefly been among the young people, there has not been nigh so much noise amongst us, as there was in 1785 and '86. Many would come and give a declaration of the work of God upon their souls, that made no noise at all; and, what was remarkable, a number of children, from ten to fifteen years of age, would come and tell of the goodness of God, while the old people, who had lived to see several revivals, are still left out, exposed to the wrath and displeasure of God."

All the churches mentioned above, are in the three counties of Powhatan, Chesterfield and Goochland, in the middle part of Virginia, a little above the city of Richmond, their capital. I had much delight in preaching in all of them, when I was there in the Spring of 1789, when they had about two hundred Baptist churches in the whole of Virginia. And the work has been great since in many places farther southward. A minister in the upper part of Georgia wrote to his friend in Savannah, Nov. 17, 1801, and said, several churches here, within three or four months past, have received and baptized from twenty to fifty persons; and one in Elbert county has had an addition by baptism of about an hundred and forty. And according to the best accounts from Kentucky, there have been added to the Baptist churches, since last March, near six thousand, while multitudes

were joining to the Methodists and Presbyterians."

This was put into our public papers, and sent into all the country. Those who held to infant baptism were very uneasy under such things, which they discovered in a remarkable manner; for early in 1802, a book from England was reprinted at Exeter, in New-Hampshire, written by a minister who had been a Baptist, who held up to the world, that the greatest writers in England against infant baptism were guilty of sophistry and deceit in their arguments, as he had clearly found by experience. And it was said that this testimony had been published seven years in England, and no answer had been made to it. This was so wonderful, that it passed four or five editions in about a year, in the different states of New-England. But when this glorying was at the highest, an answer came out of the press at Boston, in December, 1802, which was first published in London the same year that the first book came out there. The facts here follow.

Mr. Peter Edwards was first a zealous advocate for infant baptism in London, and then turned suddenly from it; became a Baptist preacher, and was ordained in a Baptist church near Portsmouth in England; but in about ten years he changed again, and published this book, to give the reasons for his renouncing the principles of the Baptists, in the beginning of 1795; and Dr. Joseph Jenkins of London answered him in the same year. Edwards holds up, with much confidence, that faith and repentance were required of all adult persons, in order for circumcision as well as baptism; and therefore that all which is said in the gospel about the baptizing of believers, is no argument against believers having their infants baptized. He accuseth the Baptists in general of denying the use of inferences and consequences, in arguments for infant baptism, but of using them against that practice, which he calls sophistry and deceit. Having disarmed the Baptists, as he imagined, he lays down his foundation in these words: "1. God has instituted in his church the membership of infants, and admitted them to it by a religious rite. 2. The church membership of infants was never set aside by God or man; but continues in force, under the sanction of God, to the present day." P. 90.

But as the Baptists never denied the true use of inferences and consequences in any argument, the charge of deceit and sophistry must be turned back upon him who advanced it; and whether his foundation can stand, may be judged of by the following things.

1. Circumcision was not known in the world, for above two thousand years after

it was created; and who will say that God had no church in the world for all that time? Yea, when circumcision was instituted, Lot, and other righteous men had no concern in it; neither had any females among the posterity of Abraham, though women are baptized under the gospel as well as men. 2. God said to Israel, "The life of the flesh is in the *blood*, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls." Levit. xvii. 11. And no worship was ever accepted of God from the beginning without *blood* in sacrifices. Abraham shed his own *blood* in circumcision, as the father of all believers in all nations. Rom. iv. 18. And thus he was a type of Christ who shed his blood to atone for the sins of all true believers, even to the end of the world. 3. Abraham had no right to circumcise any male but such as were born in his house, or bought with his money; and he circumcised all the men of his house, the same day that he circumcised himself, of whom he had before three hundred and eighteen soldiers. Gen. xiv. 14. xvii. 13, 27. And how far is this from a warrant for infant baptism! 4. No females were to be circumcised, to shew that it was a man and not a woman who was to die for us. 5. The bloody sign of circumcision weakened men so much, that two men destroyed a whole city, three days after the men in it were circumcised. Gen. xxxiv. 25. But no infant that ever was sprinkled, could know that it was done, if they were not told of it by others. So far are they from answering a good conscience in baptism. 1 Peter iii. 21. None but believers can do it. 6. Abraham was not to circumcise any stranger, until he had bought him as a servant with his money, which was a type of our being bought with the blood of Christ; and after he had done it, he said, "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the commandments of God. Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men." 1 Cor. vii. 19, 23. Which is a plain repeal of the covenant of circumcision. It was a type of the death of Christ to come, and baptism is to be done by faith in him who is already come. This is a reason why men might be circumcised before they believed, and why baptism is only for professing believers. 7. Since he is come, he says, "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." Galatians iii. 26—29. Three things are here excluded

from baptism, which were essential in circumcision. 8. The children of Israel had no right to admit strangers by households, to circumcision and the passover, until the day in which they came out of Egypt. Exodus xii. 42—51. But when they were going into Babylon, it was said, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt (which my covenant they break, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord;) but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." Jer. xxxi. 31—34. This is the pure covenant of grace, since the death of Christ hath taken away the old covenant. Heb. viii. 7—13. Language cannot distinguish two covenants more clearly, than God hath here done it. And until old and new, first and second, can be made to mean but one covenant, men can never prove infant baptism by said covenant. 9. God promised that kings should come out of Abraham. Gen. xvii. 6. And this was fulfilled in David and his race, and in the King Messiah; and this shews that no man now can stand in such a relation to his children as Abraham did to his. Aaron was also a type of Christ, and his lawful posterity were the only priests in Israel until Christ came, when the priesthood was changed; and Christ is both our king and priest. Heb. vii. 12. And God says to those who are born again, among all nations, "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." 1 Peter i. 23. ii. 9. And such are the only priests, and holy nation, that are ever named in the church of Christ. By his death he abolished all those ancient types, and formed his church of all souls who are born again among all nations; and officers in his church are never called priests therein, in distinction from other children of God. Worldly churches have been built upon infant baptism, which is not named in the Holy Scriptures.

CHAPTER XIV.

A view of the Baptist churches in South-Carolina. In Pennsylvania and New-Jersey. In Virginia. Presbyterians there. A difference among the Baptists healed. The cause of equal liberty among them. A view of them in North-Carolina. In Georgia. Of Negro Baptists. Of the Baptists in the State of New-York. In Kentucky. Of Associations. Of the Number of Baptists in all America. Of late revivals. Of their likeness to the first fathers of our country. How infant baptism originated. A happy change in our government. Light from the case of Israel. Of the latter day glory.

TRUTH and love, and persecution for the same, caused the first planting of New-England; and it also caused the planting of Baptist churches in the southern parts of America. Some men from here, and some from England, Wales and Ireland, all had a hand in it. When elder William Scraven was cruelly persecuted in the province of Maine, in 1682, he went to Charleston in South-Carolina, and became pastor of a Baptist church there. How long it had been formed I know not. But when the Baptist church in Boston wanted a pastor, and sent for him, who had been one of them, he wrote to them, June 2, 1707, and said, "Our minister who came from England is dead, and I can by no means be spared. I must say it is a great loss, and to me a great disappointment; but the will of the Lord is done." And he wrote again, August 6, 1708, and said, "I have been brought very low by sickness, but I bless God, I was helped to preach, and administer the communion last Lord's-day; but am still weak. Our society are for the most part in health, and I hope, thriving in grace. We are about ninety in all." And his posterity have been honorable, and useful in those parts ever since. Mr. Isaac Chanler was a Baptist minister among them for many years, and a book of his upon the doctrines of the gospel was printed at Boston in 1744. Mr. Oliver Hart, from Pennsylvania, got to Charleston in 1749, just after Mr. Chanler died, and was pastor of that church thirty years. But as he was heartily engaged for liberty in America, he left Charleston before the British forces took it, in 1780, and settled as pastor of the Baptist church at Hopewell in New-Jersey the same year, where he was very useful, till he died in 1795. But the Baptist cause has prevailed much in that State to this day.

Thomas Dungen of Newport was one of the signers of the request to Mr. Clarke, to

go as their agent to England in 1651, the original of which I now have. And about 1684, two years after Pennsylvania began, Dungen went there, and preached the Baptist principles among the people with considerable success; and his posterity are numerous among them ever since. And about 1686, Elias Keach, son to elder Benjamin Keach of London, came over to Philadelphia, a wild young man, but was soon after converted, and labored earnestly to collect the Baptists together; and they formed a church at Pennebeck, eleven miles from Philadelphia, in 1788. Mr. Keach also was helpful in forming a Baptist church at Middletown, and another at Piscataway in 1689; and one at Cohansey in 1690, all three in New-Jersey. And these four, with that at Charleston, were all the Baptist churches that were formed south of New-England, before the year 1700. Many of those who constituted the church at Cohansey, came from Ireland; though one of them was Obadiah Holmes, Esq., a son of the sufferer at Boston in 1651; and others of his posterity have since been members of the church in Middletown. Piscataway, on Raritan river in the Jersey, sprang partly from people who came from Piscataqua river, which has Kittery on the north side of it, where the Baptist church was formed in 1682, who were scattered by persecution. Other members of those churches went from Rhode Island colony, as appears by the publications of Mr. Morgan Edwards in 1770, and 1792. He was born in Wales, from whence also came many ministers and members of those churches; and I took many of the above things from him.

And he informs us of many people who came over from Wales in 1701, and resided near their brethren at Pennebeck, until they removed in 1703, and planted a church in a place they called Welsh-tract, then under the government of Pennsylvania, but now under Delaware State. In 1770, they had increased to ten churches in Pennsylvania, and 668 members, besides a few who kept the seventh-day sabbath. He gives an account also of the Tunkers, the first of whom came from Germany in 1719, and had increased to fifteen societies, and a large number of communicants, who were not in fellowship with the English churches. They dip persons with their faces forward, three times over. They hold to general redemption, and are much like the old Quakers in their general conduct, though more strict than they are now. The Mennonists also came from Germany, and are of like behavior, but they are not truly Baptists now. Their fathers were so in Luther's day, until confinement in prison brought them to pour water on the head of the subjects, instead of immersion; and what was then

done out of necessity, is now done out of choice, as other corruptions are. When Edwards published his book in 1792, the first-day Baptists in the Jersey had twenty-four churches, and two thousand nine hundred and ninety-four members; and those who kept the seventh day, three churches and two hundred and forty-nine members. And in 1802, the Philadelphia Association had two thousand six hundred and ninety-five members.

North-Carolina had but little appearance of religion in any part of it, until late years. Some Baptist ministers from New-Jersey and Pennsylvania travelled and labored there with some success, and some who went from New-England settled there. Shubael Stearns was born in Boston, January 28, 1706; but he went to Connecticut, where he was baptized, and was ordained at Tolland, March 20, 1751, and continued there three years. But then his soul was fired with zeal to carry light into those dark parts; and in August, 1754, he and others set off for that purpose, and some of them got into North-Carolina before him; and he wrote to Connecticut from the south part of Virginia, that they informed him from Carolina, "That the work of God was great, in preaching to an ignorant people, who had little or no preaching for an hundred miles, and no established meeting. But now the people were so eager to hear, that they would come forty miles each way, when they could have opportunity to hear a sermon." This was dated June 13, 1755; and Stearns went and settled upon Sandy Creek, which runs into Cape Fear river, where he formed a church, November 22, 1755, which increased to six hundred and six members in a few years, and several other churches were soon formed round him.

Daniel Marshall was born at Windsor in Connecticut, and after he was called to preach, he went and labored some time among the Indians, in the upper part of New-Jersey, and then followed Stearns into North-Carolina, where he was very successful. And in and after 1758, many were converted and baptized near the south borders of Virginia, and they began an association in 1760, of five churches in Carolina, and one in Virginia, and they increased fast. On October 16, 1765, Stearns wrote to Connecticut, and said, "The Lord carries on his work gloriously, in sundry places in this province, and in Virginia, and in South-Carolina. There has been no addition of churches, since I wrote last year, but many members have been added in many places. Not long since, I attended a meeting on Hoy river, about thirty miles from hence. About seven hundred souls

attended the meeting, which held six days. We received twenty-four persons by a satisfactory declaration of grace, and eighteen of them were baptized. The power of God was wonderful."

But we must now come to Virginia, of which it may be said, 'The first is last, and the last first.' It was planted in 1607, the first of all our English colonies; and though it was done entirely from worldly motives, yet the worship of the church of England was established by law, and no other worship was allowed of there for an hundred years. In 1643, three Congregational ministers went there, at the request of a number of the inhabitants, but they were forced to depart the colony, after preaching a few sermons. And directly upon it, the savages were let loose upon the English, and destroyed about five hundred of them. This one of them declared in England afterwards, where he again suffered from Episcopalians.* In 1644, Daniel Gookin left Virginia and became a very useful man in the Massachusetts for many years.†

The first Baptist church in Virginia was formed in Prince George county, in 1714, by Robert Norden, who then came from England, and was their pastor till he died, in 1725. In 1727, Mr. Richard Jones was ordained their pastor; and in 1742, they had about forty members, as one of them then wrote to Newport, which letter I have. About the same time, a man went from thence and formed a church on the sea coasts of North-Carolina. But these all held to general redemption, and their churches are since dissolved.

In the mean time, religion was revived in Virginia by other means; for Samuel Morris, of Hanover county, was converted in 1740, by reading some old books; and upon his reading them to his neighbors, they set up a meeting at his house, instead of going to church. And in 1743, he obtained a book of sermons, taken down in short hand, as Mr. Whitefield delivered them in Glasgow, and printed there. The reading of these had such an effect upon the people, that more came to hear them than his house could hold, and they built a meeting-house for the purpose. He was also called to read them in several other places, and many were affected thereby. But they were called to account for not going to church, and they pleaded the act of toleration for dissenters, though they knew not what to call themselves. At length they called themselves Lutherans, because they had received much benefit from the writings of that reformer. And hearing of

a wonderful preacher, near an hundred miles off, they sent for him, in July, 1743, and he preached to them four days, with exceeding great effect; and he advised them to pray and sing in their meetings, which they had not done before; so great is the influence of tradition. Mr. William Robinson was the man whose labors had then been so much blessed among them; and when he was going away, they asked him what he called himself; he said, "A Presbyterian." "Then we are Presbyterians too," said they, "for your religion is just like ours."

They then sent for other ministers of that denomination, from Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, and obtained help from them, from time to time, until Mr. Samuel Davies settled there in 1748. And in 1751, he published an account of this work, and of other Presbyterians in those parts. Mr. Davies became the President of New-Jersey college afterwards, and died there; and his sermons are now much esteemed in Europe, as well as America. Those ministers met at Philadelphia in 1789, and formed a society which they called, "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America." In 1793, it was said that they had about two hundred churches in all the states south of New-England.* But they have very few of them in the old part of Virginia, where the Baptists have increased greatly.

Mr. Samuel Harris was born in Hanover county, January 12, 1724, and he was so much esteemed, that he became a colonel of their militia, a member of their legislature, and a judge of their courts, before he was converted in 1758; when he not only became a Baptist preacher, but also much of a father among their churches for above thirty years. And some ministers from Pennsylvania went and formed some Baptist churches in the north part of Virginia, about 1760, who were not fully agreed with those southern Baptists, for the following reasons: The Philadelphia Association had adopted the confession of faith which was composed by the Baptists in London in 1689, with the addition of an article which required the laying on of hands upon every member of the church, which the others did not hold. Some eminent ministers in England had also carried the doctrine of particular election so far as to deny that any minister had a right to address the calls of the gospel to all sinners without distinction, and the Philadelphians had adopted this opinion; and they called themselves Regular Baptists, while those who went from Connecticut were called Separates. And there were unhappy con-

* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 607.

† Historical Society, vol. i. p. 228.

* Rippon's Register, vol. ii. p. 131.

tentions between them for many years; for the New-England Baptists in general do not hold to the laying on of hands upon every member, nor to the above restriction of the calls of the gospel.

We generally believe the doctrine of particular election, and the final perseverance of every true believer, while we proclaim a free salvation to all the children of men, and even to the chief of sinners; and we hold that God has appointed the means as well as the end, and the means in order to the end of every event. When the Jews were obstinate in receiving Jesus as the true Messiah, he said, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. Come unto me, all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls: for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Matt. xi. 25—30. The only reason why any one is chosen, called and saved, rather than another, is because so it seemed good in the sight of God. But many men imagine that the choice and doings of men are the cause of it, and so would take the glory of it to themselves, instead of giving it to God alone. God never fails of doing justice to all, while he says, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy." And his glory essentially requires this. Exod. xxxiii. 18, 19. Therefore he says, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" Matt. xx. 15. The meanest person upon earth has a right to give his own property to whom he will; and how mad are those who deny this right to the eternal God! Many ruin their souls by fighting against God, but it is impossible for him to be deceived or disappointed in any of his designs of mercy, as well as of justice. And free salvation by the Son of God is held forth to all men in the gospel, as openly as the brazen serpent was to the camp of Israel; and the condemnation of all who do not receive him, is because they *hate the light*. John iii. 14—20. Therefore the most moving methods ought to be taken with sinners in general, to enlighten and turn them from sin to God. Light concerning these things gained gradually among the Baptists in Virginia, so as to unite them as one people in 1787, and they have increased much since.

Mr. John Leland, from whom I had many of these things, was born at Grafton in the Massachusetts, May 14, 1754; and after he was baptized and called to preach, he set off with his young wife, in the fall of 1776, and went into Virginia, and settled in the county of Orange. He travelled and labored much in those parts, and had a considerable hand in procuring the law for equal liberty, before inserted. Though the behavior of Episcopal ministers themselves did more towards it; for many of them would play cards, swear profanely, and get drunk, while they imprisoned about thirty Baptist ministers for preaching the gospel to precious souls, without licence from them. This moved their rulers to abolish such tyranny. Mr. Leland baptized about an hundred persons in and near York-town, the year before the British army was captivated there; and in the whole he baptized above six hundred in those parts. He published a Virginia Chronicle, before referred to, and some other things and in 1791, he returned to New-England, and settled in Cheshire in the Massachusetts.

But Mr. Stearns spent his life in those parts, and died in peace, November 20, 1771. And the Baptists have been increasing in North-Carolina ever since, and have been so highly esteemed by their fellow-citizens, that many members of their churches have been representatives and senators in their legislature, judges in their courts, and in other offices of their government.

Mr. Daniel Marshall, after much service there, went on to Georgia, where he formed a church in 1772, and was the pastor of it until he died, it being the first Baptist church in that state; and his son Abraham Marshall has been pastor of it ever since. The Baptists have been the most numerous of any religious denomination in Georgia, for many years past. They have lately increased much in Savannah, their capital. The late honorable Joseph Clay, who had been one of the federal judges of the district court, was ordained a Baptist minister there, in January, 1804. There are many associations in those parts, in one of which were fifty-six churches, and three thousand seven hundred and ninety-six members, in 1792; and they have greatly increased since. One minister baptized about an hundred persons there, in the year 1803; and when the first association of South-Carolina met that fall, they received the report of Mr. John Rooker, one of their ministers, who had been sent to preach among the Catawba Indians, that his preaching among them was received with much attention, and they were very thankful for his being sent among them; and they not only desired him to come again, but also that a

school-master might be sent to teach the Indian youth in human learning, and also in Christian principles. The association agreed to send him among them again, and also a school-master, according to their request, and to bear their expenses. Some of the English near them appeared to have a gracious work begun among them, and it was hoped that the Indians would share in the same blessing.

A great many negroes in those parts have been converted and baptized, and some of them have been called to preach the gospel. George Liele was so a little before our American war; and in the time of it he fell into British hands, and went down and baptized a number in Savannah, and then was carried to Jamaica, where he began to preach to the blacks in 1784; and he behaved so well as to be favored by the government there, and his success was so great that he had three hundred and fifty members in his church in 1791.* And we have heard of much increase among them since. There is one such minister and church in Virginia, beside a great number of blacks who have joined to the English churches there. And Andrew Bryan has a large negro church in Savannah in Georgia; and Mr. Abraham Marshall assisted in his ordination. The Charleston association, in 1803, received an account from the Bethel association, that more than fourteen hundred persons had joined to all their churches in a year. Such has been the work in those parts.

The first Baptist church in the state of New-York was formed at Oyster bay on Long-Island, Elder Robert Feke wrote from thence to Newport, November 29, 1741, and said, "God has begun a glorious work among us, and I hope he will carry it on to his own glory, and the salvation of many souls. There have been seventeen added to our little band in about three months." I suppose their church had not been formed long.

The first Baptist church in the city of New-York was formed in 1762, under the ministry of Mr. John Gano, who is since in Kentucky. There were a few Baptist churches before, northward of the city, near Connecticut line. And soon after the British army was captivated at Saratoga, in 1777, many such churches were formed in those parts, and they have been increasing ever since. And a large number of people have removed from New-England, and planted the lands near the heads of the Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Genesee rivers; and a Baptist church was formed in 1789 near the Otsego lake, which is the first church in the Otsego association, which

was formed in 1795, and it increased in three years to twenty-eight churches, and twelve hundred and ninety-two members. They have been increasing to this day, and have formed another association further westward. These associations have sent ministers to preach to the Six Nations of Indians, and also among the English in Upper Canada, where they have been well received, and an association is formed there. Several Baptist ministers in those parts were preachers before in Congregational churches. If we look again to the southward, we may still see greater wonders of grace, as well as of Divine Providence.

The lands upon the river Ohio were so much esteemed, both by the French and English nations, that they commenced a war about them in 1755, which ended in yielding those lands, as well as all Canada, to Great Britain. Our people began to plant Kentucky about 1777, and inhabitants have increased so much in that state, as now to have six representatives in congress, which is one more than New-Hampshire has. Many of the inhabitants went from Virginia, and the Baptists have increased to six associations, and to fourteen thousand and seventy-six communicants in their churches, as we had a printed account in 1802. And there are a large number of such churches on both sides of the Ohio, besides those in Kentucky; and they are scattered into each of these United States.

As associations have been often mentioned, I will now describe the nature of them. Associations had been very cruel and oppressive in Connecticut, as they were there established by law; and many Baptists could not believe, for a long time, that they could be so conducted as to be serviceable any way; and it has ever been difficult to keep a clear distinction in our minds, between the real nature of things, and the abuse of them which is very common. When difficulties arise in churches, few have the patience and wisdom which is necessary, for the carrying the laws of Christ into effect against offenders, without looking to any earthly power for help in such cases.

The Warren association was formed, September 8, 1767, upon the following principles. They refuse to hear and judge of any personal controversy in any of their churches, or to intermeddle with the affairs of any church which hath not freely joined with them. When any church desires to join with them, they send messengers and a letter to the association, shewing when their church was formed, the faith and order of it, and their number of members. If satisfaction is gained, they are received

* Rippon's Register, Vol. i. p. 334.

by a vote of the association, and the moderator gives the messengers the right hand of fellowship. Each church is to send messengers and a letter, or a letter at least, to the annual meeting of the association, to give an account of the state of their church; and how many have been added, dismissed, excluded, or that have died in the year. If this is neglected for a number of years, or if the church departs from her former faith and order, she is left out of the association. In 1771, they began to print the minutes of their annual proceedings, which any may have if they will. By these means, mutual acquaintance and communion hath been begotten and promoted; errors in doctrine or conduct have been exposed and guarded against; false teachers have been detected, and warnings published against them; destitute flocks have been occasionally supplied; the weak and oppressed have been relieved, and many have been animated and encouraged in preaching the gospel through the land, and in new plantations in the wilderness.

A collection is made at our annual meetings for the widows and children of poor ministers. A society has also been incorporated, to collect money to assist pious youths in obtaining learning, with a view to the ministry. And a Missionary Society is formed to collect money for the support of travelling ministers, and to instruct and direct them therein, according to their best discretion. And several of them have visited many destitute flocks, and some have gone into Upper Canada, with great acceptance.

The Warren association has extended over all the old colony of Plymouth, and over the Massachusetts as high as Connecticut river, and into the borders of three other states; and its benefits soon became visible to others. The Stonnington association began in 1772, and it extends over the east part of Connecticut, and the west part of Rhode Island state. The New-Hampshire association began in 1776, and it extends over the east part of that state, and over the county of York in the district of Maine. The Shaftsbury association began in 1781, and it is in the southwest part of Vermont, the west of the Massachusetts, and east of New-York state. The Woodstock association began in 1783, and is in the easterly part of Vermont, and westerly of New-Hampshire. The Groton Conference began in 1785, and it extends from Connecticut river near the sea, across the state of Rhode Island, into the county of Bristol in the Massachusetts. The Bowdoinham association began in 1787, and it extends over three counties in the district of Maine. The Vermont asso-

ciation began the same year, and it is in the northwest part of that state. The Meredith association began in 1789, and is in the northerly part of New-Hampshire, and the adjoining part of Vermont. The Danbury association began in 1790, and it extends from the south borders of the Massachusetts, across Connecticut to the sea, west of their great river. The Leyden association began in 1793, on the north borders of the Massachusetts, and it extends into the corners of New-Hampshire and Vermont, on both sides of Connecticut river. The Richmond conference began in 1795, and is in the northeast part of Vermont. The Sturbridge association began in 1801, and it is in the southerly part of the middle of Massachusetts, and northerly of Connecticut.

Thus we have thirteen associations in New-England, in which are three hundred and twelve churches, and twenty-three thousand six hundred and thirty-eight members, where there were but nine Baptist churches in 1700, and but five more in all America. We have also many other churches in New-England beside what are in these associations; and I conclude that in the whole of these United States, there are now about twelve hundred Baptist churches, and an hundred thousand members. And the main of them have been formed within forty years past. The work of God in late years has given much light to our old Baptist churches. The darkness that was in the first Baptist church in Boston, caused the forming of the second in 1742; but light gradually gained among them, until they settled a pastor there in 1765, who was clear in gospel doctrines; and religion was soon after revived there, and the two churches were united, and they have been increasing to this day. They have gained such credit in our government, that Dr. Stillman, pastor of their first church, was called to preach the election sermon at Boston in 1779, and Dr. Baldwin, pastor of the second, in 1802. In the Spring of 1803, religion was again revived in Boston, which still continues, and their two churches have increased to six hundred and forty members. This work is now powerful in Charlestown, Malden, Woburn, Reading, Danvers, Salem and Beverly; the first of which churches was formed in 1793, and the rest since, all within about twenty miles of Boston. Our churches in general hold to the doctrines of grace, Christian experience, and the importance of a holy life, much as the chief fathers of New-England did. They differ very little from the fathers of Plymouth colony, only about infant baptism. And though the fathers of the Massachusetts made laws to establish the government of the church over the world,

yet when that power was lost, Boston renounced the government of the world over the church, as we have proved. And this practice cannot now be vindicated by Scripture, reason, nor by the example of any of the fathers of New-England, for seventy years after it was planted. And it is also contrary to the general government of these United States.

Infant baptism was not named in the holy Scriptures, nor in any history, for two hundred years after the birth of Christ. And when it was first named, ministers called it *regeneration*. Because Christ says, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," they held that baptism washed away original sin, and that infants could not be saved if they were not baptized. And because Christ says, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," they held that no person could be saved without eating the Lord's supper; and they brought infants to it, as well as to baptism. For the truth of these facts, we appeal to the most noted writings of the third and fourth centuries. A noted minister of the third century said, "It is for that reason, because by the sacrament of baptism the pollution of our birth is taken away, that infants are baptized."*

This, and more of like nature, was quoted by an eminent advocate for infant baptism in our day, to defend the practice, though not the opinion of its being regeneration. But the church of Rome, and the church of England, have long held that ministers could regenerate persons by baptizing them. And they who renounced that practice have been called Anabaptists to this day. Natural affection for children, and for the sick and dying, has caused an amazing attachment to ministers who they thought could save persons from hell by baptizing them; and from thence came the notion of the necessity of an external succession of ministerial ordinations, even through the corruptions of antichrist.

But as fire and wind, as well as water, are of a cleansing influence, they are all made use of to explain the nature of regeneration, which is effected only by the power of the Holy Ghost. Mat. iii. 11. John iii. 5, 8. The work of sanctification in believers is carried on by the ordinances of baptism and the holy supper, but they are not spoken of in Scripture as the means of begetting faith in any person; for faith cometh by hearing the word of God. Rom. x. 17. But in all nations where ministers have been supported by force, only one party of teachers and rulers have shared in the gains

of it, to the constant injury of all the rest of the community. And this way has been upheld by perverse disputers, who have supposed that gain was godliness. 1 Tim. vi. 5. But if the vengeance of God came upon men who were partial in his law, what will he do to those who make partial laws of their own? Mal. ii. 9.

And since a door is now opened in our land for a clear deliverance from these evils, can any man be free of guilt if he tries to shut it? This consideration is enforced by late experience; for the man, who was the chief magistrate of these United States for four years, was very fond of such partiality. But a man was elected into that office in 1801, who is for equal liberty to all the nation. And if the holy Scriptures are well regarded, we shall be the happiest people upon earth; for they shew that every man, who is fit for a ruler, is like good trees and vines, which yield sweet fruits to all around them, without injuring any one; and that tyrants are like the bramble, which would set the whole community on fire, and burn up the best characters in it, if they stood in the way of their gratifying their own lusts of pride and covetousness. Judges ix. 7—15. Therefore our Lord says, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Mat. vii. 20. And this should ever guide all electors of officers, as well as all men in office.

A review of the dealings of God with his ancient people, may afford much help to us all. For the highest rulers in Israel had no right to make any laws at all, but were to govern the people by the laws of God, which he had given them by Moses and the prophets. The tribe of Levi, in which was the family of Aaron, were to have the whole government of their worship, and to offer sacrifices upon the altar of God. Those offerings, with the tenth part of the produce of the good land which he had given them, were freely to be brought in annually to the place which God chose, and the Priests and Levites were to have their living in that way, and they were to have the care of the poor. Each man in Israel was to bring in those tithes and offerings to the place which God chose, in such a manner as to be able to say before him, "I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless and the widow according to all thy commandments which thou hast commanded me; I have not transgressed thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them. I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I taken ought thereof, for any unclean use, nor given ought thereof for the dead; but I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God,

* Clark's Defence of Infant Baptism, 1752, p. 111.

and have done all that thou hast commanded me. Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless thy people Israel, and the land which thou hast given us, as thou swearest unto our fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey. This day the Lord thy God hath commanded thee to do these statutes and judgments; thou shalt therefore keep and do them with all thine heart, and with all thy soul. Thou hast avouched the Lord this day to be thy God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken to his voice. And the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldst keep all his commandments; and to make thee high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honor, and that thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath spoken." Deut. xxvi. 13—19.

Thus we may see that the support of religious ministers in Israel, as well as the poor, was to be done voluntarily, as each man would desire the blessing of God upon his labors, as well as the salvation of his soul; and also that they could not be a holy people in any other way, but by obeying the voice of God with all their hearts, and with all their souls. And for any community to call themselves a holy people, only because they have an established worship by the laws of men, enforced by the sword, is directly contrary to the national worship of Israel which was owned of God. Christ was tempted in all points like as we are, and the devil tempted him to presume upon being supported by the promise of God, without going in the ways of his precepts. Mat. iv. 6, 7. Psalm xci. 11, 12. And how full is the world of this iniquity!

The nation of Israel was advanced above all other nations, when they obeyed the revealed will of God, in the days of David and Solomon, according to this promise. But in after generations they declined from that way, until God said, "As troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of priests murder in the way by consent." Hosea vi. 9. "The heads thereof judge for reward, the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? None evil can come upon us. Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest." Micah iii. 11, 12. This prophecy was partly accomplished by the Babylonians, and fully by the Romans. And the Jews are now monuments of warning to all

nations. Isaiah xxx. 17. Thus present events prove the truth of revelation.

Before the destruction of the second temple, God gave the Jews a new warning, and said, "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me; but ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse; for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the store-house, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it." Mal. iii. 8—10.

Here we may see that a voluntary obedience to God about his worship and ministers, or the contrary, brought his blessings or curses upon his people; and he now says to people under the gospel, "Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple, and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel." 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. But as some ministers of the devil had prejudiced many in the church of Corinth against this apostle, he refused to take any support of them, though he said, "Forgive me this wrong." 2 Cor. xi. 13—15. xii. 13. Thus it appears, that there is a stronger guard set against deceitful teachers, by the laws of Christ, than there was by the law of Moses. Yet such is the depravity of human nature, that the supporting of ministers of the devil by force hath filled the world with war and blood, under the name of Christianity, much more than the nation of Israel ever did. And this is now the greatest handle that infidels have to use against revealed religion. The command is, "Let God be true, but every man a liar;" while many bring the lies of men against the truth of God, and so discover that he hath said the truth concerning them.

Upon the case before us, he says, "Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Gal. vi. 6—8. So that everlasting life, or endless misery, are connected with faithfulness or unfaithfulness in this affair. Yea, and these things are personal between God and individuals, as much as faith and unbelief are; and therefore they are entirely out of the jurisdiction of the magistrate. And we

have a glorious promise of God, which says, "In the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come and say, "Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the habitation of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the people, and rebuke strong nations afar off, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it. For all people will walk every one in the name of his God, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God, forever and ever." Micah iv. 1—5.

Now it is most certain that this prophecy hath never yet been fulfilled; but it will as surely come to pass hereafter, as ever the promise did of Christ's being born of a virgin. The mountains and hills here mean the kingdoms and states of this world, and the mountain of the house of the Lord, is the kingdom of Christ, who will subdue all other kingdoms, and reign forever. And he says, "The kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." Dan. ii. 35, 44. vii. 27. People shall go up to the house of God, and personally obey his revealed will, as freely as the water flows in its channels. And what can be freer than water? Every idea of force is excluded from the support of his worship; and all the force for the support of religious teachers, that ever was used under the name of Christianity, was done by adding to his word. And Christ says, "I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book." Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

O how solemn are these things! Mystery Babylon was built by adding to the word of God, and by taking away what is

plainly written in it; and all religious establishments by the laws of men, that ever were made in our world, were made in that way, and so are parts of that great city. She is the mother of harlots, and she hath many daughters. And as Christ is the only head of his church, every community that supports her ministers in the name of any earthly head, is a harlot. And in Babylon was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth. Rev. xviii. 24. The blood of Abel was shed by Cain, because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous. 1 John iii. 12. And the guilt of blood will come upon all men who imitate old persecutors. Mat. xxiii. 35, 36. And God says, "In the last days perilous times shall come; for men shall be lovers of their themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away." 2 Tim. iii. 1—5.

Language cannot describe our times more exactly, than it was thus done by God, near eighteen hundred years ago. And how blind must men be, if they imagine that godliness can be supported by such characters! and yet such have equal votes in government with the best men in it. The best churches that ever supported their ministers by force, had no more than a form of godliness; and all men have denied the power of it, who have denied that the laws and Spirit of Christ were entirely sufficient to support his ministers, without any arm of flesh in the case. And God says, "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus." And the form says, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Timothy i. 13. iii. 16, 17.

The men of the world are allowed to make laws, and to enforce them with the sword, to punish immoralities, and to keep the civil peace; and real Christians are best subjects of civil government in the world, while they obey God rather than man in the *form of godliness*. And though the worst of wars have lately been carried on by sea, yet it will hereafter be said, "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities; thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall

not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken. But there the glorious Lord will be unto us a place of broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ships pass thereby. For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our king, he will save us. Thy tacklings are loosed; they could not well strengthen their mast; they could not spread the sail: then is the prey of a great spoil divided; the lame take the prey." Isaiah xxxiii. 20—23. And though the merchants of Babylon, and her mariners, will make great lamentations for the loss of their *bloody* gains, yet the Holy Spirit says, "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her." Rev. xviii. 20. The apostles explained the prophets, and finished writing the book of God; and heaven and earth will rejoice to see his truth and justice glorified.

THE END.

THE

WATERY WAR:

OR

A POETICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE EXISTING CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN

PÆDOBAPTISTS AND BAPTISTS,

ON THE

SUBJECTS AND MODE OF BAPTISM.

BY JOHN OF ÆNON.

And so they wrap it up.—*Micah.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE WATERY WAR.

THE baptismal controversy has of late become a common cause; and the Pædobaptists, by casting their whole weight of pamphlets, sermons, magazines and reviews in the scale against us, seem determined to make us give up our distinguishing sentiments, or to bear us down by a superior force. Their extraordinary exertions implicitly invite our whole strength to the contest; and every one, it is conceived, is at liberty to choose his own mode of contending. The truly ludicrous suppositions and arguments so much in use with many of the Pædobaptists, which in the opinion of the writer do not merit a serious refutation, form, it is supposed, a sufficient apology for any ironical observations which may appear in the following Poem.

N. B. The Writer has quoted freely from a Poem, entitled, *The Selpian Zealot*; or, the good Vicar in a bad Mood: and to foreclose the charge of plagiarism, he would inform his readers, that he has incorporated some of the expressions of that ingenious work with his own composition, of which he has not given formal notice.

So Christendom is doomed to feel
The fiery strife of flint and steel,
And parties still will be disputing,
Opposing each, and each confuting,
With verbal warfare and contention,
In growing times, or in declension.

A watery strife, of old begun,
Is now more fiercely coming on,
And parties with much haste prepare
To fight the elemental war.

This seems the ground of this dispute,
As near as one can well compute —

Has Christ enacted all the laws,
Intended for his holy cause;
Or must we search the Jewish code,
To guide us in the Christian road?

Must gospel churches now be made
Of parents and their infant seed;
Or are professing saints alone,
The only subjects Christ will own?

Is't Apostolic or perversion,
That pouring, sprinkling, and immersion,

Are all the same baptismal rite,
In substance *one*, and either right?
Or is *immersion* only, good,
Exclusively the scripture mode?

The other note to pitch the tune on,
Is "Anti-Christian" *close communion*.

These propositions thus related,
Our subject being briefly stated,
We ask, like preachers, small digression,
Before we come to full discussion.

Sweet charity so much abounds.
And utters forth such pleasing sounds,
Our friends will hold us right, if *we*,
Will to *their banner* quickly flee,
And own a rite of man's invention,
To be divine, and quit dissension;
And to their shattered stale tradition,
Resign our creed, with full submission.
But should our feet refuse to move,
It seems as though their blazing love
Would quite consume us with its flame,
And load us all with guilt and shame.
We value friendship, but could wish
To have it in a smaller dish;
And they'd increase our obligation,
To deal it out with moderation;
For while we yet have life and breath,
We beg not to be lov'd to death:

How troublesome this Baptist band
Have always been in every land;
How much they have disturbed the peace,
Of those who wished to live at ease.
'Tis not unlike, that sleepless beds
Have oft supported aching heads,
In fear of this unruly clan,
Who fear their Maker more than man,
Who take the Bible for their guide,
And follow that whate'er betide,
Who have the badness to reject
What others treat with much respect;
Who hold that sinners must believe,
Before the Lord will them receive;
Who wish to let all strife alone,
And Jesus Christ their Saviour own.

O wicked Baptists, do n't you know
What ills you cause where'er you go,
How parsons fear you'll break the peace
Of each enlightened diocese;
And with the Bible rend the *blind*ers,
Which now the light so nicely hinders.

How many ways have been invented,
To make you settle down contented,
To make you quit that watery way
In which you always lov'd to stray:
Yes, priests and princes, fire and slaughter,
Have try'd to cure your love of water.

Sometimes you hear the learned assertion,
There are no places for immersion,

Your friends have taken it for granted,
Your geographic skill was wanted;
And kindly for your information,
Have told, to stop your innovation,
That Jordan was a little stream,
To talk of dipping's all a whim;
At *Ænon* too, and all around,
No dipping places could be found.
What though there was much water there,
'T was in *small brooks*, you often hear;*
Ye Baptists, dare not controvert
What learned men so oft assert.
This country, though exceeding dry,
Yet brooks and fountains could supply,
Full large enough, 't is thought for John,
To sprinkle people one by one;
And had he used them sparing too,
As moderns are inclined to do,
These many brooks, we make no doubt,
For sprinkling might have long held out.

But lest this dry and brookish proof,
Should not be found quite strong enough.
They not unfrequently rehearse,
Suppose the ancients did immerse;
Yet as *we* live in colder clime,
To change the *mode*, can be no crime;
For mercy, you must all have heard,
To sacrifice, must be preferred.
Besides, we now are more polite
Than those who walk'd in gospel light;
With dipping then they might dispense,
But now it causes great offence.

But look again ye ign'rant band,
Behold the great in every land,
Great men, great doctors, fam'd for learn-
ing,
Great bishops too, of shrewd discerning,
Who have retained the infant rite,
And held that sprinkling might be right.
If we are wrong, can any doubt
Such men would not have found it out?†
Immersion too, we're often told,
Exposes folks to taking cold;
And many ills our friends resound,
Which we as yet have never found.

* Since sprinkling came into fashion, criticism, unheard of in all former ages, hath endeavored to derive evidence for a scarcity of water, from the Greek text of the evangelist John, and to render *polla udata*, not *much water*, but *many waters*, and then by an ingenious supposition, to infer that many waters signifies, not many waters collected into one, but many parted into many little rills, which might all serve for sprinkling, but could not any of them be used for dipping; as if one man could possibly want many brooks for the purpose of sprinkling one person at a time. It is observable, that the Euphrates at Babylon, the Tiber at Rome, and Jordan of Palestine, are all described by *polla udata*.—*Robinson*. So that the Euphrates, the Tiber, and Jordan, according to Pedobaptist criticism, may be nothing, more than little *brooks*, *springs*, and *rivulets*!

† That the multitude should reason in this way, is not surprising; but that men of acknowledged abilities should think of establishing a professedly scripture doctrine by such arguments as these, is enough "to amuse one." On what does Mr. Worcester's "fair and invincible conclusion rest, that sprinkling or affusion is scriptural and valid," but that great man, and a great many of them, for many centuries have practised it? Vide Worcester's *Two Discourses*, &c., p. 66.

But now away with old objections,
Which fill the Pædobaptist sections,
These dreadful bug-bears, all have found,
Are nothing more than frightful sound.

Though water was as scarce of old,
As many have so gravely told ;
Yet now it richly doth abound,
Now dipping places may be found,
And thousands to the floods repair,
To own their Lord and Saviour there.
Not all the learning, toil and pain
Of those who treat us with disdain,
Not all their logic, scoffs and flings,
Their witty, nor their bitter things,
Can stop the progress of the band,
Who take the Bible in their hand,
Who feel resolved no more to trample
Beneath their feet their Lord's example.
And finding all their efforts fail,
The rigid Baptists still prevail,
Our friends of late, use all their art in
Maintaining nothing can be certain
About this strange baptismal rite ;
Ergo, we all may still be right.

Thus having tried all ways to still us,
With terror and with shame to fill us,
To prove their own foundation strong,
And that *we* sure are going wrong ;
But finding all their former schemes
Evaporate like empty dreams,
Our later writers seem inclin'd
Unless we much mistake their mind,
To quibble, cavil and evade ;
To give their old tradition aid ;
To show that no specific mode
Is mention'd in the holy code ;
One drop, a fountain, or a flood,
To pour, and sprinkle, all are good,
Your mode may differ much from mine,
But your's I own may be divine ;
And charity requires of *you*
To make the same concession too.

Since all the Pædobaptists say
Of our immodest, frantic way,
Of shallow Jordan, rills and springs,
Of great men too, and other things,
Cannot suffice to stop believers
From going into ponds and rivers,
At last a wide catholicism,
Has been devis'd to heal the schism.

So when the doubtful sons of Galen,
Perceive their healing art is failing,
And all their *Patents* being spent,
A new catholicon invent.

If John, as many lately say,
Though Luke may lean another way,*

* "The law and the prophets were until John : since that time the kingdom of heaven is preached, and every man presseth into it." Luke xvi. 16. Mark speaks the same language, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus

Existed in the Jewish state,
Our friends would please us to relate,
What section in the Jewish book,
Requir'd the work he undertook.

But leaving things of other moment,
To those whose business 't is to comment,
We can but feel a wish to know
Why John should keep the water so.
If sprinkling might have been the mode,*
Why should he take so long a road ?
Or, if he had design'd to pour,
Why then to Enon take a tour ?
The answer comes as quick as wink,
The man was looking out for drink,
And kindly seeking watering places
"For horses, camels, mules and asses."
The reason seems as clear as day,
As Pædobaptists wisely say,
Why John chose out a watery station,
To do the work he was engaged in,
'T is plain that multitudes came out
From all the region round about ;
'T is likely too, we lately hear,
Th' encampment lasted more 'n a year,†
And who but Baptists once could think
That man and beast would want no drink ?

This question answered with such ease,
We'll state another if you please.
Admitting John a public cater,
Providing man and beast with water,
And that his mind was more intent
On drink, than on the sacrament,
And having now obtained his end,
And near by Jordan made a stand,
We humbly ask, if 't is no sin,
Why he should need to enter in ?
To this full many have reply'd,
And here's the answer, cut and dry'd :
That since the concourse was so poor,
There was not found in all their store,
A basin, pitcher, or a cup,
With which to lade the water up,
Tis likely *John*, as others do,
Proceeded down a step or two
In *Jordan's* stream, to take a stand,
To do what might be done on land.

Christ, the Son of God : as it is written in the prophets, Behold I send my messenger before thy face," &c. Mark i. 1-4.

* "It seems therefore to me that the people stood in ranks, near to or just within the edge of the river ; and John, passing along before them, cast water upon their heads or faces with his hands or some proper instrument, by which means he might very easily baptize many thousands in a day." *Guyse's Paraphrase*, vol. i. p. 12.

"The Jews in *Jordan* were baptized,
Ergo ingenious *John* devis'd
A scoop, or squirt, or some such thing,
With which some water he might fling
Upon the long extended rank
Of candidates, that lin'd the bank ;
Be careful, *John*, some drops may fall
From your rare instrument on all
But point your engine, ne'ertheless,
To those who first their sins confess ;
Let no revilers in the crowd
The holy sprinkling be allow'd."

Salopian Zealot, p. 15.

† Reed's Apology, p. 198.

But ere we give the subject o'er,
We beg to ask one question more.

Since John was so intent on thinking,
To find conveniences for drinking,
'T is wondrous strange he had not thought
To bring, or see some one had brought
Some vessel Jordan's wave to lale in,
Which might have sav'd him tedious wading.
You'd think, to help the water-fetchers,
He'd brought a load of pails and pitchers.

Though old divines could tame the Greek,
And learned what it design'd to speak ;
Yet moderns find it strangely wild,
They chase it hard through flood and field,
And strive with industry and pain
To overake it, but in vain.
O Luther, Calvin, Poole, and Wall,
And lexicographers, and all,
What pity ere ye drew the quill,
Our moderns of superior skill
Were not at hand to show you how
Baptizo may be rendered now.

Though you so oft have made assertion,
Its meaning primely is immersion ;*
Yet such improvements have been made,
To give the cause of sprinkling aid,
Our critics in this learned day,
Have the *great modesty* to say,
Its meaning can't be ascertain'd
'T is "open, general," unrestrained,
And *sprinkling, pouring, washing, cleaning,*
May be its true and native meaning.
The most specific sense they get,
The term imports somehow *to wet* ;
If water only be apply'd
That will suffice, can't be deny'd.
Each one may choose his manner now,
If each is peased, no matter *how*.
No matter how ? Then why is 't where ?
And why the crown of face prefer ?
Why should the region of the nose
Be deem'd more fit than of the toes,
Why should you not baptize the hands,
To execute divine commands ?
The feet, to run the Christian road ?
The shoulders, to sustain the load ?
The neck the Christian yoke to bear,
And serve the Lord with holy fear ?
Why not the sacred rite impart
About the region of the heart ?
What, in the nature of the case,
Should make you always choose the face ?

'T is something strange, we freely own,
That those who preach immersion down,

Should, after all the things they say,
Consent to tread this frantic way,
And from the pulpit straight repair
To practice what they censur'd there.
How can we without wonder mention.
Such vast, such friendly condescension ;
Rather than lose a wandering sheep,
Whom all their reasonings cannot keep,
To please the man,* but not his God,
They will immerse him in the flood.
Now be consistent, condescender,
Thy own good name due service render,
Make not thy reputation bleed,
By ridiculing thy own deed.
Remember, too, (pray do n't despise
What one sincerely would advise,)
Before thou dost the work begin,
"Whate'er is not of faith, is sin."

But why should willing souls, who view
What urgent duty bids them do,
Desire from such reluctant hands
A work which full belief demands ?

Ye Baptists, listen, while we trace
The numerous and convincing ways,
By which the art of searching man,
Supports the Pædobaptist plan.
Observe how straight, how wondrous plain
They've made their *inferential chain*,
And how immersion meets destruction
From *analogical deduction* ;
And so amazing is their skill,
"Though *vanquish'd*, they can argue still."
All but conjecture they have urn'd
And seem to leave no stone unturn'd
Or else, speak more rightly rather,
They've tumbled all in heaps together.
Such is the mode of their disputing,
Their monstrous *guesses* ;† and wild shoot-
ing,
That some 't is thought, might find it hard,
Should charity be off her guard,
To think that in Jehovah's fight,
They fully credit all they write.

While thousands unconcern'd to know,
If Scripture prove their creed, or no,
Embrace what has been handed down
From father to succeeding son,
Well pleas'd to walk in custom's way,
Nor from tradition ever stray ;
Yet may venture farther out,
And chase a devious round-about
Of *ancient rites and promises*,
Of *probables and doubtlesses*,
Of Scripture *silence and negation*,
Of *inference and implication* ;
The *doubtful* tales of oral rites,
For washing *Gentile proselytes* ;

* Mr. Booth has quoted eighty-two Pædobaptist authors, who have conceded that the primary meaning of *baptizo* is to dip, to plunge, &c. Supposing our friends can prove that some of these authors admitted, that the term, in a remote and secondary sense, means to *wet*, to *wash*, &c., how much will it help them in the case ? At most, it will prove them but second best.

VOL. I.—X.

* "In condescension," says Dr. Osgood, "to the consciences of those who request it, our ministers scruple, not to baptize by immersion."

† Vide Dow's Pædobaptist Catechism, p. 20, 21, 22, &c. where you will find *guesses* in abundance.

Good *Lydia** and the *Jailer* too,
 And suppositions not a few;
Convenience and *expedition*,
 For which you know we all are wishing;
 And many things which critics speak,
 Of *sceptical*, *evasive* Greek;
 And books, too many now to name,
 Of ancient or of modern fame,
 And what of Scripture may befriend,
 In trying times to gain an end,
 But from its "*silence*" who would look
 For aid from such a speechless book?
 For 't is said by more than one disputer,
 In this debate the Bible's neuter.

Such, Anabaptists,† hear with dread,
 Such is the Pædobaptist creed.
 But when we ask for Scripture proof,
 We're gravely told 't is plain enough!
 And many of these sons of light,
 Who read what God did never write,
 With blustering force assault your skull,
 Why proof? dear sir, the Bible's full!
 But Baptists, doubtless, ne'er expect
 To gain such strength of intellect,
 To tell from *silence* what is said,
 Nor from a *blank* their lesson read.
 They often to their minds recall
 What Samuel said to prudent Saul;‡
 And what in good Isaiah stands,
 "Who hath requir'd this at your hands!"§
 They too are loath to build their faith on
 The rock of *silence* and *negation*.

O ye who strive with mighty pains,
 And tease your mathematic brains,
 To prove a point to demonstration,
 And quite foreclose all disputation;
 Give o'er your philosophic care,
 And learn this method, wondrous rare.

* "Pray Mistress Lydia, let us know,
 Are you in social life or no?
 If married, what's your husband's name?
 And why hath *Luke* conceal'd the same?
 Where doth he live? We want to spy him:
 Pray have you any issue by him?
 If you have children, please to tell
 What is their age, and where they dwell
 And whether they were all rantiz'd,
 When your whole household was baptiz'd.
 We hope for your own reputation,
 They were not born of fornication:
 Your answer, madam, we solicit;
 Pray be particular and explicit:
 'Tis on your evidence depends
 The cause, for which their priest contends."

Salopian Zealot, p. 23.

† "Anabaptist," Mr. Worcester informs us, "is not intended as a term of reproach." We shall not dispute the purity of his intention. But it certainly looks like a slanderous act, whatever was his design, to revive an old reproachful term, and impose it on a denomination, which, for centuries past, has uniformly rejected it, was customary for the Baptists, in former times, to style themselves "the people commonly but unjustly called Anabaptists." Nothing more is designed to be conceded in the use of this term, in the subsequent part of this poem. Names, generally, are of little consequence, but this is too reproachfully significant to be received with indifference.

‡ 1 Sam. xv. 22.

§ Isaiah i. 12.

Let parents now no longer feel
 The fear of losing that strange seal,
 With which they mark their infant charge,
 To let them run again at large;
 Nor fear the law will give the slip,
 Which now secures their membership.

Go, Baptists, read the Bible through,
 And search the Scriptures, old and new
 Indulge no quibble nor evasion,
 From Genesis to Revelation;
 What did one single author write,
 Which once forbids the infant rite? *
 Be patient, too, and hear again,
 From *apo*, *eis*, and *ek*, and *en*,
 'Tis doubtful, trusting their assertion,
 If John or Philip used immersion.

Reader, excuse my wandering rhymes,
 Since they describe peculiar times.

But *close communion* is the thing,
 In which each writer thrusts his sting;
 This seems the bug-bear of the world,
 At which their fiercest shafts are hurled.
 What, bar the table of the Lord,
 From Christians who revere his word,
 Because in your beclouded eyes,
 They do not lawfully baptize!
 Though errors plenteously abound
 O'er all the Anabaptist ground,
 Yet on this practice, most of all,
 Their pelting censures oftenest fall;
 At this they aim their greatest force,
 This is the BUTT of all discourse.
 Thousands are often heard to say,
 We do n't despise your watery way;
 We entertain a high respect
 For many of your "little sect;"
 And with them feel a Christian union,
 But can't endure your close communion.

Ye Baptists, view this friendly band,
 Each pleading with extended hand,
 That you would break these hateful bars,
 And thus expel all painful jars,
 And who can think, but in this case,
 Each pleader means the thing he says?
 But should a lurking doubt arise,
 From what appears before your eyes,
 The point we'll strive to clearly prove,
 By some expressions of their love.
 Now hear the words of cordial friendship;
 In which they paint your hopeful saintship.
 "Ye dipping Baptists, and duck-divers,†
 Who stream away to ponds and rivers;

* "Scripture *forbids* us in no place,
 To sprinkle infants in the face;
 (Nor yet to give them bread and wine;)
Ergo, this rite must be divine:
 And, *ergo*, we may, quite as well,
 Religiously baptize a bell."

Salopian Zealot, p. 37.

† It ought to be observed, that in the original it is "*duck-dipping Baptists*;"—but as ducks generally *dive* in dipping, it is hoped the candid author will not complain

And when th' indec'rous rite is o'er,
Come drench'd and shivering from the shore.*

Ye narrow souls, devoid of light,†
Who think none but yourselves are right.
Ye frantic sons of Munster's plain;
Yes, Anabaptists, hear with pain,
The solemn truth may make you tremble,
But for our lives we can't dissemble;
Unpleasant as the fact appears,
'Tis hardly now three hundred years,
Since (sober truth we do not strain)
Your noisy sect began its reign.
This clam'rous and ignoble crew
To fifteen hundred twenty-two,
By us, its friends, has oft been chased,
But farther back it can't be traced."‡
O, mighty sir, what hath possess'd
Thy foaming and terrific breast?
Thou need'st not with such thunder frown,
For half thy weight would sink us down.

A thousand things we might report,
All of this friendly, loving sort,
Which serve to show the great respect,
They have for all your pious sect,
And can you, after all you hear,
Suspect your friends are not sincere,
When they so movingly request,
To meet you at the sacred feast?
Think ye; that after all they say
About your close and narrow way,
It matters not with them a groat,
If they commune with you or not?§
This threadbare and worn out objection,
Suits their design to great perfection;
O how they strike their flocks with terror,
By thundering round this monstrous error.

'Tis known we must have left the plan,
To which we now are called again;

of being misquoted, so long as the important sense is literally retained.

Dr. Osgood's Two Discourses, &c., p. 8.

† Mr. Anderson, out of the abundance of his charity, has informed the world, that "the light of the truth has been a hundred, perhaps a thousand fold greater in the Pædobaptist churches than in the Baptist." Of course our light must be a hundred or a thousand fold less than their's, which, we think, would reduce it to an almost imperceptible particle.—*Mr. Anderson's Letters*, p. 14.

‡ "Unpleasant as the fact is, it ought not to be dissembled that the history of your denomination is easily traced back to the German Anabaptists, who first made their appearance at Munster, about the year 1522, and who, by their wild irregularities, gave so much trouble to Luther and his worthy associates: but farther back than this it it cannot be traced."—*Serious and Candid Letters*, &c., p. 145.

§ We do not say that Mr. Worcester is beside himself, but has not much controversy made him mad?

"The rapid traveller could not call,

Where any Baptists lived at all,

From Jordan's banks to Munster's plain,

Where German ranters fix'd a stain."

Salopian Zealot: or the Good Vicar in a Bad Mood, p. 36.

§ That many of our Pædobaptist brethren sincerely desire to unite with us in the sacramental feast, we fully believe; but that this is the case with many of these flaming writers on the subject, who are constantly loading us with a torrent of reproach, we think we have sufficient reason to doubt.

And when we felt constrain'd to go,
What friendship follow'd—many know;
Denied dismissions whence we came,
The reasons why, we all could name.
And is our sect now less perverse,
Or Pædobaptists grown some worse?
Or how, or why should Baptists gain
That fellowship denied them then?
But why converse of distant then,
As though the world were purged of spleen,
As bigotry had done her work,
And charity presided clerk?

Behold the pulpits far and near,
The seats of sermons sound and clear,
In wisdom kept from Baptists, use,
To shun the ills they might produce? *
The preacher tells th' inquiring friend,
He freely would his pulpit lend,
But fears in case—but if—and but;
And so the desk continues shut.
To guard against all fearful jars,
He wisely holds his pulpit bars.
That Pædobaptists should be able
To sit around the Baptist's table,
And mingle there in free communion,
Is more of use than pulpit union.

Do not pretend that party spirit,
Which we peculiarly inherit,
Inclines us to that close belief,
Of which you speak with so much grief.
Our reasons have so oft been shown,†
We think they can't be still unknown.

The humble, godly and sincere,
Of all communions we revere,
And hope at last to meet them where,
We all shall free communion share.
And while we walk this vale of wo,
We wish with all the saints to go,
In all the paths the pious tread,
So far as we can be agreed.
But that broad creed which strives to hold
In fellowship within its fold,
The pour'd and sprinkled, plung'd and all,
Or such as are not wet at all;‡
"This modern Babel of confusion,"
With watery rites in such profusion,

* In justice to some of our Pædobaptist brethren, it ought to be observed, that there are honorable exceptions to this general rule.

† See Dr. Baldwin's Appendix. Sect. 1 and 8.

‡ Mr. Austin evidently denies "that baptism is ever an indispensable pre-requisite to the Lord's supper."—When this point is given up, baptism appears of too little importance to merit any farther controversy on the subject. For does not this principle go to exclude the ordinance altogether? If a person may be admitted to the supper once, without baptism, why not ten times with equal propriety? If ten, why not an hundred, or as long as he lives? If one may be so admitted, why not ten? why not an hundred? why not all? Is not this the leading tendency of this extraordinary maxim? Whether Mr. Austin advanced this novel sentiment, from a deliberate conviction of its correctness, or with a view to disentangle himself in the easiest way, from the defiles of controversy in which he was struggling, we shall not determine.

We freely own we disapprove,
As coming from the court above.

Such is the sad and piteous strain,
In which your writings all complain,
'T would seem that you were quite forlorn,
And all in exile doomed to mourn;
Shut out, by our unkind behavior,
From ever feasting with the Saviour.

But what so dreadful is the matter,
That you should make so loud a clatter?
Have you not all your churches, where
Your holy brethren may repair,
To sit around the sacred board,
And sup together with the Lord?

But now to draw towards a close,
On this vile scheme you all oppose.
You safely offer us a seat
Within your fold, so learn'd and great;
Since 'tis well known, such are our views,
That we the offer shall refuse.
But should the Baptists, in their turn,
With such incessant wishes burn,
With your enlightened host to join,
To celebrate this feast divine,
Would not your wide extended doors
Be bolted then as close as our's?

We beg to say to each disputer,
Who may resume his pen in future,
That, notwithstanding all they say,
We too have eyes as well as they.
And though they may be less discerning,
And we possessed of smaller learning;
Yet when disputes may chance to rise,
Of *whom* and *how* we should baptize,
We think we have sufficient light
To show the path, and guide us right.

Think not to still us with conjectures,
Nor please us with romantic lectures;
Remember, friends, we most have been
In the same case that you are in;
We long have labor'd too, like you,
To make tradition some how do;
We've felt the straits to which you're driven.
To prove it truly came from heaven;
And by conviction's powerful sway,
Have been impelled to leave the way.
The soft allurements which still hold
So many thousands in your fold,
With all your subtle reasoning force,
Were oft employed to stop our course.
But since we have resolved to stray,
Pray leave us to our chosen way.

But should you choose to write again,
And pour on us your force amain,
Excuse us, if we advertise you,
And with sincerity apprise you,
We wish to see some little more
Than any writer's shown before.

Show but *one solitary case**
Were babes were sprinkled in the face;
Your *probables* no more rehearse,
But name the chapter and the verse;
And likewise specify the book,
That we may all know where to look.

Be pleas'd to speak with more precision,
Of your rare *Christian circumcision*.
Produce some text in what you write,
To set the proof in clearer light,
That Jews and Christians are the same,
And differ only in the name;
And that the ancient cov'nant seal
Retains its use and meaning still;
Then, tell us why your infant daughter,
As well as son, is seal'd with water.

What station do your children hold,
Who are thus seal'd within your fold?
Do give this point a full digestion,
And answer this important question.†
If they are members of the church,
Why leave them sadly in the lurch,
And let them run as gay and wild
As any Anabaptist's child?
Why do n't you with your minor clan,
Pursue a more consistent plan,
"And give the babes of *Alma Mater*,
Some bread and wine, as well as water,"
Then, though with scripture you may vary,
The force of 'one great charge you'll parry,
By telling all these Baptist elves,
We're now consistent with ourselves.

The Jewish babes you oft declare,
(At which perhaps the Jews might stare,)
Were not requir'd till twelve at least,
To celebrate the paschal feast.
Admitting this a sober truth,
Why suffer all your tender youth,
To manly years to go astray,
Before they walk the sacred way;
While thousands live to hoary age,
And never in the work engage?

When they receive converting grace,
And at your table seek a place,

* Mr. Dow, in his *Pædobaptist Catechism*, p. 26, has this remarkable answer to the following question.

Q. What is the whole amount of evidence in favor of immersion.

A. The whole amount of the evidence in favor of immersion is *one solitary instance*, of a person, viz: the Ethiopian eunuch, being baptized in a certain water, as he was journeying, and under such circumstances, as leave room to *guess* that the baptism might have been administered by immersion or in any other mode." Is it possible?

"We love the *Christian* as sincere;
The zealous *Preacher* we revere;
But think the *Writer* and *Logician*,
Stands much in need of a *Physician*."

Salopian Zealot, p. 13.

† Dr. Reed has labored hard in his Appendix, pp. 309, 310, and 311, to shew in what sense infants are church members. But we believe it would puzzle any mathematical head to tell from the Doctor's own account, where they stand, or what peculiar privileges they are entitled to, on account of their being "devoted to God by baptism."

Do you not then require of all,
(You who indeed inquire at all,)
The special marks of pardon'd sin,
As if they ne'er had sprinkled been?
Excuse, dear friends, our wild suggestions,
And please to answer these few questions.

Are you in earnest or in jest,
In calling John a Jewish priest?
Do tell us in some leisure hour,
Who gave him his official power.
And did he too, in fact and deed,
As is supposed by Doctor Reed,
Baptize the babes of all who came
To visit him at Jordan's stream?*

Was Christ, who sprang of Judah's race,
In which the priesthood had no place,
By John the Baptist set apart,
With Levi's sons to bear a part;
And was his holy separation,
By true Aaronic consecration?
Be clear and plain, no longer hope
With fumbling terms to "wrap it up."
Your explanation some may swallow,
And think it "*impious*," now to follow
The dear descending Son of God,
Who was immersed in Jordan's flood;
While some reject without much pain,
This tale, devis'd by *Fish* and *Crane*.†

Why give *baptizo* such a scoring,
To prove the lawfulness of pouring?
For this, you know as well as we,
With your own practice do n't agree.
Or why still make so loud a tinkling,
With words which chance to mention sprinkling?

While those which indicate immersion,
Are thought unworthy of insertion.‡

* "When we consider the habits and circumstances of the Jews, nothing is more natural than to suppose they brought their children with them to the baptism of John. There is, to say the least, as much evidence that he baptized infants, as that he baptized women!" *Reed's Appendix*, p. 323.

The very mention of baptism, seems to excite in the minds of many Pædobaptists, the idea of children, let the circumstances be what they may.

† The reader may see this novel notion of Christ's being inducted into the priestly office by his baptism, which of late has become a favorite topic with the Pædobaptists, naturally considered, and amply refuted in Dr. Baldwin's *Appendix*, p. 299-305.

‡ "Figurative expressions" says Dr. Baldwin, "are constantly resorted to by our brethren, to support their practice; such as '*sprinkling many nations, sprinkling clean water, pouring out of the Spirit*,' &c. With these we have only to contrast other scriptures, which repre-

We say not, nor presume to utter,
The things you write in such a flutter
Are not the dictates of the mind,
But with a wise intent design'd,
Within your fold secure to keep
Your wav'ring and uneasy sheep:
No; of our province 't is no part
To judge the purpose of the heart;
To the great Searcher of us all,
Both you and we must stand or fall.
But leaving out what some might mention,
Of your apparent prime intention,
Such is the spirit of your style,
Your flaming pages make us smile.
Do not explode our creed in air,
Nor drive us all to wild despair.
Why with hard names so oft abuse us,
And with such rancor still traduce us?
You wisely urge the vast importance
Of Christian friendship and accordance,
And shall we, Sirs, from your example
Select ourselves a standing sample;
And imitate in all we do,
This worthy pattern set by you?
We beg you 'd read these few lines more,
And then we 'll give the subject o'er.

No more with foul invectives broach us,
Then say you mean not to reproach us;*
But own what seems your leading aim,
To load us all with guilt and shame.

Pray deal no more in *Serious* slander,
Nor woo us with your fiery *Candor*;
And by your *Friendly* crimination;
Do n't be so "*fierce for moderation*;"†
And should you still avoid the flood,
Do not immerse us all in *mud*.

sent the same thing by an entire washing or plunging; such as the following:—"In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness." "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins, in his own blood." "These are they who came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." These latter afford just as much evidence of immersion, as the former do of sprinkling. But as none of them have anything to do with the subject, neither can afford any direct evidence in the case." *Appendix*.

* How often are the most unkind insinuations apologized in this way. Even Mr. Worcester, in his marvelous note on *Rhode-Island*, in his Letters to Dr. Baldwin, by whom it was doubtless maturely considered, begins, "without any intention to reproach," and ends with "nothing is less intended than a reflection upon the State." What a pity that a man should steer so wide of his intention!

† *Serious Remarks, Candid Reasons, Friendly Letters*, &c. are made the vehicles of that torrent of reproach, which our moderate brethren are so constantly pouring upon us.

THE
SCRIPTURE GUIDE TO BAPTISM:

OR,

A FAITHFUL CITATION OF ALL THE PASSAGES OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT WHICH RELATE TO THIS ORDINANCE:

WITH

THE SACRED TEXT IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED, AND THE SENSE SUPPORTED BY
NUMEROUS EXTRACTS FROM THE MOST EMINENT AND LEARNED WRITERS ;

TO WHICH IS ADDED A SHORT EXAMINATION OF THE

RISE AND GROUNDS OF INFANT BAPTISM.

BY R. PENGILLY.

These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so.—Acts xvii. 11.

Whatever pretends to exceed the direction of the Word may safely be rejected, and cannot safely be admitted.
Dr. Owen.

PREFATORY ADDRESS.

THIS little work, Christian reader, is designed for such persons, and such only, as readily admit the following important sentiments :

1. That the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain the only revealed will of God.

2. That whatever God enjoins on his people in his word, they are bound by irresistible obligations to perform.

3. That men are not at liberty to alter, in any one respect, the appointments of God.

4. That Baptism and the Lord's supper are the *two only* ordinances, or positive institutions, of the New Testament ; and that it is consequently the bounden duty of all who profess to be disciples of Christ, solemnly to observe them, and to observe them in *that way* which the word and example of Christ authorize.

I shall now suppose, reader, that one of these ordinances, viz. *Baptism*, is that subject which at this time employs your serious attention ; that you are desirous of knowing the will of Christ respecting it, and for that purpose, of reading and examining the whole which the scriptures contain in relation to it. You would not

probably be able to turn readily to all those passages which pertain to the subject of your inquiry, as they are interspersed through almost the whole of the New Testament, and to assist you in this respect is the principle design of this pamphlet.

I shall therefore, in the following pages transcribe *every passage* and *verse* of scripture that relate to this ordinance, and lay them before you in their purity as I here find them ; that without trouble or loss of time, you may read and examine for yourself the whole that it has pleased God to communicate for our instruction and direction on this subject.

In a few notes, I have humbly endeavored to point out what I conceive to be taught us in the passages here transcribed. In these notes I have written under the impression of my accountability to the righteous Judge, and am not conscious that I have, in any one place, given a sense different from what was intended by the Holy Spirit : and that this may be more evident, I have subjoined a considerable number of extracts from the writings of eminent divines, who held a different view of this ordinance, but who have candidly acknowledged what practice has the authority of the word of God, and what has not. The reader is exhorted, however, (while he peruses the notes, and these citations from different eminent authors, intended to illustrate the

text,) not to allow his mind to be influenced, or his practice governed, by any human authority, but by the *word of God* alone, which shall here be plainly and fully laid before him.

THE SCRIPTURE GUIDE TO BAPTISM.

SECTION I.

John's baptizing the Jews before the beginning of our Lord's ministry.

THE first place of Scripture where the ordinance of Baptism, is found, describes the mission, preaching and baptizing of John, the harbinger of Christ. As all the four evangelists have given us some account of John and his practice, I shall take the fullest information from them all, and present it to the reader in its proper connexion. The following collection and disposition of passages will afford us, I conceive a complete account in the pure words of scripture.

First, The divine Mission of John, and the Design of it.

Mark i. 1. The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. John i. 6. There was a man sent from God whose name was John. Mark i. 2. As it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. Matt. iii. 3. For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight, Luke i. 16. And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God; ver. 17, and he shall go before him, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord. Luke iii. 1, 2. Now, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness.

Secondly, John's preaching as to the grand theme of it.

Matt. iii. 1, 2. In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Luke iii. 3. And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. Acts xiii. 24. John preached the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel, Acts xix. 4, saying unto the people, That they should believe

on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus.

Thirdly, John's baptizing. He informed his hearers, that God had sent him, not to preach only, but to baptize with water, John 1. 33.

Mark i. 5. And there went out unto him all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in the river of Jordan, confessing their sins. Matt. iii. 7—11. But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees, come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers! who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? 8. Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance: 9. And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. 10. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees, therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. 11. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. 12. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

There are two *inquiries* which I shall suppose you, my reader, are desirous to have answered by every place of scripture laid before you.

I. What description of persons were admitted to baptism in those days: and,

II. In what manner was this ordinance administered. Whether adults only, professing to be awakened to their spiritual concerns, or with them also their infant children; and whether they received this ordinance by sprinkling, pouring, or immersion. To ascertain the practice of John as to the

I. Inquiry—observe in the scriptures above,

1. John was sent of God to "Prepare the way of the Lord," the Messiah by "turning many of Israel to the Lord," and thereby "making a people ready" for the farther instruction and special service of Christ, who was immediately to follow him. This all must acknowledge, can only relate to adults. The design was answered in the first disciples of Christ, who had been disciples of John.

2. The substance of John's preaching, was, that men should "repent" and "believe on him who should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus."

3. The persons John baptized are described by the Holy Spirit, in very few words. They came from all parts of Judea, "and were *all* baptized of him, *confessing their sins*." This is all we have given us of the persons John baptized, and this is said of all of them.

4. Others came to his baptism, but though Pharisees, and children of Abraham, they are rejected till they "bring forth the fruits of repentance." As far, therefore, as the scriptures are our guide, as to John's practice, he baptized none (Christ excepted,) but humble, penitent, and repenting sinners. To this effect we have the words of

Origen, (a learned father, who lived within a century after St. John.) "We ought necessarily to observe, that both St. Matthew and St. Mark say, that upon *confessing their sins*, all Jerusalem &c., were baptized. But St. Matthew brings in the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to be baptized, but not confessing their sins; and for this reason they are called a generation of vipers."—*In Dr. Gale's Reflect. on Wall's Hist. of Inf. Bap.* p. 385.

This opinion is supported by the following modern and well known Pædobaptist divines.

Dr. Erskine. "John's baptism was termed the *baptism of repentance*, and baptism to *repentance*; because he required of *all* whom he admitted to baptism, a profession of repentance, and exhorted them to such a conduct as would demonstrate their repentance genuine."—*In Booth's Pædobap. Ex.* vol. ii. p. 241.

Mr. Scott. "Adult Jews professing repentance and a disposition to become Messiah's subjects, were the *only persons*, as far as we can find, whom John admitted to baptism."—*Family Bible Notes* on the place.

II. Inquiry—as to the manner by which the ordinance was administered. Observe,

1. The meaning of the word *Baptize*. The plain import of this word, my reader is particularly requested to examine, and to remember, whenever we meet with it in the subsequent pages, it is the word used by the Holy Spirit to express this ordinance, and adopted by our translators, from the original Greek, but not translated. If it were translated into English, what is the meaning of it? This is a question of great importance to our present inquiry. We will therefore hear what answer the most learned Pædobaptist divines will give this question.

Witsius, (professor of Divinity in the Universities of Franeker, Utrecht, and Leyden.) "It cannot be denied, but the native signification of the words *baptizo*, and *baptidza*, is to plunge or dip."—*Æcon of the Cov.* vol. iii. B. iv. p. 13.

Zanchius, (Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg.) "The proper signification of *baptizo*, is to immerse, plunge under, to overwhelm in water." Mr. de Courcy tells us, the opinion of Zanchius is worth a *thousand* others.—*Pædobap. Exam.*, vol. i. p. 48.

Calvin. "The word baptize signifies to immerse, and the rite of immersion was observed by the ancient church."—*Ibid.* p. 49.

Beza. "Christ commanded us to be baptized, by which word it is certain immersion is signified."—*Ut Supra*.

Vitringa. "The act of baptizing is the immersion of believers in water. This expresses the force of the word."—*Ib.* p. 47.

Dr. Campbell, (principal of the Marischal college, Aberdeen.) "The word *baptizo* both in sacred authors, and in classical signifies to dip, to plunge, to immerse."—*Four Gos.* vol. ii. p. 259. *Note on Matt. iii. 11.*

Bossuet, (bishop of Meaux.) "To baptize signifies to plunge, as is granted by all the world."—*In Dr. Stennet's Remarks on Addington*, p. 50.

2. In perfect consistency with the plain and proper sense of the word *baptize*, John takes the inhabitants of Jerusalem, &c., not to the brook Cedron, which ran hard by the city, but to the distant large river of Jordan.

Dr. Towerson. "For what need would there have been of the Baptists resorting to great confluxes of water, or of Philip and the Eunuch's going down into this, were it not that the baptism of the one and the other was to be performed by an immersion? A very little water, as we know it doth with us, sufficing for an effusion or sprinkling."—*Of the Sacra. of Bap.* P. iii. p. 56. *Pædobap. Exam.* vol. i. p. 209.

3. It is said also, that they were baptized, not *at*, but "*in* the river of Jordan."

Venema. "It is without controversy, that baptism, in the primitive church, was administered by immersion into water, and not by sprinkling, seeing John is said to have baptized *in* Jordan, and where there was *much water*."—*Hist. Eccles. Secul. i.* § 138. *Pædobap. Exam.* vol. i. p. 212.

4. John baptized also "*in* water," as well as "*in* the Jordan." Our translators have it *with* water, but as the Greek preposition *en*, must signify *in*, not *with* the Jordan, so when expressing the same act, or circumstance, it must mean the same thing.

Mr. Hervey, when contending that *en* signifies *in*, adds, I can prove it to have been in peaceable possession of this signification for more than *two thousand years*. "Every one knows," he observes in another place, "that *with* is not the native, obvious, and literal meaning; rather a meaning swayed, influenced, moulded by the preceding or following word."—*Letters to Wesley*, Let. ii. and x.

In four of the first versions of the Bible into English, we find these words rendered literally "in water;" but the expression not suiting the prevailing custom, it was afterwards rendered *with* water. It is *in*, in the Vulgate, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and several modern versions.—*Vide Pædobap. Exam.* vol. i. p. 103.

Dr. Campbell. "In water. Nothing can be plainer than that, if there be any incongruity, in the expression *in water*, this, *in Jordan*, must be equally incongruous."—*Note in loc.*

Lentant. "*In the water; in the Holy Ghost.* These words do very well express the ceremony of Baptism, which was at first performed by plunging the whole body in water, as also the copious effusion of the Holy Ghost, on the day of Pentecost."—*In Pædobap. Exam.* vol. i. p. 191.

My reader will infer, from the *four* particulars above noticed in the language of the sacred historians, in what manner the great harbinger of Christ administered this ordinance.

SECTION II.

The Baptism of Jesus Christ from the four Evangelists.

'OUR Lord's Baptism we next find, immediately following the account of John. This place attaches to it infinite interest and weight, by the infinite dignity of the persons baptized. The following is the fullest account given us.

Matt. iii. 13. Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan, unto John to be baptized of him. 14. But John forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? 15. And Jesus answering, said unto him, Suffer *it to be so* now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.—Mark i. 9. And—Jesus—was baptized of John in Jordan. Matt. iii. 16. And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water. Mark i. 10. And coming up out of the water, Luke iii. 21, and praying, the heaven was opened. 22. And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased. 23. And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age.

John i. 32. And John bare record; saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him. 33. And I knew him not; but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto

me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. 34. And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God.

What, my pious reader, can we say of the subject of baptism in *this* case? What an honor is here attached to this ordinance! and consequently to all that piously follow the example of the Redeemer in it?

Let the man who slights and contemns this sacred institution, calling it "a useless, unmeaning ceremony, incapable of washing away sin, or of effecting any good, and consequently utterly unnecessary," let him read these verses, and view the immaculate Son of God, who had "no sin" to wash away, hastening from Galilee down to Jordan "to be baptized." Let him see the "Wisdom of God" entering the streams, and bowing beneath them,

"The emblem of his future grave."

This, we should suppose, would teach him to think and to speak differently of the ordinance, and silence every objection to the practice of it. And if a sight of CHRIST in Jordan had no effect, let him *hear* and *see* the approbation of the FATHER and SPIRIT testified on this very occasion, and *immediately* upon his submission to this ordinance.

Four things you will here notice in the text.

1. The *language* of Christ in answer to John, thus explained by an esteemed commentator:

Mr. Scott. *Thus it becometh us.* "We never find that Jesus spake of himself in the plural number, and must therefore allow he meant John also, and *ALL God's servants* in a subordinate sense. It became Christ, as our surety, and as our example, perfectly to fulfil all righteousness; it becometh us *ALL* to walk in God's commandments and ordinances without exception."—*Fam. Bib. Notes on the place.*

2. The *Time* chosen for fulfilling the promise of the pouring forth the Spirit upon Christ. This is noticed and improved by the pious

Dr. Doddridge. "Jesus had no sin to wash away, and yet he was baptized, and God owned this ordinance so far as to make it the season of pouring forth the spirit upon him. And where can we expect this sacred effusion, but in conscientious and humble attendance upon divine appointments."—*Fam. Exp. Imp. of the place.*

3. The *Reason* why Christ would be baptized upon which hear the celebrated and excellent

Witsius. "Our Lord would be baptized, that he might conciliate authority to the

baptism of John—that by his own example he might commend and sanctify our baptism—that men might not be loath to come to the baptism of the Lord, seeing the Lord was not backward to come to the baptism of a servant—that by his baptism, he might represent the future condition both of himself and his followers, first *humble*, then *glorious*; now mean and low, then glorious and exalted; that represented by *immersion*, this by *emersion*—and, finally, to declare in his voluntary submission to baptism, that he would not delay the delivering up of himself to be immersed by the torrents of hell, yet with a certain faith and hope of emerging.”—*Miscel. Sac. T. II. Exer. XV. § 63.—Pæd. Ex. Vol. I. p. 147.*

4. The Circumstance immediately following his baptism, namely, his COMING UP OUT OF THE WATER, which implies that he went down into it; a circumstance required in no mode of baptism but immersion, and hence we infer he was *buried*, or *immersed* in water.

Dr. Macknight. “Jesus submitted to be baptized, that is, buried under the water by John, and to be raised out of it again, as an emblem of his future death and resurrection.”—*Translation of Epis. Notes on Rom. vi. 4.*

Vossius. “That John the Baptist and the apostles immersed persons whom they baptized, there is no doubt. For thus we read, and they were baptized IN Jordan. And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway OUT OF the water, &c.”—*In Pæd. Ex. V. I. p. 204.*

Bp. Taylor. “The custom of the ancient churches was not sprinkling, but immersion; in pursuance of the sense of the word in the commandment, and the example of our blessed Saviour.”—*Ut Supra, n. 199.*

My reader cannot be at a loss to know whether our Lord was an example of sprinkling infants, or the immersion of believers; nor will he, I hope, need to be reminded how infinitely interesting and binding any duty becomes by his example. How reasonable is the observation of Dr. Ridgeley, “The example of Christ and his apostles ought to be a rule to the churches in all succeeding ages.” To which every Christian will add, with Mr. Polhill, “The pattern of Christ and the apostles is more to me than all the human wisdom in the world.”

SECTION III.

Christ's baptizing by his disciples in Judea.

THIS is the only mention of our Lord's

baptizing or of the disciples, during his personal presence with them, and consequently it claims our very serious attention.

John iii. 22. After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judea: and there he tarried with them and baptized. 26. And they came unto John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to him. 37. John answered and said, A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven. 30. He must increase, but I must decrease.

Chap. iv. 1. When, therefore, the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John. 2. (Though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.) 3. He left Judea, and again departed again into Galilee.

The import of this passage is simply this: “Jesus went into the land of Judea, and baptized; many hearing of him, and remembering what John had preached concerning him, flocked to him, and soon it was generally known and said, “That Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John;” upon which the Saviour departed, and went into Galilee.”

The only thing to be noticed here, and it is certainly of some importance as to our first inquiry, is this, that Christ made disciples before he baptized them. He did not begin with baptizing, but with instructing. He first taught them his gospel, and they, believing and embracing his word, became his disciples; upon which, secondly, he baptized them. As this is all the evangelists have recorded respecting Christ's baptizing, through the whole of his ministry, this in consequently all in which the practice of Christ is given for the guide of his people. What we are to understand by “disciples,” or “making disciples,” is thus described by

Dr. Owen. “By disciples of Christ, I intend them, and them only, who profess faith in his person and doctrine, and to hear him, or to be judged by him, alone in all things, &c. This is the method of the gospel, that first men, by the preaching of it, be made disciples or be brought unto faith, in Christ, and then to be taught to do and observe whatever he commands.”—*In Pæd. Ex. Vol. ii. pp. 287 and 275.*

Our Lord however may be heard for himself, as to what is intended by his disciples, “Whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple.” Luke xiv. 27. Whatever therefore, may be said, in favor of infant baptism, it cannot

be said, that either the *example or practice* of Christ affords it any support.

SECTION IV.

John's last baptizing in Ænon.

THE next passage we find on our subject; is contained in very few words. It is however a passage of considerable weight as to our *second inquiry*.

John iii. 23. And John also was baptizing in Ænon, near to Salim, because there was much water there; and they came, and were baptized.

Independent of the sense of the word *baptize*, the reason assigned for John's choice of Ænon, would evidently indicate in what manner he administered this ordinance. Rivers, or places of much water," are never now resorted to by our friends for the purpose of sprinkling: and if they should be, it would never be assigned as a reason, "because there was *much water* there." As *much water* in that case would be utterly unnecessary, it would be *no reason*, and hence is never sought. But let the *baptizing* in this verse be translated, and all is plain and clear. "John was *immersing* the penitent Jews in Ænon, because there was *much water* there."

Calvin. From these words, John iii. 23, it may be inferred, that baptism was administered by John and Christ by plunging the whole body under water." *In Loc. Pæd. Eccl. V. I. p. 194.*

My reader, however, will be aware, that *polla udata* in this verse signifies literally *many waters*; and that some have contended in favor of sprinkling, that it refers to *many small rivulets, or shallow streams*, in that place. This interpretation destroys itself; for one shallow stream would supply water enough, to sprinkle all the people of Ænon, and Silam too; and a *great number* of shallow streams not being required, John would never choose Ænon on the *very account* of what was totally unnecessary.

If scripture be the best interpreter of scripture, which is universally allowed, my reader would do well to observe, that the same expression, "*many waters*," is used for the Euphrates, Jer. li. 13. Septaug., but the Euphrates is expressly styled "*The great river Euphrates*," Gen. xv. 18. Deut. i. 7, &c., and hence the inference would be natural, that he that before chose the *great river* of Jordan to baptize in, would now choose Ænon, not on account of its *shal-*

low streams, but of its affording the like facility with Jordan. Whether the *voice* which is compared to "*great thunder*," and "*the voice of many waters*," Rev. xiv. 2, can resemble most the fall of *many small rivulets*, or of a *vast river*, cannot be difficult to determine. Let us listen a moment to two of the most learned commentators on this verse, and, requesting the reader to remember it during our future inquiries, we will proceed.

Dr. Doddridge. "John was also at the same time baptizing at Ænon; and he particularly chose that place because there was a *great quantity* of water there, which made it very convenient for his purpose. Nothing, surely, can be more evident than that *polla udata*, many waters signifies a large quantity of water, it being sometimes used for the Euphrates. Jer. ii. 13. Septaug., *The voice of many waters* does plainly signify the roaring of a high sea."—*Fam. Expo. Para. and Note in loc.*

Dr. Whithy. *Opi polla udata en ekei; Because there was much water there*, in which their whole bodies might be dipped: for in this manner *only* was the Jewish baptism performed, by a descent into the water; Acts viii. 38, and an ascent out of it, ver. 29, and a burial in it. Rom. vi. 3, 4. Col. ii. 12."—*Annot. in loc.*

General account of John's success.

The above being the last mention of John's baptizing, it seems proper to close it with the short account given in Luke, of the general reception this *greatest of prophets* and his baptism met with from different characters. Some heard him, believed him, and were baptized by him; and adorned the goodness and mercy of God in sending him. But others, though of greater religious repute, rejected him and his baptism, and thereby rejected the gracious counsel of God, against their own spiritual interest. Our Lord, on this occasion, had spoken in the highest terms of his zealous harbinger, whose labors were now at an end, and it is immediately added,

Luke vii. 29. And all the people that heard *him*, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. 30. But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him. 35. But wisdom is justified of all her children.

Burkitt. "Others rejected the counsel of God—i. e. the revealed will of God, refusing to be baptized of him. This rejecting the counsel of God, we are guilty of, when we are ashamed, in times of perse-

cution to profess him—when we submit not ourselves to the reasonable laws and commands of Christ.”—*In loc.*

SECTION V.

Christ represents his sufferings under the figure of a Baptism, in Mark x. 35 to 40, and

Matt. xx. 22. BUT Jesus answered and said, ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? They say unto him, We are able. 23. And he said unto them, Ye shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with: but to sit on my right hand and on my left, is not mine to give, but it *shall be given to them*, for whom it is prepared of my Father.

Luke xii. 50. But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!

As *baptism* is here taken metaphorically, nothing decisive, in reference to the ordinance itself, can be grounded upon it. Our Lord in describing the greatness of his sufferings, he calls it a *baptism*. The only question in reference to our present inquiries is this, Does sprinkling a little water on the face, or being totally immersed in it, best set forth the severity of Christ's sufferings? The following extracts will probably contain my readers opinion.

Dr. Doddridge thus paraphrases the places: “Are you able to drink of the bitter cup of which I am now about to drink so deep, and to be baptized with the baptism, and plunged into that sea of sufferings with which I am shortly to be baptized, and as it were, *overwhelmed* for a time!”—*Paraphrase on Matt. xx. 22.*

“I have indeed a most dreadful baptism to be baptized with; and know that I shall be shortly bathed, as it were in blood, and *plunged* in the most *overwhelming* distress.”—*Paraphrase on Luke xii. 50.*

Witsius. “Immersion into the water is to be considered by us as exhibiting that dreadful abyss of divine justice, in which Christ for our sins, was for a time, as it were, absorbed; as in David, his type, he complains, Psalm lxi. 2, *I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me.*” —*Econ. of the Cov. L. iv. C. xvi. § 26.*

Mr. Hervey, the pious author of *Theron and Aspasio*, expresses himself, on this subject, with great energy. “He longed, (benignant, blessed BEING!) he longed for

the fatal hour. He severely rebuked one of his disciples who would have dissuaded him from going as a volunteer to the cross. He was even straitened, under a kind of holy uneasiness till the dreadful work was accomplished; till he was baptized with the baptism of his sufferings, bathed in blood, and *plunged* in death.”—*Theron and Aspasio*, vol. ii. p. 150.

SECTION VI.

The COMMISSION which our Lord gave his Apostles about the time of his ascension into Heaven, containing the INSTITUTION of Christian Baptism.

BAPTISM, it is evident, was instituted long before the following commission was delivered to the apostles. It was instituted by God, and enjoined on John, the forerunner of Christ, as a part of the work to which he was especially called. Hence, when speaking of the Father, he describes him by this very circumstance, “He that sent me to baptize with water.” John i. 33. Our Saviour also had directed his disciples to baptize such persons as should receive his word, when he commenced his ministry; see § III.: but he delayed the *full* and *formal* institution of Christian baptism, till he was risen from the dead, when he united it with his last most solemn charge, given by Matthew and Mark, in the following verses:

Matt. xxviii. 16. Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. 18. And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. 19. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; 20. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, *even* unto the end of the world.

Mark xvi. 15. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. 16. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. 19. So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.

How solemn and interesting was this occasion! The Redeemer had undergone the baptism of his sufferings, last described, he had been bathed in blood in the garden; he had sunk into death on the cross, under

floods of wrath due to mankind ! But now he is arisen triumphant, and is about to ascend to his glory.

He had appointed his disciples to meet him on a mountain of Galilee, where he was to give them the important charge contained in the verses above. The solemn hour is come ; we may be assured the disciples are eager to catch every word from their ascending Lord, and that he would give them his directions in the plainest language possible.

He begins by encouraging their sorrowful minds with a view, of his supreme power in heaven and earth ; in heaven, to give them the Holy Spirit ; to employ the angels in their behalf ; and finally, to bestow the kingdom of heaven upon them. So he had all power in earth, to gather his church out of all nations ; to subdue or restrain his enemies ; and to reign over and dwell with his people as Lord and King in Zion.

Hence the Saviour gives them the commission for preaching and baptizing, which you, my reader, cannot too attentively consider. If you conceive there is any obscurity in the one evangelist, the other will explain him, and this explanation you will, no doubt, esteem preferable to ten thousand criticisms. By uniting the words of both, they may be thus disposed, "Go ye, therefore, into all the world ; teach all nations, and preach the gospel to every creature ; him that believeth, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and he shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

Our great Legislator, who only has right to enact laws for his church, to whom we must submit, and who will have nothing taken away from, or added to his word, Rev. xxii. 18, 19, has here described to his apostles *the person* to whom they are to administer this his ordinance, namely, the *believer*, the person who shall cordially believe the gospel which they shall preach ; and if he has given no direction to admit any other to this ordinance, who will dare to speak where he is silent ? or even allow himself to *think* that the Lord has not expressed his own will sufficiently clear, or sufficiently extensive ? Let us hear

Mr. Archibald Hall, a Pædobaptist, speaking of this subject : "How grand and awful is that weighty preface to the institution of Christian baptism ! Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. Who is that daring insolent worm, that will presume to dispute the authority, or change the ordinances of HIM who is given to be Head over all things to the church ? The solemnity of this ordinance is complete ; and all the purposes of its institution are secured by the authority and blessing of Christ. His laws are not subject to any of those imperfections which are the attendants of

the best contrived systems among men, and frequently need explanations, amendments and corrections. It is most dangerous and presumptuous to add any ceremony, or to join any service, on any pretence, unto Heaven's appointment."—*Gospel Worship*, vol. i. p. 325. *Pæd. Ex.* vol. i. p. 29.

It has been replied, that "our Lord required *all* nations to be baptized : 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them,' &c., and hence, as infant children make a part of all nations, he has here *commanded* their baptism." In reply, let me ask, whom could our Saviour intend, when in the first words he said "Go teach all nations ?" My reader will certainly answer, "Doubtless such in all nations as are capable of being *taught* ; not infant children, for certain, or any naturally incapable of understanding what they hear." If this be true, which none will deny, our Lord *must* intend the same persons, when he immediately added these two words, "*baptizing them ;*" and as *teaching* is set *before* baptizing, the passage plainly directs that persons should *first* be instructed in the truths and doctrines of the gospel, and in case of their receiving the glad tidings, they should *secondly* be baptized. This perfectly accords with the language of the other evangelist, "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved."

It has also been objected that the Greek verb, rendered *teach*, is literally *disciple*, "Go disciple me all nations," which is done by baptizing "them." That the word signifies to make disciples, is not denied, but that this is done by baptism, is contrary to fact. Simon Magus was baptized by Philip ; yet he remained in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity. Acts viii. 13, 23. And are there not, in our days, any baptized *infidels* ; who, so far from being disciples of Christ, are his open avowed enemies ? Yet the words be rendered, "Go, disciple me all nations ;" but let the Divine speaker himself explain what he means by his disciple, and the question is settled. "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed." John viii. 31. "Whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple." Luke xvi. 27.

Poolen's Continuators ; "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations. The Greek is, make *disciples* all nations, but that must be first by preaching, and instructing them, and Mark expounds it, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature ;' that is, to every reasonable creature capable of hearing and receiving it."—*Annot. in loc.*

Mr. Baxter has a very forcible passage on the same place. "Go disciple me all nations, baptizing them. As for those that

are disciplined by baptizing, and not before baptizing, they speak not the sense of the text; nor that which is true or rational: else why should one be baptized more than another? This is not like some occasional historical mention of baptism; but it is the very commission of Christ to his apostles, for preaching and baptizing; and purposefully expresseth their several works in their several places and order. Their *first* task is, by teaching, to make disciples, which are by Mark called believers. The *second* work is, to baptize them, whereto is annexed the promise of their salvation. The *third* work is, to teach them all other things which are afterwards to be learned in the school of Christ. [Observe what follows.] To contemn this order, is to renounce all rules of order; for where can we expect to find it, if not here? I profess, my conscience is fully satisfied from this text, that it is one kind of faith, even *saving*, that **MUST GO BEFORE BAPTISM**; and the profession whereof, the minister must expect.—*Disput. of Right to Sac.* pp. 91, 149, 150. *Pæd. Ex.* vol. ii. p. 270.

It would be endless to cite authors in confirmation of the plain interpretation given above of the scriptures before us. We can only add the following:

St. Jerome, (the most learned of all the Latin fathers.) "They *first* teach all nations; then when they are taught, they baptize them with water; for it cannot be that the body should receive the sacrament of baptism, unless the soul has before received the true faith."—*In Dr. Gale on Wall.* p. 319.

Calvin. "Because Christ requires teaching before baptizing, and will have *believers only* admitted to baptism: baptism does not seem to be rightly administered, except faith precede."—*In Harm. Evan. Comment. ad loc.* *Pæd. Ex.* vol. ii. p. 272.

Saurin. "In the primitive church instruction preceded baptism: agreeably to the order of Jesus Christ, 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them,' &c."—*Serm.* Tom. 1. p. 301.

We have now read and examined, as far as our limits would admit, all the passages of the *four gospels*, that relate to our inquiries. We have found the *example*, the *practice* and the *command* of Christ, on this subject; but the baptism of none but believers has yet met with countenance from His authority. We have next to examine the Acts of the Apostles, for the obedience of the disciples to the command of their Lord, and if we have in any way mistaken his will, their obedience to it will most certainly correct our errors; and if we have understood his word their practice on the contrary, will confirm our opinion.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

"The Penman of this Scripture," the assembly of divines in their argument to it, assure us, "was Luke the evangelist, (as appears from the words of it) for the most part an eye-witness to the things he records, being constantly a fellow laborer with Paul. His purpose" they add, "in writing this narrative was, as he intimates in his first preface, that the church might have the *certain* knowledge of Christ, his gospel, and kingdom: that our faith might not be built on uncertain reports of pretenders to truth." Hence, admitting the writer to be a faithful and pious historian, and writing purposely for the direction of the people of God ever after, and, above all, under the influence of the Spirit of God, we may safely rely, not only on the accuracy of the accounts, but on the fulness and sufficiency of the information to answer his professed purpose.

We have here recorded *nine instances* of the administration of baptism. If therefore, as above stated, we have misunderstood the Saviour's commission, the apostles certainly did not: and hence, by their obedience to it, we shall find an infallible interpretation of his will. The first instance is,

SECTION VII

The baptism at the Feast of Pentecost.

On this memorable occasion, which was but ten days from the ascension, when the apostles and disciples were together at Jerusalem, it pleased God to accomplish the promise of pouring forth upon them the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost. By this divine and miraculous power they all were enabled to speak in different languages to the multitude, then assembled at Jerusalem from different nations; so that every one heard in his own tongue, the wonderful works of God. Some having spoken dishonorably of the disciples, Peter stands forth in the midst to defend them; after which he delivers to the multitude a long and impressive discourse, in which he charged the Jews with having crucified the Lord of glory; but that God had raised him from the dead, and exalted him to his right hand, as the only Lord and Christ. Upon this follow the verses relating to the ordinance, and descriptive of the subjects of it.

Acts ii. 37. Now when they heard *this*

they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter, and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? 38. Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: 39. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.

41. Then they that gladly received his word, were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. 42. And they continued steadfastly in the apostles doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers; 47. Praising God, and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.

Here we must observe how the apostle Peter obeys his Lord's direction in the commission. He begins by *preaching*, and never mentions a word of baptism till he found some of his hearers answering the character "he that believeth." Hence they are thus described: 1. They are pricked in their heart, and cried, *What shall we do?* 2. They are exhorted to a deeper repentance. 3. They *gladly received the word*, and thereon were baptized, and added to the church. 4. They afterward *continued* steadfast in the gospel they heard, and in the practice of the duties of it, praising God, and beloved of the people. Whether any part of this description will apply to infants, we must leave the reader to judge. Nothing can be plainer than the description given by the pen of inspiration.

The 39th verse, in the above passage, "The promise is to you, and to your children," is commonly urged in favor of infant baptism; as if the apostle alluded to some promise, on the ground of which, infant children were deemed proper subjects of Christian baptism. To answer which, let the three following things be considered!

1. The promise to which the apostle alludes, has no relation to infant children, it being the promise of the gift of the Holy Ghost, of which infants are incapable. The people, observe, were astonished at the effects and gifts of the Holy Ghost, which they saw and heard. The apostle assures them, ver. 16—18, it was the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, which prophecy is thus expressed, chap. ii. 28, "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions." The apostle, after having proceeded in his discourse,

observing his hearers still amazed at the gifts of the Spirit, in order to turn their amazement into joy, refers them a second time, to this promise, ver. 38, 39, "Repent, &c., and you [yourselves] shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, FOR [by this I assure you of it] the promise is to you and to your children." Now, as the gift of the Spirit is the *promise*, and as infant children are incapable of receiving it, infant children, in that age, cannot be intended. What the apostle meant by children in the promise, the promise itself will infallibly explain. "Your sons and your daughters shall prophecy; your young men shall see visions;" which cannot in any sense be applicable to infants.

Dr. Whitby. "These words will not prove a right of infants to receive baptism, the promise here being that only of the Holy Ghost, mentioned verses 16, 17, 18, and so relating only to the times of the miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost, and to those persons, who, by their age, were capable of these extraordinary gifts." *Annot. in loc.*

Dr. Doddridge. "The promise is to you and to your children. Considering that the gift of the Spirit had been mentioned just before, it seems most natural to interpret this as a reference to that passage in Joel, which has been so largely recited above, ver. 17, &c., where God promises the effusion of the Spirit 'on their sons and their daughters.'"—*Fam. Expos. Note* on the place.

2. The word in the original, tendered *children*, signifies posterity.

Dr. Hammond. "If any have made use of that very unconcludent argument, Acts ii. 39, in support of infant baptism, I have nothing to say in defence of them. The word children there, is really the posterity of the Jews, and not peculiarly their infant children."—*Works*, vol. i. p. 490.

Limborch, (a learned divine of Amsterdam.) "By the original word, rendered *children*, the apostle understands, not infants, but posterity; in which signification the word occurs in many places in the New Testament! see among others, John viii. 39. 'If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham.'—Whence it appears that the argument which is very commonly taken from this passage, for the baptism of infants, is of no force, and good for nothing."—*Comment. in loc. Paed. Ex.* vol ii. p. 352.

3. The words of the apostle immediately following explain his own meaning in the most decisive terms: "The promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even to as many as the Lord our God shall call," to as many of you and your children, and the Gentiles afar off, as

God should call by his word and Spirit, to this great privilege through his Son.

Matthew Henry. "To this general, the following limitation must refer, even as many of them, as many particular persons in each nation, 'as the Lord our God shall call effectually into the fellowship of Jesus Christ.'"—*Expos.* on the place.

From the whole it appears most evident, that none were encouraged to hope for Christian baptism, but such as were called effectually by grace, and none were baptized but such as, 'gladly received the word.' So far, and no farther, the word of God is our guide.

SECTION VIII.

Philip baptizing at Samaria.

THUS Philip, it seems, was a deacon of the church at Jerusalem, chosen to that office with Stephen, chap. vi. 5. Those two deacons at length, were raised to a more important work. Stephen had not entered the ministry long, before he was called upon to suffer martyrdom, in the cause of his Lord. Philip's labors and success are thus described:

Acts viii. 5. Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them. 6. And the people with one accord gave heed unto those things which Philip spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did. 8. And there was great joy in that city.

12. But when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. 13. Then Simon himself believed also: and when he was baptized, he continued with Philip, and wondered, beholding the miracles and signs which were done.

In this instance, as well as the former, the commission is literally fulfilled. Philip began his work by preaching Christ to them, which when they heard and saw the miracles, they were filled with joy. Not a word about baptizing till some of the people believed the things concerning Jesus Christ; then *they were baptized, both men and women.*

Is it not highly probable, that some of these baptized men and women and children. And is it not still more probable, that if Christ designed, and the apostles practised, the baptism of the children of believers, Philip would have required those believing Samaritans to have brought their children to the ordinance? And if baptism

was administered to men, women and children, how unaccountably strange is it, that the Sacred Historian, writing for the direction of after churches, and under Divine influence, should record two descriptions, and leave out the *third*? It is impossible that such a defect should be in such a book: and hence we infer that the only subject of baptism were, as described, *Believers, both men and women*: For, as

Mr. T. Boston justly observes, "The Sacraments are not converting but confirming ordinances. They are appointed for the use and benefit of God's children, not of others: they are given to believers as believers; so that none others are capable of the same before the Lord."—*Works*, p. 384. Nothing need be added farther on this place.

SECTION IX.

The Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch.

THE eunuch described in this chapter, was a person of high importance in the kingdom of Ethiopia, but a proselyte to the Jewish religion. He is now returning from Jerusalem, whither he had gone to worship at one of the public festivals, when Philip is directed to meet him in his way, and to teach him what, with so much success, he had taught the Samaritans. He found the eunuch sitting in his chariot, reading the prophet Isaiah, chap. liii. 7, 8. *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, &c.* Philip having asked him if he understood the prophet, the eunuch acknowledged his inability without assistance, and wished Philip to explain to him, whether the prophet, in that place, spake of himself or of some other; and took him up into his chariot for that purpose: upon which we read,

Acts viii. 35. Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same scripture, and preached unto him Jesus. 36. And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, See, here is water what doth hinder me to be baptized? 37. And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered, and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. 28. And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him. And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, and the eunuch saw him no more: and he went on his way rejoicing.

These verses require no comment to render them plainer; nor will the reader need to be put in mind of the commission of Christ, after perusing them. We have here an example of the practice of the apostles before they admitted a person to baptism. Philip might have judged the eunuch a proper subject for baptism, after having heard the gospel, by being directed from heaven to teach him; he might have judged it also, from his sincere request of it; yet he does not, he dares not, baptize him, unless he profess to believe the gospel *with all his heart*, remembering, no doubt, that Christ had appointed the ordinance only for such.

Those who contend that servants and children were all baptized in those days with, and on account of their master and parents, (see Matthew Henry on Acts ii. 41.) would find it difficult to support their hypothesis in this case. It is the greatest absurdity to suppose that Philip would admit all the eunuch's servants to baptism, without any profession, or even instruction, when he objected to that pious master, after he requested it, unless he was able to give a frank and open profession of faith in Christ. But he baptized none but the eunuch; and therefore we may safely conclude, the apostles had "no such custom, neither the churches of God." This relates to our first inquiry.

We have here also, relating to our second inquiry, some particular circumstances, calculated to determine most decisively the manner in which baptism was at this time administered. That this should be described in every instance, is not to be expected: if we have it but once, and admit that the apostles were agreed as to their practice, we must grant, that as they had but "one Lord, and one faith," so they had but "one baptism," Eph. iv. 5. We cannot for a moment imagine, that one baptized by sprinkling, another by pouring, and another by immersion, and in different churches and places by different methods; for how would this diversity and opposition be received by people taught to be so strict, punctual and uniform, in the ordinances of the Old Testament—and when all the apostles professed to have the *same* command, were commissioned by the *same* Lord, to preach the *same* truth and doctrine in every place?

Observe 1. Philip and the eunuch came to the water, ver. 36, while in the chariot together. In this situation a small quantity might easily have been given them, and the ordinance administered without the inconvenience of descending from the chariot, if a *small quantity* of water would suffice.

Dr. Doddridge. "It would be very unnatural to suppose, that they went down into the water, merely that Philip might take

up a little water in his hand to pour on the eunuch. A person of his dignity had no doubt many vessels in his baggage, [by which water might be brought into the chariot] on such a journey, through a desert country; a precaution absolutely necessary for travellers in those parts, and never omitted by them. See *Dr. Shaw's Travels* pref. p. 4. *Fam. Expos.* Note in loc.

2. Philip and the eunuch not only came to the water, but descended from the chariot, and *went down both into the water*; and came *up out of it*; which, as it is a circumstance never known or observed by Christians, in this ordinance, but where it is administered by immersion, and as for any other mode, as pouring or sprinkling, it is so grossly absurd, we cannot but own, with numberless authors on the place, of all denominations that immersion must have been here practised.

Quenstedius, (a learned Lutheran divine.) "Immersion is as it were, a burial: emersion, a resurrection. It is written, Acts viii. 38, 39, that Philip *went down* with the eunuch *into the water*, and there baptized him: and it is added, that, the ordinance being administered, they both came *up out of the water*. Both the Eastern and Western churches were very observant of the rite of immersion for a great number of years."—*In Pædobap. Exam.* vol. i. p. 220. See *Dr. Towerson*, at p. 8.

Calvin, on this place, observes, Here we perceive how baptism was administered among the ancients, for they immersed the whole body in water."—*Comment. on Acts* viii. 38.

I suppose, my reader, I may venture to add, that in the case above, not the baptism of *infants by sprinkling*, but the baptism of *believers by immersion*, has a plain sacred precedent. The eunuch promptly trod in the footsteps of that Saviour, in whom he now believed, and consequently, "went on his way rejoicing."

SECTION X.

The baptism of St. Paul.

SAUL, the zealous persecutor, while breathing out threatenings against the disciples of Christ, is met in his career of persecution, by the Lord himself, at whose exceeding glory, and powerful word, he falls prostrate and blind on the ground. Ananias, a devout disciple, is directed of God, to go to him, and teach him what he is to do, and for his encouragement in visiting the persecutor, Ananias is informed that Saul was *praying*, and that God had made him a chosen vessel to himself.

Acts ix. 17. And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord, *even* Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. Chap. xxii. 14. And he said, the God of our fathers hath chosen thee, thou shouldst know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldst hear the voice of his mouth. 15. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. 16. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord. Chap. ix. 18. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales; and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized.

The promptitude of Ananias in baptizing Paul as soon as he had received the message from God, and the restoration of his sight, shows how strictly this ordinance was observed in the days of the apostles; and consequently, how it should be observed to the end of time. A remark to this effect is made by

Stanhope, (an eminent English divine.) "Observe here, that baptism, administered to a convert under such circumstances, is a sufficient intimation how guilty a neglect those deluded people allow themselves in, who treat this and other like ordinances with scorn and contempt."—*In Lindsay's Crit. Notes* on the place.

Paul is, exhorted to *arise, and be baptized, and wash away his sins, &c.* He was to arise, and yield obedience to the command of Christ in baptism, and at the same time that his body received the washing of water, to pray that he spiritually might be freed from sin, by the purifying Spirit and cleansing blood of Christ. This, the action of immersion, or plunging under water, would strikingly represent.

Dr. Hammond. "The water here is set to signify the purifying Spirit of Christ, which hath that double power in it of cleansing from sin and from guilt. And the ancient manner of putting the person baptized under water, and then taking him out again, was set to denote the two several acts of this grace, first by way of dying, then of rising again.—*Pract. Catechism*, p. 369.

"There is a fountain filled with blood,
Drawn from Immanuel's veins;
And sinners plunged beneath that flood,
Lose all their guilty stains." *Courper.*

That Paul was a proper subject for baptism, agreeably to the commission, as having been taught, and believing the gospel,

is by none disputed; but that he was immersed, some have questioned, urging, that it was not likely that a suitable place, or a sufficient quantity of water could be obtained. But that Damascus (where the apostle now was) had suitable places for dipping, is undeniably evident; for when Naaman, of this place, was required to wash his leprous body, by dipping himself in the Jordan, 2 King v. 10—14, he replied: "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them and be clean?" On these rivers, hear the learned

Assembly of Divines. "Much is written of the clearness, sweetness, and usefulness of these two rivers. The one is said to run through many parts of Damascus, whereby it comes to pass that *most of the houses* in that city are furnished with a *store* of good water. The other is said to flow along by it, whereby their gardens, orchards, vineyards, meadows, &c., are made very fertile."—*Annot* on 2 Kings, v. 12.

Hence it was impossible that any place could be more favorable to immersion than Damascus. Happily, however, we can cite the apostle to decide this question for himself. Speaking of his baptism, and that of the primitive Christians, he plainly describes the mode of it. "So many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death: therefore we are BURIED with him by baptism into death." Rom. vi. 3, 4.

SECTION XI.

The baptism of Cornelius and his friends.

THE next instance records the first Gentiles that were baptized, and received into the number of the disciples. Cornelius was a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house. He is directed from heaven to send for Peter the apostle, who should unfold to him the mysteries of the gospel of Christ. Cornelius, against the apostle's coming, had called together his kinsmen and near friends, to hear the will of God, and requested Peter, when arrived, to declare all that God had commanded him. The apostle begins his discourse by testifying that he then evidently saw God respected not the persons of men, but every where, of every nation, he was accepted with God, who feareth him, and worketh righteousness: and after having taught them the leading doctrines of the gospel, he concludes by repeating what Christ had commissioned his apostles to do as their first and chief work, and the testimony of

the prophets concerning him, in the two first verses below ; after which we have the ordinance in question.

Acts x. 42. And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead. 43. To him give all the prophets witness, that, through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.

44. While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word. 45. And they of the circumcision which believed, were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. 46. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God. Then answered Peter, 47. Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we ? 48. And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.

The order of the commission is here also observed. Peter began by preaching ; and never a word of baptism is found till the people had heard the gospel ; had received the Holy Ghost ; had miraculously spoken in different tongues ; and magnified God. Then, and not till then, Peter pleads for their baptism ; and what should be particularly observed, he pleads for it upon the ground of their being most evidently made the children of God, by faith in Christ, and through the power of the Spirit. His language in verse 47 implies, that if they did not appear to be regenerate persons, any one might object to their baptism ; but as they had given evidences that could not be disputed, he infers, no one could deny the propriety of their being baptized. Hence they were, as clear as words can describe them, only adult persons. Accordingly

Dr. Holland had infallible authority for his observation. " In the first plantation of Christianity among the Gentiles, such only as were of full age, after they were instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, were admitted to baptism."—*In Dr. Wall's Hist. In. Bap.* vol. ii. chap. ii. § 14.

As to the manner by which these persons were baptized, as nothing is said of it by the sacred historian, no one has any ground for observation upon it. We are only to infer, they were baptized in the usual way, according to the example and command of Christ. It has been insinuated, however, that Peter most probably, verse 47, required a little water to be brought him in a cup or basin for the purpose of sprinkling ; but

the apostle neither speaks of little or much water, nor about bringing it, but simply of water ; and, no doubt, he intended as much as the ordinance generally requires. And indeed, if the insinuation were a fact, it is highly improbable, that Peter, receiving a cup of water, would command others to baptize, as he himself might administer in the same time that he was giving the directions.

SECTION XII.

The baptism of Lydia and her household.

THE three following instances, as they relate to households, are commonly urged in favor of infant baptism, and indeed, as being the principal support of that practice in the New Testament. The reader will, therefore, the more particularly examine the scriptures in reference to the persons that constituted these households, and if he find recorded the baptism of one infant, or any word in the text which evidently indicates it, he will consider the point as settled forever in favor of infant baptism ; but if the text does not contain such an indication of infants, but describes the baptized households, as consisting of persons arrived to the years of understanding, and so capable of hearing and believing the gospel ; then it must be granted, adult or believers' baptism receives all the support these instances afford. The first is of Lydia and her household.

Paul, whose baptism, we have just considered, is now become the most zealous apostle. He, with Silas, (and with them, probably Luke, the writer of this history) are sent to Macedonia, and to Philippi, a chief city of it, to preach the gospel. Being arrived, they began their work in the following manner :

Acts xvi. 13. And on the Sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made ; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted thither. 14. And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us : whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul. 15. And when she was baptized, and her household, she besought us, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house and abide there. And she constrained us.

40. And they (that is, Paul and Silas, who afterwards had been imprisoned at Philippi,) went out of the prison and entered

into the house of Lydia, and when they had seen the brethren they comforted them and departed.

Lydia, herself, it is evident, had a right to be baptized, according to the order of Jesus Christ, *He that believeth, &c.* But of what does it appear, from the text, did her household consist? of children, or grown persons? Before we answer this question, we observe there are *four* things which a Pædobaptist must take for granted, before he can urge this place in his favor; but if he can *prove* none of them, his argument (to use the learned Limborch's phrase) "is good for nothing." 1. That Lydia had, at this time, or lately, an husband. 2. That she had children, and children then in infancy, or under the years of understanding. 3. That these children were with her at Philippi. That such children were really baptized.

Now the whole of this we consider highly improbable; for respecting the first, it does not appear likely Lydia had any husband, as she herself is engaged in active business, and business that required her to travel to very distant places, and especially as we find no mention of him, though the disciples were frequently at her house. To the second, it may be said, that thousands are married and have no children; that thousands of families with children, have none under the years of understanding, and that if Lydia had, she would be, most probably, incapable of her present employment. To the third, that if Lydia had young children, she is not likely to have taken them with her on so long and troublesome a journey; for it would seem that Lydia was come from Thyatira, her home, for the purpose of selling purple, and for her convenience had taken a house or apartments at Philippi, which was about three hundred miles distant from Thyatira. And to the fourth, that if we admit the three former, it cannot be proved from the word *household*, that every one belonging to her was baptized; for the word is sometimes used in scripture for the principal part of a family. Thus in 1 Sam. i. 12, "Elkanah and *all of his house* went up to Shilo, to offer to the Lord the yearly sacrifice and his vow;" yet we read, that "Hannah, his wife, with her young son Samuel abode at home at Ramah."

The argument, therefore, for infant baptism, grounded upon the baptism of Lydia's household, is extremely weak, as it is highly improbable *she had either husband or children*: and, certainly before any such custom can be supported, as an ordinance of the New Testament, it ought to be unde-

nially proved, that she had infant children, and that they were actually baptized.

But, more satisfactory to the pious reader, than ten thousand surmises, the question of the persons of Lydia's household may be answered, with the greatest probability, from the last verse above cited. Paul and Silas being delivered from prison, went into the house of Lydia, and here, undoubtedly, they found her "household," that they had baptized; having entered, we read, they saw **THE BRETHREN**, and **COMFORTED THEM**. Lydia's household, therefore, being called "brethren," and capable of being "comforted" by the word, must have been adults, and not infant children.

Dr. Whitby seems to consider it unquestionable. "And when she, and those of her household, were instructed in the Christian faith, in the nature of baptism required by it, she was baptized and her household."—*Par. on the place*.

Limborch. "An undoubted argument, therefore cannot be drawn from this instance, by which it may be demonstrated, that infants were baptized by the apostles. It might be that all in her house were of a mature age, who, as in the exercise of a right understanding, they believed, so they were able to make a public profession of that faith, when they received baptism."—*Com. in loc. Pæd. Ex. vol. ii. p. 259*.

Assembly of Divines. "Of the city of Thyatira, a city of Asia, here dwelt Lydia, that devout servant of God," "And entered into the house of Lydia: doubtless to confirm them in the faith which they had preached to them; Lydia and **HERS** hearing of their miraculous deliverance, could not but be comforted and confirmed in the truth."—*Annot. on Acts xvi. 14, 40*.

The place at which Lydia was taught and baptized must have been remarkably convenient for immersion. The people were by the side of a river, and at a place prepared and frequented for public worship, and religious purification, by washing in the water. This agrees with the paraphrase and note on the place, by

Dr. Doddridge. "On the Sabbath day we went out of the city to the river Strymon, where, according to the custom of the Jews, there was an oratory, or a place of public prayer. It is certain that the Jews had a custom of building their oratories, or proseuchas, or places of public prayer, by the seaside, or near rivers, for the sake of purification; which was practised also by the heathens before solemn devotions." Hence we add, that at a place so favorable, no doubt the example of Christ was duly observed.

SECTION XIII.

The baptism of the Philippian Jailer and household.

PAUL and Silas having been cast into prison at Philippi, are delivered from their confinement at midnight, by the miraculous interposition of God. An earthquake shook the foundations of the prison, so that the doors of it were opened, and the prisoners' bands loosed. The jailer suspecting the escape of the prisoners, drew his sword to destroy himself; but which Paul prevented, by assuring him the prisoners were all there. Upon this we read his conversion and baptism.

Acts xvi. 29. Then he called for a light and sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas. 30. And brought them out, and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved? 31. And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. 32. And they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. 33. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed *their* stripes; and was baptized, he and all his, straightway. 34. And when he had brought them unto his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.

Here observe, 1. The jailer bringing Paul and Silas out of the prison, being persuaded that they were the servants of the true God, and were now delivered by his power from their unjust and cruel punishment; and deeply convinced, at the same time, of his own sin and danger, urges them to tell him *what* he should do to be saved? To this greatest of questions he received a direct answer: 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house.' It is probable, many if not all the jailer's family or household, alarmed at this awful event, ran to his assistance, as his life they would consider imminently in danger, both by the prisoners in order to escape, and especially by the law, if any had fled. Hence Paul indirectly spake to the whole, "Believe, and thou shalt be saved," yea, and thy house too, in the same way.

Dr. Doddridge. "Thou shalt be saved, and thine house." "The meaning cannot be, that the eternal salvation of his family could be secured by *his* faith; but that—if they also themselves believed, they should be entitled to the same spiritual and everlasting blessings with himself; which Paul might the rather add, as it is probable that many of them, under this terrible alarm, might have attended the master of the fami-

ly into the dungeon."—*Fam. Expo. Note* on the place.

2. We may next learn, from the text, in the most satisfactory manner, of what the jailer's household consisted: that they were not infants, or persons so young as to be incapable of being taught the gospel, and of believing it; for thus we read, ver. 32, "They spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to *all* that were in his house." These two or three words from the pen of inspiration, decide the controversy, This household is instructed, *all*; therefore infants could not be included.

3. St. Luke farther describes the jailer and his household, and shows thereby, how the Lord's commission was still strictly obeyed. Paul and Silas *first* preached the gospel to the whole house, as observed above; and now we read, ver. 34, the jailer "rejoiced, *believing* in God, with *all* his house. Then it follows he had no infant children.

Matthew Henry. "The voice of rejoicing, with that of salvation, was heard in the jailer's house—"He rejoiced, believing in God with *all* his house, there was *none* in his house that refused to be baptized, and so made a jar in the ceremony, but they were *unanimous* in embracing the gospel, which added much to the joy."—*Expos.* in loc.

Calvin is still more expressive. "Luke commends the pious zeal of the jailer, because he dedicated his whole house to the Lord, in which also the grace of God illustriously appeared, because it suddenly brought the *whole* family to a pious consent."—*Comment.* in loc.

There is nothing in the text relative to the *mode* of their baptism except the words that relate to the fact, "he was baptized and all his;" that is, they were *immersed* in the name of the Lord; for this it cannot be denied, is the native sense of the word. That the jailer had no convenient place for immersion, must first be proved before it be granted. It is certain, the river Strymon, ver. 13, to which the people were accustomed to go for purification, was near; and it is highly probable, there were many places much nearer, if not in the jailers own premises, (which was the opinion of the learned Grotius,) that would most commodiously, admit of the ordinance in this form. It must be considered, how common a practice cold bathing was in this climate. That frequent bathing was usual among the Grecians and Romans, and is still in Turkey, in which country this city Phillippi stood, is testified by

Lord Bacon. "It is strange that the use of bathing, as a part of diet, is left. With the Romans and Grecians it was as usual as eating or sleeping; and so it is among

the Turks at this day."—*Nat. Hist. Cent. VIII. Exper. 740. In Dr. Stennet on Add. p. 34.*

Till it be proved that it was not the case, we are bound to believe they followed the pattern of their Lord, and were (to use the language of the person who in all probability baptized them) *buried* with Christ by baptism.

SECTION XIV.

St. Paul baptizing at Corinth.

THE next instance is the baptism of several persons at Corinth, where we now find the same apostle exerting himself to the utmost for the spread of Messiah's kingdom. Here though many "opposed themselves and blasphemed," yet he zealously persevered, and his labors were crowned with success; for thus we read:

Acts xviii. 4. And he reasoned in the synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. 5. And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the Jews *that Jesus was Christ*. 8. And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house: and many of the Corinthians hearing, believed, and were baptized.

A church being formed in this place, Paul afterward writes them two epistles. In the first of these he laments the unhappy divisions that prevailed among them, in contending for different ministers; as if they had so many Saviours, and had been baptized in their separate names. Upon which he reasons:

1 Cor. i. 13. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? 14. I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius: 15. Lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name. 16. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptized any other. 17. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.

Chap. xvi. 15. Ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the first-fruits of Achaia, and *that* they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints.

Paul, at Corinth, as at all other places, begins his work, by testifying to the people "The things concerning Jesus Christ," and by teaching, not baptizing, he makes disciples to Christ. He continued his labors at

Corinth a year and six months, in which time, many, hearing his preaching, "believed and were baptized." He himself baptized but few, namely, Crispus, Gaius, and the household of Stephanas, and in this he afterward rejoiced, as none of them, in their angry contentions, and excessive partiality, could say, "they were for Paul; for Paul baptized them, and that in his own name;" For, he adds, the first and chief work for which Christ sent him, was, "not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." This assertion of the apostle will expose the error of those who talk about *making disciples* by baptizing them; for if baptism made the subjects of it the disciples of Christ, Paul could not have said he was not sent to baptize: for to *make disciples* to Christ, was the great charge and command of the Lord to all his apostles, and was at all times, the supreme object of Paul's zeal, labors, and sufferings.

The household of Crispus, as well as himself, were, no doubt, all baptized, as they were all proper subjects of the ordinance, agreeably to the words of the Institution for *he believed* on the Lord with all his house. Hence the household of Crispus, like that of the jailer, cannot be urged in favor of any but those that practise *believers' baptism*.

The household of Stephanas (which is the last household said to be baptized) is not described where their baptism is recorded; and had nothing in any other place, been said of them, this would have been the only house left in uncertainty; but, as if it were the design of the Holy Spirit to leave no room for dispute, as to the proper persons to receive the ordinances of Christ, we find this family described at the end of this epistle, as cited above: they were the *first-fruits* of the word of God in Achaia, and "they addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints." They exerted themselves in acts of charity, and Christian affection; to their fellow, but poorer or more afflicted disciples; and hence (we scarcely need add) could not be infant children.

Dr. Doddridge. "*They have set themselves.*" This seems to imply, that it was the generous care of the whole family to assist their fellow Christians; so that there was not a member of it which did not do its part.—*Version of, and Note on the place.*

Dr. Hammond, though a Pædobaptist himself, thinks the inference of Pædobaptists *unreasonable*, that because Paul mentions the baptism of Stephanas's household, he must have baptized infants: for without the last verse, which assures us they were not infants, it could not be fairly inferred from the 16th verse. These are his words: "I think it unreasonable that the apostle's bare mention of baptizing his household, should be thought competent to conclude

that infants were baptized by him.”—*Works*, vol. i. p. 494. *Pædobap. Exam.* vol. ii. p. 358.

Unreasonable and unfounded, however, as this argument is, it is what is most commonly urged, and urged even as an *authority*, for administering this ordinance to infants. We have now read the description of all the households that are recorded as baptized by the apostles; and, though households almost without number, are mentioned in Scripture, and nothing added by which we know of what they consisted, of infants, or grown persons; yet it has pleased God, that the *households baptized* should all be described, so that after ages might not be left to uncertain conjectures respecting them. Lydia’s household are *brethren*, and comforted; the jailer’s are *all taught*, and *all believed*; Crispus’s *all believed*; and Stephanas’s were the *fruits* of the gospel, and *set themselves* to do good to the saints. Hence, if the word of God is to be our only guide in the things of God, the baptism of infants, on the ground of the passages we have yet met with, is justly styled, as we have seen, “unreasonable,” and “good for nothing.”

SECTION XV.

Certain disciples at Ephesus baptized.

This is the *ninth* and *last* place, in the Acts of the Apostles, relative to our present inquiries. The question whether the persons, in this instance were baptized *twice*, first with John’s baptism, and now Christ’s, does not materially concern us. All we have to consider is the description given of them; for which the text alone must be consulted.

Acts xix. 1. Paul having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus; and finding certain disciples. 2. He said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him. We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. 3. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? and they said, Unto John’s baptism. 4. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, That they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. 5. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. 6. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost come on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. 7. And all the men were about twelve.

That these persons were proper subjects of baptism, by previous conversion, is clear; For, 1. They are called disciples. 2. They believed. 3. They received the Holy Ghost. 4. They spake with tongues and prophesied. 5. They were all together twelve men. No room therefore, is left for dispute. None will contend that any of these were infants; that they were infant *believers*—infant *prophets*, or infant *men*.

We have now passed through all the Acts of the Apostles, and examined all the instances of the administration of this ordinance recorded in this sacred history, and to this place we can confidently assert, that we have no where found a single place or passage, that describes, records, or implies the baptism of any infants. The reader will not suppose this a hasty conclusion, when he hears the following Pædobaptists:

Dr. Goodwin. “Baptism supposeth regeneration sure in itself first. Sacraments are never administered to begin, or work grace. Read ALL the Acts, still it is said, they believed, and were baptized.”—*Works*, vol. i. P. 1. p. 200.

Mr. T. Boston. “There is no example of baptism recorded in the scriptures, where, any were baptized but such as appeared to have a saving interest in Christ.”—*Works*, p. 334.

Limborch. “There is no instance that can be produced, from which it may indisputably be inferred that any child was baptized by the apostles.”—*Complete Sys. Div. B. V.* ch. xxii. § ii.

Mr. Baxter. (The appeal he makes to Mr. Blake, in this place, might be made with all due respect, to every Pædobaptist.) “I conclude, that all examples of baptism in scripture do mention only the administration of it to the professors, of saving faith; and the precepts give us no other directions. And I provoke Mr. Blake, as far as is seemly for me to do, to name *one precept or example* for baptizing any other, and make it good if he can.”—*Dispute of Rights to Sacram.* p. 156. *Pæd. Ex.* vol. ii. p. 29.

THE EPISTLES.

SECTION XVI.

Passages which contain an express allusion to the mode of Baptism.

Rom. vi. 3. Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? 4. Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father,

even so we also should walk in newness of life. 5. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also *in the likeness of his resurrection.*

Col. ii. 12. Buried with him in baptism, wherein also we are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.

The object of the apostle Paul in these places, and their connexion, is to show the churches to which he is here writing, the necessity of a holy walk and conversation. To this end he puts them in mind of their baptism, the profession they made in it, and the obligation they took upon themselves to live according to those truths which the ordinance did plainly signify. "Know ye not, says he, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus, into a profession of his religion, were baptized into his death," into a reliance upon, and conformity to his death; the great design of which was to take away sin, and, consequently, as our Lord died, and was buried on account of it, so should we be buried to the love and practice of it. Then follows this plain and striking allusion to baptism in ver. 4, which, with the last verse above reads to this effect:

"Therefore (to express this very design) are we BURIED by and in baptism, with Christ our Lord; and as He was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we are at our baptism, WHEREIN we likewise are raised up to walk in newness of life, through the faith of the operation of God, which alone can produce the spiritual and saving effect which the outward form was to signify.

In this place the apostle does plainly describe baptism as a BURIAL, and thus designed as an image of the burial and resurrection of Christ.

Thus the sense of the word "baptize," and the necessary and design of "going down INTO, and coming up OUT OF the water;" of "baptizing in the Jordan," and where "there was MUCH WATER;" which phrases we have already found in connexion with baptism, are all evidently explained. Pædobaptist divines, of the greatest celebrity for learning and information have frankly allowed what we have above asserted. We have no difficulty but in making such a selection as will be most highly esteemed by the reader. The following are the greatest and the most unexceptionable that could be produced.

Dr. Wall (Vicar of Shoreham, in Kent, and author of that famous work "the History of Infant Baptism," for which he received the thanks of the whole clergy in convocation.) "As to the manner of baptism then generally used, the texts produced by every one that speaks of these mat-

ters, John iii. 23. Mark i. 5. Acts viii. 38. are undeniable proofs that the baptized person went ordinarily into the water, and sometimes the Baptists too. We should not know from these accounts whether the whole body of the baptized was put under water, head and all, were it not for two latter proofs, which seem to me to put it OUT OF QUESTION. One, That St. Paul does twice, in an allusive way of speaking, call baptism a *burial*. The other, The custom of the Christians in the near succeeding times, which being more largely and particularly delivered in books, is known to have been generally, or ordinarily, a TOTAL IMMERSION."—*Defence of the Hist. of Inf. Bap.* p. 131.

Archbishop Tillotson. "Anciently those who were baptized were immersed and buried in the water, to represent their death to sin; and then did rise up out of the water, to signify their entrance upon a new life. And to these customs the apostle alludes. Rom. vi. 2—6."—*Works*, vol. i. Ser. vii. p. 179.

Archbishop Secker. "*Burying*, as it were, the person baptized in the water, and raising him out again, without question, was anciently the more usual method: on account of which, St. Paul speaks of baptism as representing both the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, and what is grounded on them—our being dead and buried to sin, and our rising again to walk in newness of life."—*Loc. on Catechism*, L. xxxv.

Dr. Samuel Clarke. "*We are buried with Christ by baptism*, &c. In the primitive times the manner of baptizing was by immersion, or dipping the whole body into the water. And this manner of doing it was a very significant emblem of the dying and rising again, referred to by St. Paul in the above mentioned similitude."—*Expos. of the Church Catechism*, p. 294, ed. 6.

Dr. Wells. "St. Paul here alludes to immersion, or dipping the whole body under water in baptism; which he intimates, did typify the death and burial (of the person baptized) to sin, and his rising up out of the water did typify his resurrection to newness of life."—*Illust. Bib.* on Rom. vi. 4.

Dr. Doddridge, (in whose words we have Mr. John Wesley, and Mr. George Whitefield, the former in a *Note*, and the latter in a *Sermon* on this verse.) "Buried with him in baptism. It seems the part of candor to confess, that here is an allusion to the manner of baptizing by immersion."—*Fam. Expos.* Note on the place.

Dr. Whitby, (author of the Commentary on the New Testament, and more than forty other learned works.) "It being so expressly declared here, [Rom. vi. 4.] and Col. ii. 42, that we are buried with Christ

in baptism, by being buried under water; and the argument to oblige us to a conformity to his death, by dying to sin, being taken hence; and this immersion being religiously observed by all Christians for THIRTEEN CENTURIES, and approved by our church, and the change of it into sprinkling, even without any allowance from the author of this institution, or any license from any council of the church, being that which the Romanist still urgeth to justify his refusal of the cup to the laity: it were to be wished, that this custom might be again of general use, and aspersion only permitted, as of old, in case of the Clinici, or in present danger of death."—*Note on Rom. vi. 4.*

The apostle uses the figure of *planting*, as well as of burying, in allusion to baptism, ver. 5. "If we have planted together," &c.

Assembly of Divines. "*If we have been planted together.* By this elegant similitude the apostle represents to us, that, as a plant that is set in the earth lieth as dead and immovable for a time, but after springs up and flourishes, so Christ's body lay dead for a while in the grave, but sprung up and re-flourished in his resurrection; and we also when we are baptized, are buried, as it were, in the water for a time, but after are raised up to newness of life."—*Annot. in loc.*

Dr. Macknight. 'Planted together in the likeness of his death.' "The burying of Christ and of believers first in the water of baptism, and afterward in the earth, is fitly enough compared to the planting of seeds in the earth, because the effect in both cases, is a reviviscence to a state of greater perfection."

Dr. Towerson, speaking of "Plunging the party baptized," adds, it is "A signification which St. Paul will not suffer those to forget, who are acquainted with his epistles. For, with reference to that manner of baptizing, we find him affirming, Rom. vi. 4, that we are 'buried with Christ by baptism,' &c. And again, ver. 5, that, 'if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.'"—*Of the Sac. of Bap. Part iii. p. 51.*

SECTION XVII.

Occasional mention of Baptism.

Eph. iv. 5. ONE Lord, one faith, one baptism.

1 Cor. xii. 13. For by one Spirit we all are baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or

VOL. 1.—AA.

free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.

Gal. iii. 27. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.

1 Cor. xv. 29. Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?

To the Ephesians and Corinthians the apostle is recommending peace and unity, that they should be all of one heart and mind, so that there be no schism in the body, as all were one in Christ. To urge which, he puts them in mind of what they were taught at the first, that there was but "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," and that "all were baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles." We have only to observe here, what we have so frequently noticed before, the apostle puts faith before baptism, as Christ the great Lawgiver had done, *He that believeth, and is baptized.* "One faith, one baptism."

In the above verses to the Galatians, the apostle is thought to be alluding to the change of garments which must necessarily take place after the celebration of the ordinance; which might signify, what is frequently referred to in the Epistles, The putting off the old man of sin and corruption, and putting on the new man of regeneration, and especially of putting on Christ, as the Lord our righteousness.—*See Abp. Tillotson's Works, vol. i. Sermon vii. p. 179.*

The last verse cited above (1 Cor. xv. 29,) has given rise to many conjectures, and considerable controversy, but which do by no means concern our present inquiries. The following extract on it is submitted to the reader's attention.

Dr. John Edwards. "Some of the Fathers hold, that the apostle's argument in the text is of this sort: If there should be no resurrection of the dead hereafter, why is baptism so significant a symbol of our dying and rising again, and also of the death and resurrection of Christ? The immersion into the water, was thought to signify the death of Christ, and their coming out denoted his rising again, and did no less represent their own future resurrection."—*In Dr. Stennett on Addington. p. 105.*

SECTION XVIII.

Baptism illustrated by events recorded in the Old Testament.

THESE are the last passages we find in the New Testament which relate to the subject.

1 Cor. x. 1. Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea: 2. And were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea.

1 Pet. iii. 20. The long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. 21. The like figure whereunto *even* baptism doth also now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The better to understand the apostle Paul, in the first passage above, the reader would do well to peruse the place in the Old Testament, to which he refers, viz. Exod. xiv. From this chapter, and references to it, we learn, that the Israelites went down into the midst of the Red Sea; that the water divided, opening a passage for them, and forming a wall on each side, so that they passed over as on dry ground. We also learn, that the cloud that conducted them totally hid the Israelites from their enemies; that it was bright and shining toward the former, while it was dark and terrific toward the latter. It does not appear that any water affected the Israelites in any sense whatever; and hence, the word "baptized" must be used by the apostle figuratively. Then we have only to ask, Does the situation of the Jews, "*in the cloud, and in the sea,*" best agree to sprinkling with water, or a total burial in it? Pædobaptists of the highest character in the learned world will answer.

Witsius expounds the place to this effect. "How were the Israelites baptized *in the cloud, and in the sea,* seeing they were neither immersed in the sea, nor wetted by the cloud? It is to be considered, that the apostle here uses the term 'baptism' in a figurative sense: yet there is some agreement to the external sign. The sea is water and a cloud differs but little from water. The cloud hung over their heads, and the sea surrounded them on each side; and so the water in regard to those that are baptized."—*Æcon. Fæd.* Lib. IV. Chap. x. § 11.

Dr. Whitby. "They were covered with the sea on both sides, Exod. xiv. 22, so that both the cloud and the sea had some resemblance to our being covered with water in baptism. Their going into the sea resembled the ancient rite of going into the water; and their coming out of it, their rising up out of the water."—*In Pædobap. Exam.* vol. i. p. 187.

Mr. Gataker. "As in the Christian rite, when persons are baptized, they are over-

whelmed, and, as it were, buried in water, and again, when they emerge, they rise as out of a sepulchre, so the Israelites might seem, when passing through the waters of the sea that were higher than their heads, to be overwhelmed, and, as it were, buried, and again to emerge and arise when they escaped to the opposite shore."—*Ut Supra.*

The apostle Peter, in the place above cited, is speaking of the *end* and *design* of baptism. If he thought at all of the mode of it, we conceive the situation of Noah in the ark, and of the ark in the deluge, when it was borne by the waters of the *great deep*, and beneath the torrents that fell when *the windows of heaven were opened*, (Gen. viii. 11,) will better agree to the immersion of a person in water, than to sprinkling two or three particles on the face. So as Noah was here preserved by water, from the general destruction, in like manner is not the Christian by baptism, not efficaciously, but in a figurative and declarative sense, when *with it*, and *in it* he has a living faith in what his baptism sets forth, namely, the death and resurrection of Christ.

Sir N. Knatchbull. "The proper end of baptism, is the sign of a resurrection by faith in the resurrection of Jesus Christ; of which baptism is a very lively and impressive figure; as also, the ark of Noah, out of which he returned, as it were, out of a sepulchre, to a new life." *Animad.* in Lib. N. T. ad. loc.

Baptism, when thus properly attended to is the *answer of a good conscience towards God*, as it is an act of obedience to his word and will, as revealed in the scriptures. Not, says the apostle, the mere washing in water, which is of no importance of itself, can but at best cleanse the outward man; but a baptism, accompanied with the effectual converting power of the Holy Ghost.

CONCLUSION.

Containing a short examination of the Rise and Grounds of Pædobaptism.

WE have now, my reader, "searched the scriptures" throughout, as our Lord and Saviour directs, and have faithfully quoted, in this work, every passage that contains any information, either as to the subjects or mode of this ordinance; and in this we have laid before you what we conceive *The Scripture Guide to Baptism*; the guide God himself gives you; and as it is a subject in which the word of God alone, and human wisdom and reason in no measure, can direct us, it is the Christian's only guide.

The two inquiries, therefore, proposed at our setting out, namely, "Who were baptiz-

ed," and "in what manner," as recorded in the New Testament, we are now empowered to answer: We have no where found, through all this sacred book, *any one* person baptized, (Christ excepted,) that we have the slightest reason to suppose, was not first instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, and had professed to believe; but of almost every individual, this is either expressly testified, or so implied as to leave no ground for dispute. And, as to the mode, we have no where met with a single verse or word which indicates the application of water by pouring or sprinkling; but whenever any thing is found descriptive of this ordinance, *immersion* as the word *baptism*, undeniably signifies, is plainly implied in circumstances, and supported by allusions.

If you, my reader, have been brought up and educated, as a Pædobaptist, you will, I conceive, be disposed, after reading the foregoing pages, to ask the following questions. The limits of this work do not admit but of a few words in answer: the subject will remain for your mature consideration. I shall generally cite, as heretofore, Pædobaptist divines, and other learned writers, in confirmation of the replies made to your questions, and sometimes insert such extracts as the best and only answer.

I. RESPECTING THE SUBJECTS OF BAPTISM.

1. *Question.* In the Scriptures you have cited, I certainly have not found any instance of the baptism of infants; but is there *not in all the New Testament a single instance* of it, nor *command* for it?

Bishop Burnet. "There is no express precept or rule given in the New Testament for baptism of infants."—*Expos. of Articles*, Art. xxvii.

Mr. Palmer. "There is nothing in the words of institution, nor in any after accounts of the administration of this rite, respecting the baptism of infants: there is not a single precept for, nor example of, this practice through the whole New Testament."—*Answer to Dr. Priestly on the Lord's supper*, p. 7.

Luther. "It cannot be proved by the sacred scripture, that infant baptism was instituted by Christ, or begun by the first Christians after the apostles. *Pædobaptism*, vol. ii. p. 4.

2. If this be admitted, what is to be made of the following passage, which is so commonly urged in support of infant baptism? Mark x. 14. "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God."

Answer. Christ did not baptize these children, for he never baptized at all; John iv. 2, nor had he commanded this practice

upon his disciples, or they would not now forbid them to be brought: nor is there a word of baptism in all the connexion.

Poole's Continuators. "We must take heed we do not found infant baptism upon the example of Christ in this text; for it is certain that he did not baptize these children. Mark only saith, He took them up in his arms, laid his hand on them, and blessed them."—*Annot.* on the place in Matt. xix. 14.

Burkitt. "They were brought unto Jesus Christ but for what end? Not to baptize them, but to bless them."—*In loc.*

3. But are not the children of believers said to be *holy*? 1 Cor. viii. 14. "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now are they holy." If "holy" they are surely proper subjects of baptism.

Answer. The apostle is here removing a doubt which some Christians entertained at Corinth, whether it was lawful for believing persons to abide with their unbelieving husbands or wives; as, in a similar case, the Jews, under the law, were commanded to separate. The apostle requires that the believer should not depart, if the unbeliever be pleased to abide; "for the unbelieving husband," he adds, "is sanctified by the wife;" or rather, has been sanctified to the wife, &c. This is, as they were united according to the holy law of God, he was thereby made, and still continues to be, her lawful husband; as much so now as before her conversion, or as if both were converted. Then follows, as the consequence of this lawful union, "else were your children unclean, but now are they holy," that is, else they would be born of unlawful intercourse, but now are they lawfully *begotten*, according to God's holy will, in the ordinance of matrimony.

St. Ambrose interprets the passage. "The children are holy, because they are born of lawful marriage."—*In Tombe's Exervitation*, p. 42.

Suares and Vasques. "The children are called holy, in a civil sense; that is, legitimate, and not spurious. As if Paul had said, If your marriage were unlawful, your children would be illegitimate. But the former is not a fact; therefore not the latter."—*In Pædobapt. Exam.* vol. ii. p. 373.

I request my reader to observe, it is not said the children are holy, because the *believing*, but the unbelieving parent is sanctified: and as this sanctification can only be understood in a civil or legal sense, no more can that which flows from it, or is consequent upon it; and therefore the passage interprets itself.

You cannot mean to say, that the child,

ren of believers are in *any sense* better, or more holy by nature or by birth, than other children: that real spiritual holiness is *propagated* from parents to children. Then would not such children need conversion, nor the merits of the blood of Christ; much less need they the baptism of water, which is the figure of cleansing from sin. See Acts xxii. 16—26. And hence, if this be the sense you attach to this passage, so far from its forming an argument for the baptism of these holy children, it would be an argument against it.

But that there is no real holiness conveyed from parent to child is taught by the unerring pen of inspiration, in the language of the devout son of pious Jesse, "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Psalm. li. 5. St. Paul included himself with all the people of God, puts them all on a level with mankind at large, as to their state of nature. "We were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." Eph. ii. 3. Mere legitimacy of birth, to which the apostle alludes in the passage in question, is never urged as an argument for baptism; and real spiritual holiness, we have proved, none by nature possess. A thousand Pædobaptist writers might be cited to attest this truth. We have only room for one:

Mr. Dorrington. "Although the parents be admitted into the new covenant, the children born of them are not born within that covenant, but are, as all others, born in a state of rebellion and misery."

4. But if there are no passages in the New Testament that authorize infant baptism, will not the covenant of God, made with Abraham and his seed, to be their God in all generations, Gen. xvii. 7, be a sufficient ground for it? for believers are Abraham's spiritual seed, consequently they and their seed come under the promise.

Answer. God did promise to be a God to Abraham and to his seed, and was faithful to his word. But though peculiar favors of a temporal and eternal nature were bestowed on Abraham's seed, the Jews at large, more than any other nation of the earth, (which it will not be necessary here to enumerate,) yet the Lord was God, in a spiritual, experimental, and saving sense, only to such of Abraham's seed as had the faith of their father Abraham. The following scriptures will prove it beyond all doubt.

Rom. ix. 6—8. "For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel; neither because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children; that is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God." Ch. iv. 12. He is "the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but who also walk in the

steps of that faith of our father Abraham." Gal. ii. 7. "Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham." (ver. 29.) "And if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise."

Hence Abraham's spiritual seed are not Abraham's own children, if destitute of faith; and certainly not the unregenerate posterity of believing Gentiles, as it depends, in no measure, on carnal descent; but such are they, of any nation, who have Abraham's faith; or, in the most decisive language, are believers in Christ. Hence we cannot be at a loss to know, if that promise to Abraham bears at all on the subject of baptism, whose opinion and practice it supports.—*See answer to Question 7.*

5. But are not children admitted and made members of the church of Christ by baptism?

Answer. If you mean by the church of Christ, "the redeemed of the Lord amongst mankind," and this is the only church of Christ, the scriptures describe, then you will easily perceive it impossible for baptism to make or constitute any members of that church. Many who do not observe baptism are, by the real evidences of the Christian, members of Christ's church; and that there are very many who have been baptized, and have no relation to Christ, is too, too evident.

Dr. Whitby. "No man is indeed a member of Christ's kingdom, who is not truly regenerate."—*Note on John iii. 3.*

Claude. "None but those true believers, I would say, those who would join to their external profession of Christianity, a true and sincere piety, are really the church of Jesus Christ."—*Defence of Reform.* P. 1, p. 69.

6. But is it not baptism, as well as the Lord's supper a seal of the new covenant, to the person baptized?

Answer. It is commonly so thought, but it is a great and dangerous error. Neither baptism nor the Lord's supper are called seals, in the sacred pages: they of themselves produce no effect, and leave no impression. The blood and Spirit of Christ alone are the seals of the new covenant; by the former the covenant is ratified and by the latter our interest ascertained and secured.

Mr. Baxter. "Some, do think that we ought not call the sacraments seals, as being a thing *not to be proved by the word.*"—*Apology against Blake*, p. 118.

Bishop Hoadly. "The real blood of Christ, as shed for us, or in other words, his death, is the only seal of the covenant."—*In Dr. Bretts Account of Sacra.* p. 155.

7. But were not infants admitted mem-

bers of the Old Testament church by circumcision? and shall the privileges of the Jewish church exceed those of the Christian?

Answer. The church or Congregation of God under the old economy [which the whole nation of the Jews is sometimes called] is divided in the scriptures, into two parts: 1. They who are of the circumcision only. 2. They who are NOT of the circumcision only, but who also walk in the steps of the faith of Abraham, Rom. iv. 12. So the covenant and promises were twofold: 1. Relating to a kingdom and privileges of this world, common to all Jews. 2. Relating to the true knowledge and enjoyment of God, peculiar to the pious part who had the faith of Abraham. Hence "there was (as the great Vitrina observes,) an external and carnal covenant, under the old economy, besides an internal and spiritual covenant." Now circumcision was designed, as one chief object of it, to be an abiding testimony that the persons were the legal subjects of this highly favored kingdom, and, consequently, had a right to the external privileges of it. But nothing but the faith of Abraham entitled, in the present state, to the blessings of the latter covenant. None but such as were Jews inwardly, and whose circumcision was of the heart, constituted the true spiritual church of God, amongst the seed of Abraham.

But the new covenant, and the whole kingdom of Christ under the New Testament, is entirely spiritual. Christ himself testifies, "My kingdom is not of this world." John xviii. 36. And St. Paul adds the authority of Jeremiah to his own, to prove that the new covenant was not according to the old, as far as related to external things: but spiritual, consisting in having the divine laws written on their hearts, in the forgiveness of their sins, and in a saving knowledge of the Lord their God, (see Heb. viii. 8, 13. Jer. xxxi. 31, 34.) Wherefore, as circumcision under the law, entitled only to external privileges, and the blessings of a temporal kingdom, and did not make the persons circumcised members of God's true, spiritual, redeemed church; and as the New Testament dispensation has no worldly kingdom or external privileges attached to it, but is entirely spiritual, the argument for infant membership now grounded on circumcision in the old economy, is absurd, and without the least foundation in scripture. Faith in Christ Jesus alone avails to secure the blessing of the covenant of grace, in any age of the world: "for in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love."—Gal. v. 6.

Venema. "From the difference between the former and the present economies, it will clearly appear, that the genius of the New Testament is abhorrent from an external covenant; wherefore it answers only to the spiritual part of the old economy."—*In Pæd. Ex.* vol. ii. p. 204, 245.

Dr. Owen. "Regeneration is expressly required in the Gospel, to give a right and privilege to an entrance into the church of Christ. Neither the church nor its privileges [being] continued as of old by carnal generation."—*On Heb.* vii. 11.

8. But if you refuse to bring children to baptism, do you not keep them away from Christ, and in case of their dying in infancy, endanger their salvation?

Answer. We do not. Christ said, in the days of his flesh, of unbaptized children, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." And he received these unbaptized children "into his arms," and "blessed them," and sent them away, still unbaptized; nor did he utter a word about their baptism; and he is the same Saviour still. Can a similar passage be found of baptized children? and who will say that baptism is necessary that Christ may receive them?

If persons die, incapable of exercising faith in the merits of Christ, either by infancy or mental incapacity, we know it is "the blood of Jesus alone that cleanses from all sin," "neither is there salvation in any other." 1 John i. 7. Acts iv. 12. And to suppose their salvation is effected, or in any way assisted, by the sprinkling of water, is not only opposed to the express declarations of scripture, but most dishonorable to the Divine Redeemer, and mistrustful of his ability and grace.

9. But if you object to infant baptism, for want of express authority in the word of God, ought you not, from the same principle, to object to female communion?

Answer. We ought not: for the gospel makes no difference in SEX. If one infant were said to be baptized in scripture, all infants would be baptized from this example, without distinction of sex; for the New Testament has no such distinction, but opposes it, and declares, whether "male or female, ye are all ONE, in Christ Jesus. Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ, Gal. iii. 26, 28. Such children of God, whether male or female, we admit to both ordinances, because they answer the character required, and because the same book that requires the character, forbids the distinction of sex, or any other difference whatever.

10. If nothing can be found in the New Testament to authorize infant baptism, upon what authority does it rest?

Answer. Upon mere tradition, or human authority.

Dr. Field. "The baptism of infants is therefore named a tradition, because it is not expressly delivered in scripture, that the apostles did baptize infants; nor any express precept there found that they should do so."—*On the Church*, 375.

Bishop Prideaux. "Pædobaptism rests on no other divine right than *Episcopacy*."—*Pasical Contro.* loc. ix. § iii. p. 210.

11. If this be admitted, when was infant baptism supposed to be introduced?

Answer. Not till the end of the second, or in the beginning of the third century, after Christ.

Curcellæus. (A learned divine of Geneva, and professor of Divinity.) "The baptism of infants in the two first centuries after Christ was altogether unknown; but in the third and fourth was allowed by some few. In the fifth and following ages it was generally received. The custom of baptizing infants did not begin before the third age after Christ was born. In the former ages no trace of it appears, and it was introduced without the command of Christ."—*In Pæd. Ex.* vol. xi. p. 76.

Salmasius and Suicerus. "In the two first centuries no one was baptized, except, being instructed in the faith, and acquainted with the doctrine of Christ, he was able to profess himself a believer, because of those words, *He hath believed and is baptized*."—*Ut Supra*.

Venema. "Tertullian has no where mentioned Pædobaptism among the traditions or customs of the church, that were publicly received, and usually observed. For in his book *De Baptismo*, [supposed to be written A. D. 294,] he dissuades from baptizing infants, and proves the delay of it to a more mature age, is to be preferred. Nothing can be affirmed with certainty, concerning the custom of the church before Tertullian, seeing there is not any where, in more ancient writers, that I know of, undoubted mention of infant baptism."—*Hist. Eccles.* T. iii. S. ii. § 108, 109.

The passage alluded to, containing the first mention of infant baptism, is the following:

Tertullian. "The delay of baptism may be more advantageous either on account of the condition, disposition, or age of any person, especially in reference to little children. For what necessity is there that the sponsors should be brought into danger? because either they themselves may fail of their promises by death, or be deceived by the growth of evil dispositions [in the children.] The Lord indeed says, *Do not forbid them to come to me*. Let them therefore come when they are grown up; when they can understand, when they are taught to

what they are to come. Let them become Christians when they can know Christ. Why should this innocent age hasten to [the sign of] the remission of sins? Men act more cautiously in worldly things; so that divine things are here intrusted with whom earthly things are not. Let them know how to seek salvation, that you may appear to give to one that asketh."

Now I request my reader to consider, 1. That there is confessedly no mention of infant baptism in any of the fathers, till Tertullian, in the beginning of the third century; though the baptism of believers is repeatedly found.

2. That the first mention of infant baptism is in a passage of direct opposition to it, and disapprobation of it, not only as of something without the *least* divine authority, but as of a *new* and *unreasonable* custom.

It has been said that infant baptism was handed down as a tradition from the apostles, though not contained in scripture.

Venema shows the utter improbability of it. "Tertullian," says he, "dissuades from baptizing infants, which he certainly would not have done, if it had been a tradition, and a public custom of the church, seeing he was very tenacious of traditions; nor, had it been a tradition, would he have failed to mention it. I conclude therefore," he adds, "that Pædobaptism cannot be plainly proved to have been practised before the times of Tertullian; and that there were persons in his age who desired their infants might be baptized especially when they were afraid of their dying without baptism: which opinion Tertullian opposed, and by so doing, intimates that *Pædobaptism began to prevail*."—*Ut Supra. In Pæd. Ex.* vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

12. Upon what pretences, or for what design, was baptism administered to infants when first introduced?

Salmasius, (the very learned historian and critic.) "An opinion prevailed that no one could be saved without being baptized; and for that reason, the custom arose of baptizing infants."—*In Pæd. Exam.* vol. ii. p. 128.

Dr. Owen. "Most of the ancients concluded, that it [baptism] was no less necessary unto salvation, than faith or repentance itself."—*On Justification*, Chap. ii. p. 173.

Suicerus, (a learned divine, and professor of Greek and Hebrew at Zurich.) "This opinion of the absolute necessity of baptism, arose from a wrong understanding of our Lord's words, 'Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"—*In Pæd. Ex.* vol. ii. p. 29.

Rigaltius, (whom Dr. Fell, bishop of Ox-

ford, and Dr. Wall, granted to be a man of great learning.) "In the Acts of the Apostles we read that both *men and women were baptized*, without any mention being made of infants. From the apostolic age, therefore, to the time of Tertullian, the matter continued doubtful. And there were some who on occasion of our Lord's saying, *Suffer little children to come to me*, (though he gave no order to baptize them,) did baptize even new-born infants; and, as if they were transacting some secular bargain with God Almighty, brought sponsors, and bondsmen to be bound for them, that when they were grown up, they should not depart from the Christian faith."—*In Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap.* vol. ii. p. 18. and *Pæd. Ex.* vol. ii. p. 78.

Episcopius. "Pædobaptism was not accounted a necessary rite till it was determined so to be in the Melvitan council, held in the year 418."—*Pæd. Exam.* vol. ii. p. 129.

Rigaltius intimates, that even the propriety of infant baptism was commonly doubted, till Cyprian's days, about fifty years after Tertullian: that then, "most men were of Cyprian's mind, that even new-born children ought to be made partakers of the laver of salvation; which was pitched upon in the decree of this synod (at Carthage, in A. D. 253) and so the doubt was taken away."—*In Dr. Wall as above.*

From the foregoing questions and answers, it would seem, in accordance with the candid testimonies and acknowledgments of the most learned Pædobaptists, that infant baptism has neither a command nor an example in scripture to authorize it; that the passages urged in favor of it have no relation to the subject; the subject not being once named in the whole of the chapters; that it cannot seal the blessings of the new covenant, nor bring into the church of Christ; that Christ does not require children to be baptized in order to his receiving them, for, that he took unbaptized children into his arms and said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven;" that infant baptism was unknown in the church, for at least nearly TWO HUNDRED YEARS, and that where we find it first named, it is in direct opposition to it, and disapprobation of it, as to a novel, unscriptural, and inconsistent practice; that the propriety of it was doubted till the council of Carthage, A. D. 253, and that it was not universally deemed necessary till 418; and then by the decrees of men, NOT THE WORD OF GOD, the doubt of pleasing or offending God in it, was at length taken away.

II. RESPECTING THE MODE OF BAPTISM.

1. As learned Pædobaptists acknowledge

the want of plain authority in the scriptures for administering baptism to infants, do they also acknowledge the want of scripture authority, and the example of the primitive Christians, for sprinkling?

Deylinguis. "It is manifest that while the apostles lived, the ordinance of baptism was administered, not by sprinkling, but by immersion."—*In Pæd. Ex.* vol. i. p. 217.

Bishop Stillingfleet. "Rites and customs apostolical are altered, as dipping in baptism."—*Ibid.* p. 215.

Mr. J. Mede. "There was no such thing as sprinkling used in baptism in the apostles' days, nor many ages after them."—*Discourse on Titus* iii. 5.

Venema. "It is without controversy that baptism in the primitive church was administered by immersion into water, and not by sprinkling."—*In Pæd. Exam.* vol. i. p. 212.

Altmannus. "In the primitive church persons to be baptized were not sprinkled, but entirely immersed in water."—*Ibid.* p. 214.

2. What is the custom of the modern Greek church in this ordinance, who doubtless, will be well acquainted with the import of the original word *baptizo*, used by our Lord, and practice accordingly?

Answer. The Greek church does uniformly administer this ordinance by immersion, generally thrice, in the name of each of the persons of the Trinity.

Sir P. Ricaut. "Thrice dipping or plunging, this church holds to be as necessary to the form of baptism, as water to the matter."—*Present state of the Greek Church.*

Dr. J. G. King. "The Greek church uniformly practises the trine immersion, undoubtedly the most primitive manner."—*Rites and Cerm. of the Greek Church in Russia*, p. 192.

Dr. Wall. "The Greek church, in all the branches of it, does still use immersion."—*Hist. Inf. Bap.* vol. ii. p. 376. ed. 3.

Buddeus. "That the Greeks defend immersion, is manifest, and has been frequently observed by learned men; which Ludolphus informs us is the practise of the Ethiopians."—*Theolog. Dogmat.* L. V. C. i. § 5.

3. What countries particularly are they where this ordinance is still administered by immersion?

Dr. Wall, after observing as above, that the Greek church uses immersion, adds, "And so do all other Christians in the world except the Latins. All those nations of Christians that do now, or formerly did submit to the authority of the Bishop of Rome, do ordinarily baptize their infants by pouring or sprinkling: and though the English received not this custom till after the decay of Popery, yet they have since received it from such neighbor nations, as

had begun it in the time of the Pope's power. But ALL other Christians in the world, who never owned the Pope's usurped power, DO, 'AND EVER DID DIP, in the ordinary use.' And if we take the division of the world from the three main parts of it, all the Christians in Asia, all in Africa, and about one-third part of Europe, are of the last sort, (i. e. practice immersion,) in which third part of Europe are comprehended the Christians of Grecia, Thracia, Servia, Bulgaria, Rascia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Russia, Nigra, and so on; and even the Muscovites, who, if coldness of country will excuse, might plead for a dispensation with most reason of any."—*Ut Supra*.

4. How long was immersion continued as the general practice among all Christians? See Whitby, pp. 38, 39.

Bossuet. "We are able to make it appear by the acts of councils, and by the ancient rituals, that for THIRTEEN HUNDRED YEARS, baptism was thus [by immersion] administered throughout the whole church, as far as was possible."—*In Doctor Stennett's Answer to Russen*, p. 176.

Stackhouse. "Several authors have shown and proved, that this immersion continued (as much as possible) to be used for THIRTEEN HUNDRED YEARS after Christ."—*Hist. of the Bib.* P. viii. ch. i. pp. 1234, '35.

5. Is immersion or sprinkling best fitted to express the spiritual signification of this ordinance?

Answer. Baptism was an image of our Lord's sufferings; of his death, burial, and resurrection; of our being spiritually washed and cleansed from sin by the agency of the Holy Spirit; of our being dead and buried as to our former course of life, and raised up to live to God, and of the burial and resurrection of the body, all of which immersion is best calculated to signify. Sprinkling earth on a coffin cannot be a burial of it, nor sprinkling water a washing or cleansing; nor can it be a figure of our Lord's overwhelming distress.

Vossius. "All the particulars that we have mentioned concerning the signification of baptism, will appear with sufficient perspicuity in the rite of immersion; but not equally so, if mere sprinkling be used."—*Disputat. de Bap.* Disp. iii. § 10.

Mr. Alex. Ross. "Immersion into the water represents to us the death and burial of Christ, and therefore our mortification; likewise the very emersion out of the purifying water, is a shadow of the resurrection of Christ, and of our spiritual quickening."—*In Pad. Ex.* vol. i. p. 153.

Bishop Hopkins. "Those who are baptized with the Spirit, are, as it were, plunged into that heavenly flame, whose search-

ing energy devours all their dross, tin, and base alloy."—*Ut Supra*, p. 273.

Mr. Leigh. "Baptized; that is, dip you in the ocean of his grace; opposite to the sprinkling which was in the law."—*Ibid.*

Witsius. "It must not be dissembled that there is in immersion a great fruitfulness of signification, and a more perfect correspondence between the sign and the thing signified."—*Æcon. Cov.* L. iv. C. xvi. § 13.

6. Is immersion considered as prejudicial, or at all hazardous, in reference to health?

Sir John Floyer. (a learned and eminent physician.) "It must be accounted an unreasonable nicety in the present age, to scruple either immersion or cold bathing as dangerous practices. We must acknowledge, that He that made our bodies, would never command any practice prejudicial to our healths; but, on the contrary, he best knows what will be most for the preservation of our healths, and frequently takes care of our bodies and souls in the same command."—*Hist. Cold Bathing*, p. 11, 51. He elsewhere observes, "by reasons taken from the nature of our bodies, from the rules of medicine, from modern experiences, and ancient history, that dipping in cold water is not only safe, but very useful."—*See Dr. Wall's Hist. of Inf. Bap.* vol. ii. p. 375.

Dr. Chenne. "I cannot forbear recommending cold bathing, and I cannot sufficiently admire how it should ever have come into such disuse, especially among Christians, when commanded by the greatest Lawgiver that ever was, under the direction of God's Holy Spirit, and perpetuated to us, in the immersion at baptism by the same Spirit; who with infinite wisdom in this, as in every thing else that regards the temporal and eternal felicity of his creatures, combines their duty with their happiness."—*Essay on Health*, p. 100, 1.

7. If immersion was what our Lord designed, and set by his example, and can be proved to be used by his first followers, must it not be profane to ridicule this practice as superstition or bigotry; as well as attempts to oppose it vain, if not proofs of ignorance?

Dr. Wall. "This [immersion] is so plain and clear, by an infinite number of passages, that, as one cannot but pity the weak endeavors of such Pædobaptists as would maintain the negative of it; so also we ought to disown and show a dislike of the profane scoffs which some people give to the English anti-pædobaptists, merely for their use of dipping; when it was in all probability, the way by which our blessed Saviour, and, for certain, was the most

usual way by which the ancient Christians did receive their baptism. It is a great want of prudence as well as of honesty to refuse to grant to an adversary what is *certainly true*, and may be *proved* so. It creates a jealousy of all the rest that one says."

"How large a signification soever the word *baptizo*, may have to signify washing in general, it is plain, that the ordinary and general practice of John, the apostles, and the primitive church was to baptize, by putting the person *into* the water, or causing him to go *into* the water. Neither do I know of any *protestant* who has denied it; and but *very few men of learning* that have denied, that where it can be used with safety of health, it is the most fitting way."—*Hist. Inf. Bap.* vol. ii. p. 351, and its *Defence*, p. 129.

OBJECTIONS GENERALLY URGED AGAINST THE COMMON PRACTICE OF, AND ARGUMENTS FOR, BELIEVERS' BAPTISM.

1. The apostles, when they went out into the world to preach the gospel, went amongst the heathen unregenerate nations, and of course the baptism of adults would be their general practice, and hence it is no wonder we do not find in their history the baptism of infants; but it is not so now, where the Christian religion has been long established.

Answer. To whom then is the gospel of salvation *now* sent? To Christians? To regenerate nations? Are not unconverted persons now, to whom the gospel is sent, as much "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death," blinded by the god of this world, and seeking death in the error of their ways, as the untaught heathen? What our Lord said to Nicodemus is equally applicable to any man, and every man, in any or every age of the world: Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God: John iii. 3. "For (adds the apostle Paul) the scriptures saith, whosoever believeth in him shall not be ashamed: for there is no *difference* between the Jew [though born of pious parents and well instructed in the doctrines of the Bible] and the Greek [or Gentile, brought up in idolatry and ignorance;] for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." "What then? Are we better than they? No, in no wise; for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles that they are all under sin; as it is written, There is none righteous, no not one," &c. Rom. x. 11, 12, and iii. 9, 10.

2. But can it be proved that any of the children of believing parents, in the first centuries, were not brought to baptism in their infancy?

VOL. 1.—BB.

Bishop Taylor affirms: "There is no pretence of tradition that the church in all ages did baptize all the infants of Christian parents. It is more certain that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first age. St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, and St. Austin, were born of Christian parents, and yet not baptized until the full age of a man and more." The learned prelate goes on to tell us the foundation of the argument of *Apostolical Tradition* for baptizing infants: "But that there is a tradition from the apostles to do so, relies but on *two* witnesses, Origen and Austin; and the latter having received it from the former, it relies wholly on *one* single testimony, which is but a pitiful argument to prove a tradition apostolical.

"He is the first that spoke of it; but Tertullian that was *before* him, seems to speak against it which he would not have done, if it had been a tradition apostolical. And that it was not so is but too certain, if there be any truth in the words of Ludovicus Vives." *In Dr. Wall's Hist. of Inf. Bap.* vol. ii. p. 34.

3. Those who observe only the baptism of believers, I have sometimes thought, seem to be regardless of their children's spiritual interest, in not devoting them to God in baptism.

Answer. If we do for them what God *has required* of us, (see Psalm lxxviii. 1—7,) "and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," (Eph. vi. 4,) we shall certainly discharge our duty and shall doubtless find this sufficient, without doing what God has *not required*. And as to devoting them to God in baptism, we have a complete answer in the following excellent passage of

Dr. Owen. "It is the authority of God alone that can make any worship to be religious, or the performance of it to be an act of obedience to him. God would never allow the will and wisdom of any of his creatures should be the *rise, rule, or measure* of his worship, or any part of it, or any thing that belongs unto it. Hence the scripture abounds with severe interdictions against them who shall presume to do, or appoint anything in His worship, besides or beyond his own institution. Divine institution alone is that which renders any thing acceptable unto God. A worship not ordained of God, is not accepted of God."—*On Heb. i. 6. § 10. In Padobap. Exam.* vol. i. p. 27.

4. In your pages I have found a great number of Pædobaptist writers, who seem, in these passages, to give up the question into your hands: had they no arguments for infant baptism, which was their own practice? And should you not produce them?

Answer. They doubtless had their arguments for infant baptism, or they would not have practised it; and I should have been glad to have laid them before you at length, did my limits admit of it. I assure you, you would not have thought the cause I espouse weakened by them, but very much to the contrary. The chief reason for which I have produced these authors, is this, to grant us, by concession, to have the plain authority of God's word, both by precept and precedent throughout: and to acknowledge that their practice had not this authority. In other parts of their writings you do not suppose they contradict what they here so positively affirm; and as to other arguments not grounded on the *immovable rock* of inspired authority, but on something else, I could not allow room to transcribe them on these pages. I will however inform you in few words what some of these learned writers urged in favor of their own practice.

Dr. Wall, Mr. Selden, and Dr. Hammond, suppose Christian baptism was borrowed from *Jewish Proselyte baptism*, which infants received. Sir Norton Knatchbull rejects the proselyte plunging and recurs to *circumcision*. Vtringa and Venema object to circumcision as a ground for infant baptism, and suppose with Witsius, that some infants are *in a relative state of grace*. Bishop Prideaux and Heidegger contended, that infants have the faith and covenant, though not the covenantees. Mr. Baxter makes the *faith of the parents* the condition of their children's church membership and salvation; and Mr. Henry considers a profession of faith made by parents, an infant's title to baptism: but Archbishop Leighton opposes this as "neither clear from scripture or sound reason." Calvin, Melancthon, and generally the Lutheran churches, (says Bingham,) own a sort of *faith* in infants. The church of England, and, of course, most of her divines, proceed on the profession of faith, made by the *sureties*, the god-fathers and god-mothers. An anonymous author thought children by baptism, "brought into the covenant of grace." This, another opposes, and maintains that they are "in the covenant of grace before their baptism;" and a third opposes both the former, on the ground that many thus described, and baptized, grow up, and live and die the servants of Satan.

See extracts from the above named writers, and many others in which they have given us the reasons and grounds of their practice, in *Booth's Pædobap. Exam.* vol. ii. p. 491—499.

5. The body of Christians called Quakers, as they practise the ordinance in no form, nor on any subjects whatever, ought to be impartial judges in this controversy.

What say they on this question?

The following are approved authors of that denomination:

Robert Barclay. "As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition."—*Apology*, Proposition xii.

George Whitehead. "What great hypocrisy and insincerity are those persons justly chargeable with, in the sight of God, angels, and men, in their not practising that baptism they have pleaded for from the practice of the apostles! But instead thereof, rantism, or sprinkling of infants, to make them thereby *members of Christ*, and of his church militant."—*Truth Prevalent*, p. 125.

William Penn. "There is not one text of scripture to prove that sprinkling in the face was water baptism, or that children were the subjects of water baptism in the first times."—*Defence of Gospel Truths*, against the bishop of Cork, p. 82.

Thomas Lawson, (a man who has made the most careful inquiry into this subject, and written largely on it.) "Sprinkling of infants is a case unprecedented in the primitive church; on irrepetitious custom sprung up in the night of apostacy, after the falling away of the primitive order. See the author of rantism; that is, sprinkling; not Christ, nor the apostles, but *Cyprian*; not in the days of Christ, but some two hundred and thirty years after."—*Baptismalogia*, p. 69, 75. See *Pædobap. Exam.* vol. ii. p. 12, 13, 82.

6. But I have been told that Pædobaptists do not deny the propriety of believers' baptism, but do most readily admit of it, and that all those scriptures you produce for the baptism of believers are *common to both parties*, and hence they should be laid aside and never be urged: that the question entirely depends on what relates to infant baptism?

Answer. We have been desired, it is true, to lay aside those scriptures which relate to believers' baptism, for the reason you have assigned; but it must be evident, that as there is not a single verse nor word in scripture relating to infant baptism, the demand is nothing less, in effect, than to close and lay aside the sacred pages altogether; and then to decide on the nature of this divine ordinance, not by what the scriptures, *our only guide* contain on it—not by what the apostles and the divine *institutor* himself have given for our direction, but what some men *think*, or others *assert* respecting it. How vain and inconsistent is such a demand?

7. But can it be admitted that so many bodies of Christians, and so many eminent, learned, and pious ministers as have supported for ages, and do to this day support infant baptism, that they can all be wrong!

Answer. Roman Catholics refer us to the many nations over which their religion prevails, and the many hundred of years that their doctrines were the uninterrupted faith of all Christendom. They tell us that the protestant religion is but of modern date, and nothing in extent in comparison of theirs. Does this prove the Catholic superstitions to be the truth, and the protestant doctrines errors? The Chinese urge the same argument against Christianity; but is their argument admitted? There are many Pædobaptist divines, many cited in these pages, whose learning and piety I venerate, but they are but men, and liable to err; and I dare not put them in the place of Christ, or their writings in the place of God's Word. They will not be accountable to God for me, nor I for them. It will not be according to *their* books that men will be judged at the last day, but according to the book of God, which sacred book the Judge of that day has himself commanded us to "search" for ourselves, and to call no man Rabbi, or Father, or Master on earth, "for *one* is our Master, even Christ." See John v. 39. Matt. xxiii. 7, 10.

8. But I have, I hope, received the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which is the things signified by water baptism; and to receive now the sign, after long possessing the things signified, is surely untimely.

Answer. What you deem as superceding, or doing away the necessity or propriety of baptism, St. Peter urged as the very reason why Cornelius and his friends should be baptized: "Can any man forbid water, that those should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we!" Such persons are the only proper subjects of both the ordinances, whom the Holy Spirit has renewed: and hence, in raising an objection against the ordinance, you have assigned, according to the apostle Peter, the purest and most indisputable reason why it should be observed.—See *Whitby* on Acts x. 47.

9. But baptism cannot do me any good; it cannot cleanse me from sin, nor entitle me to heaven. You allow it is not necessary to salvation.

Answer. Baptism could not do our Lord any good; it could not cleanse him from sin; he was "without sin;" it would not entitle him to heaven; he had "all power in heaven," yet Jesus "came from Galilee to Jordan to be baptized," and said of himself and of his people, "thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." If then our Lord and Saviour did not think it necessary, how unbecoming it is in any of us, who are indebted to him for all the happiness of this life, for our deliverance; from sin and its awful consequences, and for all the

felicity and glory of eternity, differently to treat it: I do not say that baptism can do you any good, much less save the soul. It is sufficient to say Christ observed it, and solemnly enjoined it on all his disciples. What it can do for us, He certainly knew, and His authority is surely sufficient, sufficient, I hope to answer and ever to silence, the above, and every other objection.

Final address to the candid and pious inquirer.

Having now completed my design in laying before you, my reader, every passage of God's word which expressly relates to the subject of *Christian Baptism*, as well as having referred you to the arguments for a practice which the scripture does not authorize, and the objections to the continuance of what it does plainly establish, I must take my leave of you, by entreating your serious attention to the following things.

1. *Christian Baptism*, being an institution of Christ Jesus, is not a subject to be treated with neglect or indifference; and surely much less with the contempt which some have impiously poured on it. So great an honor, (says a learned writer,) was never conferred on any ceremony, or any appointment of God, as on this ordinance when the Lord was baptized in the Jordan. And no ordinance was ever more solemnly and peremptorily enjoined, than Christ enjoined this on his disciples, when he was ascending from them into heaven.

2. Do not allow the observations contained in this work to influence you in the smallest degree, on a subject of so sacred a nature. I would advise you to peruse the passages of scripture again, omitting all the rest, and then form your sentiments and govern your practice, by the pure unerring word, and that alone.

3. In case of your being brought to agree with me as to believer's baptism, and you should resolve to tread in the footsteps of your Redeemer, remember that you do not attach to this ordinance any saving importance, considered simply in itself. On the other hand, let it not be deemed an act of *submission* or *condescension* on your part, but rather as a high honor and privilege to follow so bright, so glorious an example.

4. Let there be no undue delay in coming to this ordinance, if such you see the will of Christ respecting you. "Arise and be baptized," was the address of Saul; and Saul's prompt obedience is worthy the imitation of every Christian. "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." —1 Cor. xi. 1.

5. Let your future walk and conversation conform to the profession you make in this

ordinance. As your profession is not by sureties, but your own, and before witnesses, it is particularly binding and obligatory. How attentive then should you be, that you do no dishonor to the sacred names into which you are baptized! Let other Christians, who differ from you, be esteemed and loved by you. They are accountable, not to you, but to God, for their sentiments and conduct; and if they are interested in his love, redeemed by the same Lord, they should, as your brethren, share your warmest affection. Above all let Christ be the object of your supreme attention; obey him as your Lord, trust in him as your Saviour, follow him as your example, and if found faithful unto death, he has promised and "will give you a crown of life."

THE END

CONVERSATIONS

BETWEEN TWO LAYMEN ON

STRICT AND MIXED COMMUNION;

IN WHICH THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE LATTER PRACTICE, ARE STATED, AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE, IN THE WORDS OF ITS MOST POWERFUL ADVOCATE.

THE REV. ROBERT HALL.

BY J. G. FULLER.

PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

THE following pages are the result of a careful examination, for the third time, of the arguments usually advanced in favor of mixed communion. This examination is assignable, not so much to the recent publication of a compendium of those arguments, from the pen of their most eloquent advocate, as to an expectation, generally entertained, that mixed communion might shortly become a *practical* question in the church of which the writer is a member. This circumstance has certainly induced him to devote more attention to the controversy, than its merits, as a speculative inquiry, would either demand or justify; and as the design, though for a time abandoned, may not be entirely relinquished, he offers no apology for respectfully submitting to the candid and serious consideration of all who feel interested in the inquiry, the reasons, which appear to him to justify an adherence to the confessedly *scriptural* pattern of restricted communion.

If the most cordial esteem for many of those whose sentiments are opposed to his own, both Baptists and Pædobaptists, and

a grateful recollection of friendly intercourse for a series of years, *might* induce neutrality, or even a silent opposition to such an innovation, this formal defence of what, in the opinion of the writer, is unequivocally "Christian Communion," would never have been published. But the inquiry, What is truth? recognizes not personal friendships, but Christian principles; and when the constitution of a church is invaded, or threatened, it becomes the duty of every member who believes it is scriptural, instead of timidly resigning the cause, under the specious pretence of preserving peace, temperately, but firmly, to defend it to the utmost of his ability. The circumstance of our opponents being Christians, and Christian friends, while it must necessarily render an opposition to their measures extremely painful and distressing, may not for a moment be pleaded in justification of a compromise of principle; and should we ever impose on ourselves such a manifest delusion, we should richly deserve the ridicule and contempt which would be our inevitable portion. "The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable;" and that peace which is purchased by the prostration of principle, is an ignominious peace, unscriptural in its origin, unholy in

its nature, pernicious in its tendency, and eminently precarious in its tenure and duration.

One circumstance, and one alone, (for "religious inquiry is an affair of principles, not of persons,") induces the writer, in this place, to make a special, individual allusion to his highly respected friend, whose publications have again fanned to a flame the dying embers of this unhappy controversy, that honored individual is his pastor; nor, apart from the revival of this dispute, and certain irregularities to which his theory naturally tends, has the pleasure with which that important connection was contemplated been in the least degree impaired. Unconvinced by his reasonings on terms of communion,* the writer would re-

* It is a most singular coincidence, that at the very time when Mr. Hall's "Reasons for Christian Communion" made their appearance, the Unitarians, (for they also, it seems, have their bigots and liberals!) had just terminated a magazine controversy, in which certain reasons, not altogether dissimilar, were assigned in favor of Antichristian communion, or a church fellowship of Unitarian believers and avowed unbelievers! A Mr. Noah Jones, lamented the existence of such mixed communion, and ventured to protest against it; when, as he might rationally have expected, he was liberally assailed, by a host of Latitudinarians, with the convenient, common-place phrases, "intolerance, bigotry, narrow-mindedness, sectarianism, &c.," the special accusation of "schism" not excepted! Of the reasons advanced by the liberal party, in favor of the right of unbelievers to a place in Unitarian societies, and against the impolicy of rejecting them, the following may serve as a specimen:

Their error is sincere, conscientious, and involuntary. They cannot believe. "There is no doubt, as most of them are sincere, they would be glad to have their minds settled, and their anxiety relieved. Some of them are desirous to hear their difficulties discussed." "Shall we be following the example of Jesus, or acting upon his Spirit, when we say to our brethren, for an involuntary difference of opinion, 'Stand by, for we are holier than you?' " "A great distinction ought to be made between the irreligious infidel, and the serious, the religious sceptic, who is anxious, but unable to obtain conviction; who is moral, conscientious, and devout." "May not the opinions of the unbeliever be the result of as diligent, candid, honest, sincere investigation, as those believed to be true by the Christian? Is it not within the range of probability, that, from the evidence which strikes his mind, his conclusions may be correct?" Such an assumption, surely, is not unfair; why, then, should this reformer presume to hold him up to notice as an unworthy member of any society? Would he not have exhibited more modesty, had he acquired more correct notions of Christian charity, before he threw out his illiberal insinuations against men who are as sincere and virtuous, as they are benevolent and intelligent.

Charity.—"The spirit of Christianity is an enlarged, a benevolent spirit, which fears no imaginary contamination, and can extend the right hand of fellowship to every sincere and virtuous man." "In comparison with a society of men acting upon such narrow notions of the genuine spirit of Christianity as Mr. J. seems to entertain, how much superior would be his curious Christian church, consisting of a mixed assemblage of Christian believers, and Deists, Jews, and Mahometans." "Jesus was no respecter of persons. He was not so exclusively squeamish, or delicately particular, as Mr. J. is desirous the modern Unitarians should be. He deemed it to be of more importance to impress upon his followers, that they would be known to be his disciples, if they 'loved one another!'"

Weak in the Faith.—"If they do not, with us, believe in the divine mission of Jesus, they believe he was the greatest of men, superior even to Socrates." "Let us set the example of a true, an universal toleration, and receive every one of every denomination, however dark in faith. It has been said, 'Him that is weak in the faith, receive ye:' and we must first abjure our own best and

fleet discredit on himself, were he insensible either to the charms of his eloquence in the Christian cause, or to the superior attractions of his Christian character. And though he would be ashamed to apologize to the most elevated of his fellow men, for a firm resistance to what he sincerely believes to be an unscriptural and unauthorized innovation, yet he feels he should be deficient in the respect due to a pastor, were he to withhold what, under other circumstances, might be presumed unnecessary, or even officious; an unequivocal expression of the most cordial attachment to his ministry, accompanied by the sincere prayer that his Christian services may be prolonged to a very distant period.

The writer feels no disposition to attribute to personal distesteem, the remarks contained in some of the publications alluded to, relative to his deceased parent; since, apart from the present controversy, few, if any, have more respectfully eulogized his character, than the writer of those remarks. While, therefore, certain matters of fact excepted, he believes they are totally unfounded, he is at no loss to account for them on other principles; he is only astonished, that a mind so exalted, should be ca-

most sacred principles, before we can attempt to cast them out."

God will receive him.—"Do we not believe that if virtuous and true to his convictions, he will be acceptable to his Maker now, and the heir of eternal life hereafter? May he not possibly be our companion in future? and shall we shun him in this life?"

You reject better men than you receive.—"He may be an object of as great, if not of greater approbation, in the sight of his Maker, than one who has faith to remove mountains, and yet has not the spirit of his Master." "Should a man make a confession of Christ, Mr. J. is willing to be his associate, and to allow him all the privileges of a society of Christians; if he be a Gardiner, a Bonner, or a Horseley he will give him the right hand of fellowship. But should he be a Hobbes, a Collins, a Hume, or a Dr. Franklin, he must be banished a Unitarian society!"

A new case.—"Mr. Jones and his friends had intimated that our Saviour and his apostles drew a line of separation between believers and unbelievers; and doubtless they thought this was conclusive. But they were mistaken! a new case presents itself!" "I am prepared to say, (says one of these advocates for mixed communion,) that in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, there did not exist such a body of men as the present class of unbelievers; I mean inquiring, conscientious unbelievers."

Impolicy of Strict Communion.—"Would it not be very improper to do any thing which might prevent unbelievers from coming to our religious meetings, where they have the best chance of receiving instruction in the evidences of Christianity, of hearing judicious answers to their objections, &c. "Will it be wise in us to exclude them from, perhaps, the only opportunity they have of gaining these advantages, and of hearing the truth as it is in Jesus? Will it be a proof of wisdom, instead of preaching to those who require to be convinced, to confine our instructions to those alone who need no enlightening, whose principles have long been confirmed?" "How are we to make converts to our own clearer light, if we close our doors on all who are not of our manner of thinking? Where else are they to hear our sentiments?"

In the course of the controversy, an avowed Deist unites in the hue and cry against the bigotry and intolerance of poor Mr. Jones, and of one or two others who had ventured to defend the plan of restricted communion; eulogizes the liberality and candor of the more enlightened party; and congratulates his brethren on the "glowing eloquence" with which their rights had been asserted.

pable, even in controversy, of condescending to an indiscriminate depreciation of the performance of an opponent, by the imputation of *dishonorable motives*. It is a little singular too, and rather amusing, to witness such a disproportionate expenditure of ingenuity and labor, to invalidate arguments so very feeble and equivocal! The reader is informed that Mr. Fuller's pamphlet on Communion is "the feeblest of all his productions." Then, surely, it was scarcely worth while violently to torture and pervert his motives, and even to insinuate that, *within a few months of his decease, he employed himself in making experiments on the credulity of his surviving admirers!* To say nothing of the injustice of such insinuations, where existed the necessity of employing them against arguments so feeble and precarious? The intelligent reader will scarcely fail to suspect, that a production which required *such* a mode of reply is not exactly so insignificant as is pretended. But whatever be the merits of the pamphlet, (of which the present writer will scarcely be considered an impartial judge,) it is rightly due to its author, and to the cause which he at least *honestly* pleaded to supply a slight omission in the "Reasons for Christian Communion," in relation to the transaction at Cambridge; which might, and which should have been supplied, by its eloquent author, from the very first page of the pamphlet he has so singularly criticised. "So far (says Mr. Fuller) have I been from indulging a sectarian or party spirit, that my desire for communion with all who are friendly to the Saviour, has in one instance, led me practically to deviate from my general sentiments on the subject; *the reflection on which, however, having afforded me no satisfaction, I do not intend to repeat it.*"*

* The writer desires in this place to express his grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Ivimey and Mr. Kinghorn, for their prompt and generous defence of his deceased parent, from the charge of *controversial duplicity*. He presumes he may take the liberty of transcribing two or three short extracts from their publications.

"I fearlessly ask," says Mr. Ivimey, "who, that knew Mr. Fuller's doctrine and manner of life, will be of Mr. Hall's opinion, that Andrew Fuller should leave a manuscript, with the solemn charge to print it after his death, if Mr. Hall should publish in support of open communion; and this, not as 'the result of his deliberate and settled conviction,' but 'rather with a view to provoke farther inquiry?' I could almost as soon believe, that the Apostle Paul wrote his Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, merely with a view to provoke inquiry as to what could be said of the merit of man's good works, and not to establish the doctrine of justification by faith, without the deeds of the law."—*Communion at the Lord's Table Regulated by the Revealed Will of Christ, not Party, but Christian Communion.* Pref. p. 7.

"Mr. Hall insinuates," observes Mr. Kinghorn, "that Mr. Fuller did not *sincerely* believe that strict communion was founded on truth. He produces what he calls 'circumstances,' which led him to believe that 'all along Mr. Fuller felt some hesitation on the subject, and that his mind was not completely made up;' and afterwards adds 'Hence I am compelled to consider his posthumous tract rather as a trial of what might be adduced on that side of the controversy, with a view to provoke farther inquiry, than the result of deliberate and settled conviction.' So, then, Mr. Fuller wrote a pamphlet in defence of what he

The partial representation alluded to, in connection with the concealment of the avowed motives, and the imputation of reasons which had no existence, while it is eminently calculated to mislead, and doubtless will mislead no inconsiderable number of Mr. Hall's admirers, furnishes a lesson we shall do well to remember; we see now, with all their pretensions to superior liberality, what an ungenerous advantage will be taken by our opponents, if, in an unguarded moment, under the influence of *feeling*, or of affectionate persuasion, we should permit ourselves to forget the dictates of a cool and deliberate judgment.

Two objections have generally been urged against a *conversational* discussion of a controversy: that the arguments of an opponent are feebly constructed, and that victory is invariably awarded to the author. Both these objections, the present writer has endeavored to obviate; for, while a sense of delicacy induced him to represent the controversy between *two laymen*, (which is not entirely a fiction,) the arguments in favor of mixed communion have been generally and copiously quoted from those publications to which the friends of that system are proud to refer us, as their highest human authority.* Nor, in a single instance, has the writer represented his opponent as conceding the point at issue—an artifice as flimsy as it is contemptible; since, whatever be the conviction of either party, the public will not, in deference to our self-complacency, resign their undoubted privilege of judging for themselves.

It may possibly be regretted, that so much attention has been devoted to the nature of John's baptism; it will be proper; therefore, to observe, in explanation, that it was dictated, not so much by a conviction of the intrinsic importance of the argument in its bearing on the general question, as by the fact that some highly respected individuals have changed their views on the terms of communion, avowedly in deference to *that argument alone*, as illustrated by our eloquent opponent!

did not fully believe, and authorized Dr. Newman, on conditions, to publish it as *his opinion!* If Mr. Fuller did this he was not the man we took him to be. It is very surprising that any one should suspect him, who has any acquaintance with his character, and who has read only the first sentence of his work. It was written in the form of a letter to a friend; and he begins it by saying, 'The long and intimate friendship that I have lived in, and hope to die in, with several who are differently minded with me on this subject, may acquit me of any other motive in what I write, than a desire to vindicate what appears to me to be the mind of Christ.'—*Arguments against the Practice of Mixed Communion, with Preliminary Observations on Rev. R. Hall's Reasons for Christian, in opposition to Party Communion*, pp. 23, 24.

* On Terms of Communion.—*Second Edition.*
Essential Difference between Christian Baptism and the Baptism of John.—*Third Edition.*
Reply to Mr. Kinghorn.—*First Edition.*
Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion.—*First Edition.*

The preceding observations, with the exception of the notes, were written in 1826. Since then, many circumstances have concurred to induce the writer to submit to the candid attention of his denomination, the pages originally written, but not now published, with a special reference to a particular church. The tendency of mixed communion is becoming every day more apparent, and its deteriorating and dissociating influence more visible. Every successive month brings "certain strange things" to our ears; a standing ordinance of Jesus Christ displaced, condemned, and decried; its very mention deprecated; natural allusions to it studiously avoided; the almost total suppression, in the Christian ministry, of one part of "the counsel of God;" the reception of members without any baptism, notwithstanding a renunciation of the ceremony performed in infancy, and without any public confession of faith in Christ, beyond a knowledge of character and personal appearance in the temple of mixed communion; clandestine admissions of unbaptized persons to the Lord's table; attempts to enforce mixed communion; unnecessary and unwelcome collision with Pædobaptist churches;* the constitution of Baptist churches altered by way of experiment; the necessary expulsion of conscientious Strict Baptists; defective discipline; a general relaxation from primitive Christianity; a disposition to sacrifice another "non-essential," the Lord's supper, whenever the supposed interests of peace and union shall make the demand; private baptisms, in compliance with the special desire of Pædobaptist members, the celebration of believers' baptism in the morning, and of infant baptism in the afternoon of the same day, in the same place, the morning preacher being especially requested not to plead for his views of baptism, by a non-compliance with which, the Pædobaptist members were greatly offended! These are indications, (and others might be enumerated,) sufficiently clear and strong, of the tendency of mixed communions.

One portentous result of the proposed innovation, conceded by our eloquent opponent himself, ought never to be forgotten—the *extinction of Baptist churches!* "Were that practice universally to prevail," he says "the mixture of Baptists and Pædobaptists in Christian societies would probably, ere long, be such, that the appellation of Baptist might be found, not so applicable to churches as to individuals." In this

then all parties are agreed; that the tendency of mixed communion is to annihilate, as such, all the Baptist churches in Christendom! to dissolve the only community of Christians, which, (in the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton,) never symbolized with the Church of Rome! to unchurch the only churches in the world, in which, (our opponents themselves being judges,) the ordinances of Jesus Christ are kept as they were delivered! "They that have ears to hear let them hear!"

On this subject Mr. Kinghorn observes, that "the greatest enemies the Baptists have, cannot wish for more than to see them placed in the situation to which Mr. Hall's system would, by his own confession, conduct them; without churches of their own; merely individuals blended with others of opposite views; neutralized in their statements; with ministers who, perhaps, are not Baptists, or who, if they are, in that liberal state of things would surely not be such 'bigots,' as to run the risk of offending any of their hearers by pleading for *baptism*; and surrounded by those who directly or indirectly would continually be repeating the sound, that positive ordinances are of very little consequence, and whether they are received or rejected is of no importance, provided every one is fully persuaded in his own mind! It is time for us in this state of things, to act with circumspection and becoming firmness. It is manifestly the duty of the members of our churches, and of those who sustain the offices of deacons and ministers, to put the question to themselves and to each other, Do you wish to promote the dissolution and ruin of the Baptist denomination, as such? If you do, Mr. Hall tells you his system will effect the purpose; but if you do not, take heed to your ways!"*

Whether the sentiments advanced in the following pages, or their publication, be approved or disapproved, the writer hopes he shall at least obtain credit for *sincerity*. He has not written by way of "experiment;" but from "a deep and deliberate conviction," on the one hand, that the system of mixed communion is not "from heaven," but "of men;" an infringement on the authority of the Christian Legislator neither right nor wise; and, on the other hand, that the cause which he has the honor to advocate, is unequivocally the cause of God and truth, of peace, and "Christian communion."

In conclusion, he would merely observe, that should he be instrumental in convincing only a few, of the duty of adhering, in the

* For some admirable observations on this subject, combining with sound argument, the most genuine Christian feeling towards our Pædobaptist brethren, the reader is referred to Mr. Ivimey's "*Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord's Table.*" Chapter ii.

* Arguments against the practice of Mixed Communion, pp. 26, 27. An unanswerable epitome of the whole controversy, comprised in a few pages, at a very moderate price.

constitution of their churches, to the confessedly "natural and the prescribed order" of the Christian ordinances, they will possess an advantage peculiarly their own; their honest conviction will be in no danger of being invalidated, by the imputation that they have surrendered their judgment to the authority of "A GREAT NAME."

CONVERSATION I.

General and Preliminary Observations.

M. I HAVE just been reading Mr. Hall's "Reasons for Christian Communion," and they are so clear and so conclusive, my friend, that I cannot help hoping they will convince even you!

S. Indeed! and of what do you suppose they will convince me?

M. Of the duty of "Christian Communion."

S. But I am convinced of that already.

M. Not you, indeed; yours is "*Party Communion.*"*

S. But I hope the party to which you and I belong are Christians. And surely communion with those who are not only Christians in common with other denominations, but who, in distinction from them, have avowed their Christianity in the precise mode which Christ expressly appointed for that purpose, must be Christian communion.

M. Still, it is party communion, being restricted to Christians of one party only; but Mr. Hall has proved that all Christians are entitled to the eucharist.

S. A position which no one denies. Undoubtedly, they are entitled, in the strictest sense of the term, not only to the Lord's supper, but to all the privileges of the Christian church; but it does not follow that they are entitled to any, in deviation from the order of Divine appointment. Neither are baptism and the Lord's supper privileges only: they are also duties, incumbent on all believers. But then, He who enjoined their observance, also fixed the order in which they should be observed; and that order, being of divine appointment, is, in our opinion, as imperative as the duties themselves.

M. But Mr. Hall contends that sincere

and conscientious Pædobaptists whose mistake is involuntary, are entitled to a participation of the privileges of church-fellowship.

S. And here again we are agreed. Most assuredly, on their own principles, they are entitled to the privileges of church-fellowship. Sincerely believing they have entered the visible church in the way of Divine appointment, their title to its peculiar privileges inevitably follows, since every Christian is under a sacred obligation to recognize what he sincerely believes to be the Divine will. Unquestionably, it is the duty of every man to believe and obey the truth: but then, it is equally evident, that every man must ascertain for himself what is truth, and what is duty: and that which, after an impartial examination of the best evidence within his reach, he believes, to be the truth, he is undoubtedly bound to obey. His belief may be erroneous; but while it is his belief, his practice must correspond, or he will be convicted of living in the neglect of that which he believes to be a Christian duty. Whatever blame attaches to him, if any, is imputable, not to his practice, but to his belief, of which his practice is the necessary result; and his belief, if erroneous, is criminal or innocent, in proportion as it is voluntary or involuntary. But they who honestly believe, after an impartial examination of the best evidence, that they have received Christian baptism; that they have entered the visible church in the way of Divine appointment, are undoubtedly entitled to a participation of its peculiar privileges.

M. And yet you would not unite with these sincere and conscientious Pædobaptists, in the duties and privileges of church-fellowship!

S. Would you my friend, unite with them, in the ceremony which they believe to be Christian baptism?

M. Certainly not.

S. And yet we think they are as justly entitled to baptize without a profession of faith, as to partake of the Lord's supper prior to their reception of Christian baptism. They have, in our opinion, no scriptural authority for either. In both cases they act on their own belief, and on their own responsibility: consequently, on their own principles, they do right in partaking of the Lord's supper, though in our opinion unbaptized; their conviction, and not ours, being their proper directory. But, in neither case, may the dictates of their consciences be the directory of my actions; these must be regulated by the dictates of my conscience: and it is no more a consequence, that, because, on their own principles, they are entitled to the Lord's supper

* "It is no sin to belong to a party: for that unavoidably results from the exercise of private judgment, and the tendency to union in kindred minds. Those who profess to belong to no party, seem to be little aware that they are themselves a party. They have some very respectable leaders, and they are the *Anti-sectarian sect.*" —Dr. Newman. *Baptism an Indispensable Prerequisite to Communion at the Lord's table.*

therefore it is my duty to unite with them in that ordinance, than that, because, on their own principles, they are entitled to baptize their infants, therefore it is your duty to unite with them in that ceremony. Their privilege and our duty, are not, in either case, necessarily identified. And if Mr. Hall has proved no more than he proposes to prove, viz: That all Christians are entitled to the privileges of church-fellowship; so far as his ultimate object is concerned, he might just as well have done nothing. His ultimate position is, that it is *our duty* to unite with Pædobaptists in church-fellowship; but all he even proposes to establish, in his last publication, is their title to the eucharist. But who does not perceive the difference between these two propositions? and that proof of the latter falls short of establishing the former. Suppose their title to the privileges of the Christian church was established by arguments the most numerous and conclusive: what then? what is accomplished? what is produced? A fine chain of reasoning complete in itself, perhaps; but, for the purpose for which it was wrought, utterly useless; dangling in the hand, and falling to the ground, just for want of a single link, to unite the last in the chain with the ultimate position; a connecting argument, that shall clearly prove that the privilege of the Pædobaptist and the duty of the Baptist are inseparable.

M. But in a joint participation of the eucharist you would unite in an ordinance concerning which, you are agreed, and in which both act conscientiously, each believing himself to be baptized.

S. But not each believing that the other is baptized. Our Pædobaptist brethren would act consistently throughout; acknowledging our baptism equally with their own, they would not make the slightest sacrifice of principle; and this will account for their uniform willingness to unite with us. With a few modern exceptions, *they* could not, any more than the Strict Baptists, unite in church fellowship with any whom they thought unbaptized; and their desire that their Baptist brethren should unite with them at the Lord's table, arises generally, not from a conviction that baptism is not essential to church-fellowship, but from a wish that we should acknowledge them as baptized; an acknowledgement which even *you*, in the plenitude of your candor, are not prepared to concede. But while our Pædobaptist brethren believe that we are baptized, and while we believe, with Mr. Hall that their baptism is a "nullity," we meet on unequal ground; and though they would act consistently throughout, I should unquestionably deviate from the principle avowed by us both; that bap-

tism is essential to church-fellowship.* In a participation of the Lord's supper with Pædobaptists, there are two acts, both of which, being my own acts, must be regulated by my own principles: 1. Receiving the ordinance: 2. Uniting with unbaptized persons in receiving it. For the first of these, I have scriptural authority; for the last, I have none; such a union being a direct inversion of the order confessedly universal in the purest age of the church: an order in my humble opinion, not incidental, not circumstantial, not local, not temporary and evanescent; but intentionally prescribed by the Legislator, in his last commission to his apostles; the observance of which, therefore, is as imperative, and the obligation as perpetual, as the celebration of the ordinances themselves, and the obligation to preach the gospel to every creature. If this view of the subject be correct, then the only question is: Is infant sprinkling Christian baptism? In *our* opinion it is not; consequently in our opinion our Pædobaptist brethren have not complied with that ordinance, which, in the Christian commission, is enjoined on every disciple, immediately on his believing the gospel, and prior to his observance of *all* the things which Christ has commanded. "But our Pædobaptist brethren believe they *have* complied with the prior obligation." True; and their duty is plain. But this is not the question. The question is, What is our duty? And the answer is obvious, If it is incumbent on *them* to act upon their belief, it cannot be less incumbent on *us* to act upon our belief, both as to what is Christian baptism, and what is its relative situation in the Christian commission: and this, not only in relation to our individual practice, but likewise in the constitution of our particular churches. If, however, you contend that baptism does not occupy that place in the Christian commission which we have assigned it, we shall feel obliged by your pointing out what place it does occupy. Or, if compelled to admit that this is its relative situation, you yet maintain that this order is not *obligatory*, then we should be glad to be informed what part of the commission is of perpetual obligation, and which

* Dr. Dwight in his *System of Theology*, (in agreement with the learned Dr. Doddridge,) maintains the principle in question, in the most unqualified terms: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." To be born of water, is to be baptized. To be born of the Spirit, is to be regenerated. "The kingdom of God," is a phrase used, in the gospel, in a two-fold sense, and denotes his *visible* and his *invisible* kingdom; or the collection of apparent, and the collection of real saints. The indispensable condition of entering the former, or visible kingdom, is here made by our Saviour, baptism. The indispensable qualification for admission into the invisible kingdom, is regeneration; the great act of the Spirit of God, which constitutes men real saints. Baptism, therefore, is here made by Christ, a condition absolutely necessary to our authorized entrance into his visible church."—Ser. 156.

part is discretionary, and why the order is imperative in relation to faith and baptism, and not equally imperative in relation to baptism and church-fellowship. Who or what, my dear friend, has authorized a Christian practically to declare, in relation to the order of his Lord's commission: "*Hitherto will I come, but no further!*"

M. I perceive, my friend, we shall not agree to-night; but, if you have no objection, as the controversy is agitated, and may become a practical question in the church of which we are members, we will resume the discussion on some future occasion. Perhaps a few friendly conversations may place the subject in a clearer light; and few things would give me greater pleasure, than to convince you that your sentiments on this question, are decidedly erroneous. For, sincerely as I esteem you, I cannot but think you have embraced a most unlovely and repulsive system. On the contrary, the practice for which we plead, commends itself so forcibly to the *feelings* of the Christian, that, to me, it is perfectly astonishing, than any man, with the least pretension to Christianity should hesitate to adopt it. It is a *lovely* system!

S. But is it, I would ask a *scriptural* system? That is the question. I confess I am not quite prepared to admit that every thing a Christian *feels* to be lovely and right is right. On this principle there is no certain standard of truth, to which inquirers can appeal. On the contrary, truth and error, will-worship and Christian obedience, would, in different circumstances, present equal claims; different Christians feeling differently, and the feelings of the same persons, at different times being diametrically opposed. But the truth is established on a rock, and remains perfectly unmoved by the fluctuating tides of feeling. The affections of a Christian are so intermingled with the affections of his nature, and both are so strangely influenced by extraneous and contingent circumstances, that to build any part of the Christian fabric on *feeling*, is a folly not surpassed by the man who should attempt to rear an edifice on a sand-bank on the margin of the restless ocean. The habitual feeling of a Christian, indeed, under certain circumstances, and in certain situations, may be received as an additional sanction of that which habitually commends itself to an enlightened judgment: but, unless both the feeling and the judgment agree with the mind of Christ, they are both erroneous. Whatever place is assignable to feeling, in the regulation of Christian action, it must be confessed to be much too uncertain and wavering to be the *main spring* of Christian obedience. Instead of the judgment being controlled by the feeling, the feeling should be subject to the judgment; and both should hear the voice and obey

the dictates, of the immutable oracles of divine truth.

M. But surely that system cannot be scriptural, which is totally opposed to the *genius of the gospel*. "The genius of the gospel, let it be remembered, is not ceremonial but spiritual: consisting, not in meats or drink, or outward observances, but in the cultivation of such interior graces as compose the essence of virtue, perfect the character, and purify the heart. These form the soul of religion; all the rest are but her terrestrial attire, which she will lay aside when she passes the threshold of eternity. When, therefore, the obligations of humility and love come into competition with a punctual observance of external rites the genius of religion will easily determine to which we should incline."—*Terms*, 190, 191. H. 107.*

S. So then, the adherence of Christian churches to the order of their Lord's commission, is opposed to the genius of the gospel! Who would have thought it! But if so, by all means, let the commission be cancelled; and evermore let us banish from our minds the antiquated notion, that obedience to the Christian commands, so far from being opposed to the genius of the gospel, is the very criterion, not only of love to the Saviour, but likewise of love to the brethren—principles, let it be remembered, which constitute the very essence of the genius of the gospel. It is very true, indeed, that our Lord required of his disciples this proof of their affection: "If ye love me," said he, "*keep my commandments*."—"Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." And it is equally true, that the beloved and affectionate John never entertained the least apprehension that Christian obedience was incompatible with love to the brethren: "For," said he, "by this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God and keep his commandments. For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous." But what then? All this was a long time ago; and, at that time, perfectly in harmony with the genius of the gospel: but since then, it seems, the circumstances of the Christian church are changed; now, therefore, an adherence, in the constitution of our churches, to the order of our Lord's commission, in relation to the gospel ordinances, is opposed to the genius of the gospel! Astonishing! But is it so? Let us examine. And allow me to inquire, in the first place, Who authorized the assertion, that "the genius of the gospel is not ceremonial, but spiritual; consisting, not in outward observances, but in the cultivation of such interior graces as compose the es-

* H. with the succeeding figures, denotes the page of Mr. Hall's complete works, as published in America.

sence of virtue, perfect the character and purify the heart?" That the genius of the gospel is spiritual, is universally admitted; but that it is *exclusively* spiritual, none, it might be presumed, but those who deny the perpetuity of the Christian ordinances, *in toto*, will venture deliberately to affirm. It will not avail to remind us of the words of an Apostle—that "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink;" because the application of this expression to either of the solemn and affecting rites peculiar to the gospel dispensation, is a manifest perversion of the Apostle's meaning: the meats and drinks to which he referred, being placed in direct contrast with the "righteousness" pertaining to the kingdom of God, of which we have the very highest authority for asserting that baptism is a part; "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." Besides, such an affirmation is equally opposed to the allowed and systematic practice of our opponents themselves. *Their* religion, however spiritual, is partly ceremonial. Do they not habitually partake of the symbols of the Redeemer's death? Have they not submitted even to the despised and undervalued ordinance of Christian baptism? And what are these, but ceremonies—the solemn and significant ceremonies of the gospel dispensation? Were the position advanced by a *Friend*, (or Quaker,) however erroneous it might be, it would at least be intelligible and consistent: but, for a *Baptist* to maintain that the genius of the gospel is not in part *ceremonial*, is to pass a sweeping condemnation on his own acknowledged practice. But you tell us that "the interior graces form the soul of religion," and that "all the rest are but her terrestrial attire, which she will lay aside when she passes the threshold of eternity." Now, my friend, this beautiful description may be very just: but what then? It is perfectly inapplicable to the present controversy. For it so happens, that we are, at present—and all Christian communities, as such, must necessarily continue to exist, on *this side* the threshold of eternity. Our present duty, therefore, as Christians, and as Christian communities, is not to "*lay aside* the terrestrial attire of religion," but rather to "*put on* the Lord Jesus," in the way of his own appointment; and in all respects to adapt our practice to the requirements of the Christian Legislator, in the present probationary state. "Until he come," we have no right to "*lay aside*" the terrestrial attire of religion; but are required to conform to the regulation of our Lord's house, in a punctilious attention to those outward rites, which, for wise purposes, he has enjoined, no less than in the cultivation of those duties which are essentially spiritual. The graces of the Spirit were never intended to

supercede obedience to the ritual precepts. If, indeed, ritual obedience were necessarily subversive of spiritual religion, or if a punctilious observance of the former involved the neglect of the latter, there might be some justice in your observation: at present, there is none; since whatever degree of importance is attached to each, they are equally imperative—both having emanated from the same Supreme Legislator. He who commanded his disciples to love one another, also commissioned his apostles to "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:" and this, *before* they taught them to observe all things that he had commanded them. Instead, therefore, of appealing to the genius of religion, to "determine to which we shall incline," we should recognize the spirit of our Lord's admonition on another occasion: "These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

M. But, (further to adopt the language of our eloquent friend,) "Strict communion sets the conduct and the feelings at variance; and erects into a duty, the mortification of our best and holiest propensities." —*Reasons*, 17, 18. H. 200.

S. That I cannot allow. Our best and holiest propensities are, undoubtedly, those which induce a rigid adherence to the commands of the Christian Legislator, in preference to a union, even with Christians, in what we believe to be a deviation from his revealed will. Whether a permanent union, with unbaptized Christians, in church-fellowship, or occasional communion with them, in a single ordinance peculiar to that relation,* be a deviation from the mind of

* There are some Christians, who are unwilling to receive pious Pædobaptists into full church-fellowship, but who have no objection to what is called, occasional communion, or even to habitual communion, provided it extend no farther than the celebration of the Lord's supper. But is not this admitting them to the greatest privilege, and denying them the less? Surely we ought not to be more tenacious of the exclusive privileges of church-membership, than of exact obedience to our Lord's instructions, contained in his last commission. But from these instructions, occasional communion at the Lord's table, with unbaptized persons, is, in the writer's opinion, an occasional deviation; and habitual communion, habitual deviation. And the only plausible objection—indeed, the only objection that can be urged against full church-membership, after such an innovation on the order of the Christian commission, that it is inexpedient. A Christian who practises mixed communion in a participation of a church ordinance with Pædobaptists cannot object to receiving them to full church-membership, on any other ground than alarm, lest his privileges as a Baptist should be endangered? But is this Christian allegiance? Is it not a symptom that we are more jealous for the privileges of church-membership, than for the honor of Christ? Surely, those who, either under the influence of feeling, or from motives of convenience, have been induced to deviate from the order of their Lord's commission, by a union with unbaptized persons in a church-ordinance, while, at the same time, they refuse to admit them to church-membership, will seriously reflect, whether they are not laying greater stress on *expediency* than on *principle*. If communion in a church-ordinance with unbaptized persons be a deviation from the order of the Christian commission, as illustrated by the un-

Christ, is a question for consideration : but if it be, or if a Christian believe that it is, the corresponding practice of strict communion is not a mortification, but an exemplification of the best and holiest propensities.

M. But you practise a worse mixed communion than that against which you inveigh ; retaining in your churches, members of whose morality the most charitable are compelled to doubt.

S. True, my friend we do. But, permit me to ask, have we any rule, that immorality should be no bar to communion ? Do we systematically agree to tolerate it ? Is this a part of our constitution ? Do we tell our members, or candidates for membership, that though, in our humble opinion, all Christians should be moral characters, and especially if they sincerely believe that morality is a duty : still while they are of opinion either that they are moral, or that they are "not under the law," as a rule of life, the absence of morality is no bar to communion ? True, we do retain improper characters in our churches ; and so do you ; but why ? Why, simply because of the difficulty of proving their immorality ; without which, on what principle of justice, I should be glad to know, could they be expelled ? If we maintained, that known and acknowledged immorality were no disqualification, there would be some pertinence in the remark : but surely, there is a wide difference between bearing with individuals, even in things which are evil, where that evil is difficult of detection—and making a rule to tolerate evil. As the late Mr. Fuller observes, "It was no reproach to Christ and his Apostles, to have had a Judas among them, though he was a thief, so long as his theft was not manifest : but had there been a rule laid down, that covetousness and even theft should be *no bar to*

communion, the reproach had been indelible."—*Letter to a Friend*, 27.

M. But some whom you reject are better Christians than some whom you welcome to your communion.

S. It may be so ; and at my own table, I should prefer their company ; but in receiving Christians to the Lord's table, we must recognize his authority. As the subject relates to the church-militant, perhaps you will allow me a military illustration. An officer beats up for recruits, to resist a foreign invasion. A fine young man offers his services. He is taller, by head and shoulders, than some who have been enlisted. The officer surveys him, and thinks he has obtained a prize. He welcomes him to His Majesty's service, and proceeds on the first convenient opportunity, to administer the oath of allegiance. The young man says, 'No, I cannot take the oath ; it is now unnecessary, for it was administered to many years ago, in my very infancy.' This does not satisfy the officer. As he is instructed to have the oath administered, and the young man declines to take it, the officer promptly replies, 'Then I cannot receive you.' Your scruples may be conscientious ones ; I presume they are ; and you may be a loyal man, and might make a good soldier ; and if the King were to intimate a willingness, I might deviate from my instructions, then I would receive you with all my heart. But here is the Royal Commission : read it if you will ; and you will find that it runs thus : 'Enlist all the young men in the district, *administering to them the oath of allegiance*, and send them to the regiment to be further instructed.' Now, can any thing be plainer than this ? more explicit, or more peremptory ? What can I do ? I am a man 'under authority : ' it is at my peril to deviate from my instructions ; I cannot receive you. And if you were to go to the regiment, and propose to join their ranks only for a single day,* if they believed you had not taken the oath of allegiance, they would not admit you. In vain would you plead your loyalty, or that you had affirmed your loyalty, or that in other services they did not require the oath. They would reply, to a man, 'We do not dispute either of these points ; but the *King's regiments must be formed and regulated by the King's instructions*. The oath of allegiance always has been, and (until the King himself annul his royal commission) always must be, the term of admission into the King's regiments. Your scruples may be conscientious, and therefore may justify you ; but we are not to deviate from our instructions, thus honoring your scruples more than His Majesty's or-

form example, and enjoined by the concurrent authority of the Apostles, it is a weightier consideration than expediency, and ought to be more influential. Even that which is lawful, may not be expedient : but that which is unlawful, cannot be expedient, either totally, or partially, habitually, or occasionally. The preservation of the exclusive right of suffrage in a Baptist church, is not worth a thought, in comparison with a strict adherence to the law of Christ. If mixed communion in a church-ordinance were not a deviation from the mind of Christ, who are we, that we should presume to hold up a finger to prevent the full recognition of pious Pædobaptists as members of our churches ? The perpetuity of the Baptist denomination, as such, shrivels into perfect insignificance, upon any other consideration than this : *It is the only denomination in the world, in which the ordinances of Jesus Christ are kept as they were delivered*. This is the reason, and perhaps the only justifiable reason, for a separation from such of our brethren as do not impose upon us the observance of their unscriptural rites and ceremonies. But in proportion as this consideration is received into the mind and maintains its proper influence, we shall practise strict communion in our churches : not simply from expediency, but from principle ; not merely in defence of our supposed privileges, but from a profound regard for the honor of Christ ; not partially, but uniformly.

* Occasional Communion. See Note, p. 14.

ders. Our laws are explicit and peremptory; we cannot receive you into the regiment. But, engage in any service for which the oath is not required, and we will, according to the best of our ability, unite with you in it, and cordially wish you success in the King's name. And when the war is over, and the army is disbanded, we will unite with each other as loyal subjects, who have served His Majesty, each agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, all of whom, therefore may cordially unite in the celebration of his triumphs.' Now, my friend, I think you cannot fail to discover the principle on which we act; a principle in which no candid mind will perceive, and in which I challenge the most uncandid and talented mind to discover, one single iota of, that odious and bitter feeling, so freely alleged against us called *bigotry*! We admit that our Pædobaptist friends are Christians; and, as such, we unite with them in every Christian exercise for which we believe baptism is not a prerequisite. We give them credit for sincerity and conscientiousness; but still, in our opinion, infant sprinkling is not Christian baptism, and Christian baptism is the only appointed and authorized mode of entrance into the visible church. While, therefore, we unite with them in those exercises which were duties before baptism was instituted, and which would have been duties to the end of time had there been no Christian churches, we contend, that *the churches of Christ must be constituted agreeably to the law of Christ*; and that, in no case may a conscientious deviation from the Christian law, be considered equivalent to Christian obedience.

M. Still, the question occurs, is the admission of unbaptized persons to the eucharist, a deviation from the law of Christ?

S. Why, my friend, you yourself acknowledge that baptism was a term of admission into the visible church;* and the inevitable conclusion is, either that the law which made it was not of perpetual obligation, or, that baptism still is a term of communion. If the law be not of perpetual obligation, where is your authority for restricting baptism to believers? If it be of perpetual obligation, that is our authority for receiving to the privileges of church-fellowship, only baptized believers. Take which ground you please, my friend; but to be consistent, either attach yourself to the Pædobaptists, or come over to us; your present position appearing, to me, perfectly untenable. But, not to pursue the inquiry now, I will with pleasure accept your proposal to resume the discussion in a few

friendly conversations; and perhaps it will be convenient to make an early appointment.

M. Any day you please next week; as early in the week as may be convenient to yourself. And, as Mr. Hall is, unquestionably, the best writer on our side of the controversy, and as my views exactly coincide with his, I shall take the liberty occasionally at least, perhaps generally, to quote from his publications. I presume you have no objection.

S. None whatever. What shall be the subject of our next conversation?

M. Unless you are disposed to abandon an argument usually maintained by the advocates of strict communion; the supposed identity of John's baptism with Christian baptism; that, probably, would form the most appropriate commencement.

S. Certainly, I am not prepared to yield the point; though it does not appear, to me, to be of much consequence. But, as Mr. Hall considers it "demonstrable," that they were two distinct institutes, and, consequently, that the Lord's supper was celebrated prior to the institution of Christian baptism, this part of the controversy may engage our attention on Monday evening.

CONVERSATION II.

Baptism and the Lord's Supper Anterior and subsequent to the Death of Christ circumstantially different, but essentially the same.

M. My dear friend, I am glad to see you. I hope since our last interview, you have carefully weighed the arguments it adduced to prove "the essential difference" between John's baptism, and the baptism practised after our Lord's decease: because "if it should clearly appear that these were two distinct institutes, it will be evident that the eucharist was appointed and celebrated before Christian baptism existed."—*Terms*, 14, 15. H. 29. That they were separate institutions, is, in my opinion "demonstrable."—*Reasons*, 21.

S. Doubtless, my friend, there was a difference between them; but I cannot perceive an "essential difference," or such a difference as shall constitute them "two distinct institutes." But then there was also a difference between the *Lord's supper*, as celebrated before and after the death of Christ—a difference in many respects, corresponding with that which existed between the ordinance of baptism before and after that interesting event. Consequently, they agree with each other: and we might spare

* Mr. Hall believes it was "essential to salvation."—*Reply*, 43. H. 173.

ourselves the fatigue of disputing a point, which, after all, does not materially affect the main argument; and proceed at once to the consideration of THE COMMISSION which our Lord gave to his disciples after his resurrection; and which, in my humble opinion, whatever may be the result of the present inquiry, is the *law* to which all Christians must appeal, and by which, as explained by the uniform practice of the apostles, the question must be decided.

M. I am of opinion, certainly, that "the connection of this question with the point in debate, is casual and incidental, rather than real and intrinsic; since the only possible advantage to the cause of mixed communion resulting from its decision, is the overthrow of an argument most feebly constructed. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to remember that the admission of what you contend for, would merely prove that the ordinance of baptism was promulgated at an *earlier period* than the Lord's supper. But in determining a question of duty resulting from positive laws, the era of their promulgation is a consideration totally foreign."—*Ess. Diff.* 6, 7. H. 115.

S. Without conceding that the admission of *your* opinion would be of the least service to you, since, whatever be the nature of John's baptism, both the ordinances are involved in the same predicament; still, perhaps, a patient examination of the question may be more satisfactory, than for either party to assert that his own sentiment is "demonstrable." Wherein do you suppose the points of difference consist?

M. There are in my opinion, several. I may instance, in the first place, that "the rite performed by John, is rarely, if ever, introduced without some explanatory phrase or epithet. It is sometimes denominated the baptism of John; on other occasions, baptism in water; and the baptism of repentance: but it is never expressed in the absolute form in which the mention of Christian baptism invariably occurs. Though innumerable persons were baptized by St. Paul, we read of no such expression as the baptism of Paul. On the contrary, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, he expresses a sort of pious horror at the very idea of such a supposition. Whoever considers the extreme precision which the inspired historians maintain in the choice of terms employed to represent religious ordinances, will perceive this circumstance to possess considerable weight."—*Ess. Diff.* 10. H. 117.

S. Innumerable persons baptized by St. Paul! When? Where? Who? Really, my friend, if you had not so pointedly referred to one of Paul's Epistles, I should have thought you meant Peter. But, passing this, the reason of the epithet, "the baptism of John," I humbly conceive to be, because

it was the baptism which John *introduced*. It was a *new* rite; and that a new institution should be designated by certain descriptive epithets, is perfectly natural; consequently, as baptism in water subsequent to the Pentecost, has, appended to it, no epithet by which it is distinguished from the former—in fact, no marked designation whatever—the fair inference is, that, so far from being a "distinct institute," it is, with whatever circumstantial difference, essentially a continuation of the rite introduced by John. Thus, the "extreme precision" of the inspired historians, is in favor of *our* hypothesis, rather than of yours.

M. But you seem to have forgotten, my friend, that "John himself contrasts his baptism with a superior one, which he directs his hearers to expect at the hand of the Messiah. 'I indeed,' said he, 'baptize you in water; but there standeth one among you, whose shoe-latchets I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and in fire;' referring, unquestionably, to that redundancy of prophetic and miraculous gifts which were bestowed on the church after the effusion of the Spirit."—*Ess. Diff.* 11. H. 118.

S. Undoubtedly, my friend, John contrasted his baptism, with the baptism of the Spirit. But what then? Who ever confounded them? Even Christian baptism is distinguished from that—the one being denominated *water* baptism; the other, the baptism of the *Spirit*.

M. Nay, but the question is, "whether John, in foretelling that the Messiah should baptize in the Holy Ghost, intended to allude to the sacramental water, or whether his attention was directed solely to the effusion of the Spirit, without reference to the external rite."—*Ess. Diff.* 49, 50. H. 135.

S. But John does not so much as mention water, in connection with the baptism of the Spirit.

M. True; and "his suppression of the mention of water, is in perfect accordance with the genius of oriental speech, which, in the exhibition of a complex object, is wont to represent it only by its boldest and most impressive feature."—*Ess. Diff.* 50. H. 135.

S. But the effusion of spiritual gifts did not invariably accompany baptism.

M. Nor is this necessary. "It is quite sufficient to account for the language of John, as well as to sustain the inference deduced from it, that such was the stated order."—*Ess. Diff.* 50. H. 136.

S. That the preternatural gifts of the Spirit, by the laying on of hands, were, at one period of the church, the usual appendage of baptism, (as they also were, during the same period, of other Christian ceremonies,) is unquestionable: but the simple

circumstance of there having been deviations from the rule, clearly shows that the baptism of the Spirit was not a constituent part of the ordinance enjoined by Christ, but something perfectly distinct. How do you account for the baptism of the Samaritans recorded in the eighth chapter of the Acts, being unaccompanied by the miraculous gift of the Spirit?

M. "Because the apostles, to whom alone the power of conferring it belonged, were not present."—*Essen. Differ.* 51. H. 136.

S. But if the presence of the apostles was necessary to the communication of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, one of two consequences is inevitable: Either, (1.) These preternatural gifts did not form a constituent part, or even an essential appendage, of the ordinance enjoined by Christ: Or, (2.) The Samaritans, the Ethiopian eunuch, (whose confession, surely, was Christian!) and probably, multitudes besides, who were baptized subsequent to the Pentecost, did not receive Christian baptism! For who will pretend that the apostles were present on *all* occasions of baptism? And if the absence of this glorious appendage establish an essential difference between John's and Christian baptism, then *our* baptism also will be unchristianized: and the alarming result will be, that there is not an individual in all Christendom, from the meanest member of the least of the "little Baptist churches," to the most elevated of our "public teachers," who has received Christian baptism. Surely, my friend, for once, you will yield to circumstances, and permit fact and common sense to triumph over theory.

M. But I have other reasons in support of my theory, which must be disposed of, before it is abandoned. "It is universally admitted that Christian baptism has invariably been administered in the name of Jesus, and that circumstance is essential to its validity: while it is evident, from the solicitude with which our Saviour avoided the avowal of himself as the Messiah, that during his public ministry, his name was not publicly employed as the object of a religious rite. The practice of baptizing in his name, must have been equivalent, at least, to a public confession of his being the Messiah. The historian informs us, that while John was baptizing, all men were musing in their hearts whether *he* were the Christ or not. But how is it possible, let me ask, that such a question should arise amongst the people, on your hypothesis? or how could it enter into their imagination to infer, from his baptizing in the name of Jesus, that he himself was, or that he pretended to be, the Messiah?"—*Essen. Differ.* 12—14. H. 18, 19.

S. These difficulties, supposed to be so formidable, admit, I humbly conceive, of a very easy solution. I believe it is not universally admitted that Christian baptism has been invariably administered verbally in the name of Jesus; but in connection with the Father and the Spirit, in the name of the *Son*. Thus it is not pretended that John's baptism was administered verbally in the name of Jesus, but in the name of the *Messiah*, or the *Christ*: and this apparently trivial distinction, while it furnishes an obvious reason for the cogitations and inquiries of the people concerning John—"whether he was the Christ or not"—is all that is necessary to expose the fallacy of your argument. John, and after him, the disciples of Jesus might have baptized the whole Jewish nation in the name of *Messias*, or the *Christ*, not informing them, at the same time, that Jesus was the Christ; without, in a single instance, counteracting the caution and solicitude which Jesus confessedly manifested, to avoid an indiscriminate verbal avowal of that interesting fact. I would observe further, it is undeniable, that during his personal ministry, our Lord commissioned, not only the twelve apostles, but the seventy disciples' also, to perform, *in his name*, acts at least equally calculated to excite attention, and to give publicity to whatever the action revealed, with *baptizing* in his name. They were to preach the gospel, heal the sick, work miracles, and cast out devils; and having fulfilled their mission, they returned exulting. "Lord even the devils are subject to us, through thy name." Now, my friend, on your hypothesis—that a public act in the name of Jesus, must have been at least equivalent to a public confession that Jesus was the Messiah; what a dangerous experiment was this! how inconsistent with that caution which our Lord uniformly observed! here was publicity; here was exposure of a profound secret! how widely and rapidly would this blazon abroad the news that Jesus was the Messiah! For surely these miracles, these exorcisms in our Lord's name, must have attracted equal, probably more attention, than the administration of baptism in his name.* The simple truth appears to be,

* It has been suggested to the writer, by a highly esteemed friend, that the expression, 'in the name of Christ,' may mean simply, 'by the authority, or power of Christ.' Doubtless, this idea is included in the expression: but that this alone is intended, is not quite so clear. On the contrary, it is demonstrable that, at least on one occasion, the action was accompanied by a distinct verbal avowal of the name, or authority, by which the exorcism was effected. How else, it may be asked, came our Lord's disciples to know that certain persons, whom they saw casting out devils, wrought miracles in their Master's name? For the action, they had the evidence of their sight; but before they could know in whose name, or by what authority, or power, the action was performed, some distinct evidence must have been addressed to their hearing. Here, then, it is evident, the name of Jesus, or of the Messiah, must have been "pub-

that though our Lord studiously avoided an indiscriminate, verbal declaration that he was the Christ, he never shrunk from such an avowal of his Messiahship as might be inferred from his works. "The works that I do [comprehending, of course, the works performed by his disciples in his name] bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me."

M. But "if St. Paul's citation of the language of John, in the nineteenth of the Acts, be correct, what he said to the people was this: 'that they should believe on him who is to come.' The language which the fore-runner held was precise and appropriate: it was not a demand of present faith in any known individual, but was limited to a *future* faith on a certain personage, who was about to evince his title to the character he assumed, by his personal appearance and miracles. He said to the people that they *should* believe in him that was to come. Could the same person, let me ask, at the same moment, be described by terms expressive of the present and the future tense, at once, as an existing individual, a person historically known, and as one that was to come?"—*Ess. Diff.* 14, 15. H. 119.

S. And what then? Admitting the correctness of all you have advanced, it would avail you nothing; since the Lord's supper, as celebrated anterior to the death of Christ, is involved in the same predicament. If this kind of argument establish an essential difference between baptism, as administered before and after the death of Christ, it must also establish a difference equally essential, between the Lord's supper, as celebrated anterior and subsequent to that interesting event. In the first instance, like baptism, it was *prospective*; it was required of its recipients that they *should*, at some *future* time, thus commemorate the melting transaction which was yet *future*. In the latter instance, it was *retrospective*—a commemoration of an event which had actually transpired.

M. But "the spiritual import of Christian baptism, as asserted by St. Paul, transcends incomparably the measure of religious knowledge possessed during the ministry of John. 'Know ye not (is his appeal to Christians,) that so many of you as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death?' What is the meaning of the words, baptized into his death? Whatever else it may comprehend, it unquestionably means the being baptized into a belief of his death. But at the time that John was fulfilling his course, this belief was so far from possessing the minds

of his converts, that even the apostles were not only ignorant of the event, but impatient of its mention. 'As many of us,' says St. Paul, 'as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death;' which is surely equivalent to affirming that whoever were not baptized into his death, were not baptized into Christ. But the disciples of John were not baptized into (the belief of) his death. Therefore they were not baptized into Christ."—*Ess. Diff.* 15, 17. H. 120.

S. This argument also, my friend, like the last, would, if it were valid, apply with equal force to the Lord's supper, as celebrated before and after the death of Christ. It is not only a contradiction in terms, to say that the apostles commemorated an event before it occurred; but the spiritual import, of the Lord's supper, as asserted by the apostle, exceeds the measure of religious apprehension which possessed the minds of its recipients at its first celebration. "As often," says Paul, "as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death." What is meant by the phrase, showing the Lord's death? Whatever else it comprehends, it unquestionably includes the belief of his death. But at the first celebration of the sacred supper, this belief was so far from possessing the minds of the apostles, that it was a mystery they could not unravel; and even subsequently, the death of their Lord was most abhorrent from their minds. When Jesus was apprehended, we find the very prince of the apostles engaged in active combat to *prevent* that identical tragedy, the *commemoration* of which is the express design of the Lord's supper. "As often," says Paul, "as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death;" which, adopting your own mode of reasoning, is surely equivalent to saying, that those who did not thus show the Lord's death, did not partake of the Lord's supper! But the apostles at its first celebration, did not thus show (their belief of) the Lord's death. Therefore on your hypothesis, the apostles did not, at that time, partake of the Lord's supper! The truth is, my friend, that both the ordinances, previous to the death of Christ, were necessarily different, (though in my opinion not "essentially different,") from what they were afterwards: the events which each recognize, were future events; and the recipients of both were comparatively ignorant of the full import of the rite to which they attended. It was then only the twilight, the dawn of the gospel-day. The mists and shadows of the night had not entirely departed. Previous to the death of Christ, there was a dimness, a mystery, which obscured every event intended to illustrate and endear the death

lily employed." And if in this instance, why not in others? And if in connection with miracles, what should render its use more dangerous in connection with baptism?

of Christ. The imperfections assignable to baptism, during this spiritual twilight, are also assignable to the first celebration of the Lord's supper. Both the ordinances are involved in similar obscurity; nor could the recipients of either discern the amazing transaction, to which both, at that period, pointed, as to glory yet to be revealed. What then? Shall we consign them to the darkness of the preceding dispensation? Or, shall we not rather recognize them as containing the germ, the first elements, the incipient qualities, of the impressive and affecting ordinances, the import of which has been discovered and realized by the clear shining of the gospel-day? To the argument, it is immaterial; since whatever be their destiny, the two ordinances, as celebrated anterior to the death of Christ, stand or fall together. But it is not a matter of absolute indifference. For, take away the ordinances as they existed during our Saviour's personal ministry, and in teaching men to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded, how will you be able to discover and establish any duty, peculiar to church-fellowship, which he had commanded?

M. But "as the ministry of John commenced previously to that of the Messiah, which succeeded his baptism, no rite, celebrated at the time, is entitled to a place amongst Christian sacraments, since they did not commence with the Christian dispensation, nor issue from the authority of Christ, as Head of the church."—*Ess. Diff.* 17. H. 120.

S. Here are two distinct objections. Let us attend to each separately. First, you say, the ministry of John did not commence with the Christian dispensation. I think it did; or rather that the Christian dispensation commenced with the ministry of John.

M. But that is impossible; for, "during our Lord's residence on earth, until his resurrection, the kingdom of God is uniformly represented as future, though near at hand."—*Ess. Diff.* 18. H. 121.

S. Not quite uniformly, my friend. On one occasion, you may remember, our Lord said, "If I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." And, on inquiry by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he replied, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall men say lo here, or lo there! for behold the kingdom of God is within you." Nor is it possible to evade the force of this argument, by distinguishing between our Lord's personal ministry, and the ministry of John: since the Evangelist Mark expressly informs us, that the coming of John was in "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son

of God." In addition to this, it is worthy of remark, as placing the matter beyond all contradiction, that, during John's imprisonment, our Lord himself most unequivocally characterizes the ministry of the Baptist as the commencement of the gospel dispensation: "From the days of John the Baptist until now," said he, "the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence," &c., in allusion, doubtless, to the eagerness with which the common people received the doctrine propounded by John. The parabolical descriptions also, of the Christian dispensation, are decidedly opposed to your hypothesis. The kingdom of God is compared to "leaven, hid in three measures of meal;" and this accords with fact. During our Lord's abode on earth, the gospel silently and gradually insinuated itself into the minds of the people. It is also compared to "a grain of mustard seed." This also accords with fact. At first the gospel of the kingdom grew under ground, and put forth its shoots gradually, and imperceptibly to those who were expecting some sudden display of the power of the Messiah. Now on the supposition that the kingdom of God, or "the gospel of Jesus Christ," commenced as Mark says, with the ministry of John, there is a fitness, and resemblance, a thorough good-keeping between the comparison and the reality. While, on the contrary, if we could suppose with you, that the Christian dispensation commenced with the glories of Pentecost, nothing could less illustrate it than "leaven hid in three measures of meal," and a single grain of the "smallest of all seeds." Nor will it avail to reply, that, during our Lord's personal ministry, the kingdom of God is occasionally represented as future. This is admitted. But what then? Does it therefore follow that its commencement was future? By no means. And to affirm this, would be just as conclusive, or rather inconclusive, as to affirm, that we have not this day witnessed its approach, because in our daily aspirations to heaven, we are directed to say, "Thy kingdom come." The result is, my friend, that, as the first streaks of light which shoot across the horizon, contain the incipient elements of day; so those glimmerings of the gospel, which characterized the ministry of John, and which became brighter during the ministry of our Lord, were the beginning, the early dawn, and contained the essential properties of the overwhelming splendor of "the ministration of the Spirit."

M. But surely you will not pretend, that John's baptism issued from "the authority of Christ as Head of the church."

S. I do not pretend, certainly, that John received his commission from Jesus in person. Undoubtedly he received it of "the

Father." But what then? Does this prove that his baptism was not a Christian institute? By no means. On the contrary, such a supposition is fraught with the most alarming consequences. On this principle, not only would the whole of John's mission be unchristianized, (the gospel which he preached, no less than the rite which he performed,) but the gospel which our Lord himself preached, and the miracles he performed, would be involved in a similar predicament. In support of this assertion, it is only necessary to inquire, From whom did our Lord receive his commission? By whom was he sent? And by what authority did he uniformly act? Was he self-commissioned? self-sent? self-authorized? Without intending, for a moment, to derogate from our Lord's essential divinity, we maintain, that, as Messiah, his authority was precisely the same as that of the harbinger. This is strongly implied in that memorable interrogatory answer to the chief priests and elders, who came to him as he was teaching in the temple, and said, "By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority? Jesus answered, I will ask you one thing, which, if ye tell me, I in likewise will tell you by what authority I do these things: The baptism of John—whence was it?" evidently implying, that the answer to this question would be the appropriate reply to theirs. But to place the matter beyond a doubt, we have only to refer to our Lord's discourses, recorded by the Evangelist John. "I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not." "I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things." "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bare witness of me." "As my Father hath sent me, so send I you." Now, on the hypothesis, that it is essential to a Christian ordinance, that it should have been instituted by Christ, in distinction from the Father, the works which Jesus himself performed are divested of their Christian character. The gospel which he preached, was not the Christian doctrine! the miracles which he wrought, were not Christian miracles! the commands which he issued, were not Christian commands! And yet that the gospel which our Lord preached, was the Christian doctrine; that the miracles which he wrought, were Christian miracles; and that the commands which he issued, were Christian commands, no one will presume for a moment to deny. Then why deny that John's baptism was a Christian institute, simply because he received his commission, not from Jesus in person, but from the Father? But now, my friend, allow me to direct your attention to other instances of baptism, than those performed by John; baptisms which

must have emanated from the personal authority of Christ, and which were undeniably anterior to the institution of the sacred supper. In early life, Jesus had been engaged "about his Father's business," as a Prince during his minority, in privacy and seclusion: but, when he was "about thirty years of age," he assumed the legislative character, and took into his own hands the reins of government. His first legislative act, in person we may presume, was a command to his disciples to teach and baptize; for, on what other supposition can their performance of these services be explained? The only question for our consideration is, Was the rite which they administered, John's baptism? To the argument, it is immaterial; for if it was not, it must have been the commencement of a new baptism, an undeniably Christian baptism. But Mr. Hall, I remember, in his *Terms of Communion*, (p. 196. H. 109,) tells us it was "that the baptism celebrated by Christ's disciples during his personal ministry, in no respect differed from John's, either in the action itself, or in the import, but were merely a joint execution of the same work." But then it so happens, that not only did these baptisms, as we have seen, belong to the Christian dispensation, but they must have emanated from the authority of Christ, as the Head of the church, or we shall be presented with the appalling spectacle of self-appointed apostles, assuming a greater authority than their sovereign Lord. These baptisms, then, belonging to the Christian dispensation, and being performed in obedience to the command of the Christian Legislator, were, undeniably Christian baptisms. But Mr. Hall affirms that these baptisms in no respect "differed from John's." Consequently, John's baptism and Christian baptism, so far from being "essentially different," were, on Mr. Hall's own showing, identically the same!

M. Not quite so fast, my friend. That our Lord authorized his disciples to baptize, is easily accounted for. John, "most probably, employed coadjutors;" and "our Lord was, in consequence of his being the Messiah, undoubtedly authorized personally to perform any religious rite or office which was at that time in force, as well as to delegate to others the power of performing it; and as immersion in token of repentance and preparation for the kingdom of God, then at hand, was an important branch of the religion then obligatory, it was with the greatest propriety that he not only submitted to it himself, but authorized his disciples to perform it. This however, could not be considered as originating a new institution, but as a mere co-operation with his forerunner in one and the same work."—*Terms*, 193, 194. II. 108

S. So then, the greater was the servant of the inferior! the "bridegroom," the assistant of his "friend!" and the Lord Messiah the coadjutor of his harbinger! Who can believe it? True, on one occasion, he "submitted" to John's baptism: but the objection of John on that occasion, the implied admission of its justice, and peculiar reason assigned for waiving it in that one instance, "Suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us, to fulfil all righteousness!" forbid, most emphatically the injurious supposition, that on any other occasion, there should be the least approach even to equal pretension, much less to an implied inferiority. Thank you, my friend, for admitting that Christ did authorize his disciples to baptize, and that his right to do so originated in his being the Messiah. Whether this was a new institution, or a continuation of the rite introduced by John, is immaterial, since, whichever it was, it was an ordinance peculiar to the Christian dispensation, and was performed by Christ's disciples, in obedience to Christ's command: and was consequently, to all intents and purposes, Christian baptism. But that this was "a mere co-operation with John," is by no means evident. Certainly, John's own disciples were not of this singular opinion, since they endeavored to provoke their master to jealousy, and represented Jesus as his rival, for no other reason whatever, than because, by his disciples, he baptized, and all men came to him. Either they had not the wisdom to discover, or the candor to acknowledge, that this was not rivalry, but "co-operation!" But why did not John undeceive them? Why did he not tell them that they were mistaken; that Jesus was acting as his "coadjutor?" For the best possible reason. This would not have been the truth. On the contrary, John acknowledges the rivalry, and accounts for it, and intimates that it is exactly what he had given them to expect, and actually rejoices in it! It was in fact a rivalry without opposition, and with the full concurrence of the harbinger. "Ye yourselves bear me witness, (said he,) that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this therefore, my joy, is fulfilled. He must increase; but I must decrease." And it is a fact, not unworthy of remark, that we never, after this, read of John's baptizing. He rejoiced in what his disciples communicated, notwithstanding it was at the expense of of his own personal greatness; cordially acquiescing in that, which, to a proud spirit would be unspeakably mortifying. He must increase; but I must decrease. In-

deed, this is in exact accordance with the office of the forerunner. He did not come to establish his own doctrine, or to introduce a kingdom of his own; he came as the harbinger of Christ, to "prepare the way of the Lord." Consequently, when Jesus entered upon his personal ministry, and assumed the reins of government, John's office naturally ceased; his work was accomplished, and the harbinger retired.

M. But "when we consider the great popularity attached to the ministry of the forerunner, and the general submission of the Jewish people to his doctrine, it is in the highest degree improbable, that of the three thousand who were added by Peter to the church on one day, there were none who had been previously his disciples: this incredible supposition is reduced to an impossibility, when we recollect, that of the twelve apostles, two are actually affirmed by an evangelist to have been of that number. But as it is universally admitted that they who were savingly convinced of the truth of Christianity at the Pentecost, were baptized on that occasion, what conclusion can be more inevitable, than that the rite administered by the harbinger of our Lord, was essentially distinct from the Christian ordinance."—*Ess. Diff.* 18, 19. H. 121.

S. This, my friend, is one of those arguments which prove too much, and contains within itself the materials for its own refutation. If disciples of John were present, it does not follow, that they were baptized on this occasion; for if so, the apostles also should have been re-baptized; a supposition, of which there is not the least shadow of proof. Consequently, there were some of John's disciples present, who doubtless united in church-fellowship, and who were not re-baptized. But that which was true of some, may have been true of others.*

* We are perfectly willing to admit, that of the disciples who had been baptized by John, and by the disciples of Christ, thousands were now present. They were the materials which had been prepared for the Lord's building. They had been "fity framed" by conversion and baptism, while yet there was no visible building. The apostles were authorized to proceed to the organization of a church. And these disciples, as materials, and such others as in like manner were made ready on this occasion, while the Holy Spirit accompanied the preaching of Peter, are now, as a "whole body fity joined together." Eph. ii. 21, iv. 16. The apostles, to whom the building of the church was committed, now, agreeably to their commission, and the directions of the Saviour after his resurrection, commence their work. They step forward and raise the standard of the gospel, preaching its sacred, and tremendous, and joyous doctrines with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. Many who till that day were enemies of Christ, are pricked in their heart; they gladly receive the word preached, and are baptized. Multitudes of previously baptized disciples, that are present, rally round the standard, and now publicly, for the first after Christ's resurrection, show themselves on the Lord's side. What, on such an occasion, would be more likely to occur? And thus, in all, there are, the same day, added to the company of disciples mentioned in the fifteenth verse of the first chapter, "about three thousand souls."

One thing appears demonstrable: that *none of those who were on this occasion baptized were John's disciples*. All who were baptized on this occasion, were now, for the first time, "pricked in their heart;" this was the period of their conversion: and Peter exhorted them to be baptized "for the remission of sins." But all John's disciples had already complied with a similar exhortation. The baptism of John, the Evangelist Mark informs us, was "the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins;" and to this baptism, "confessing their sins," all the disciples of John had previously submitted. Consequently, this could not be the period of their conversion: they could not now, for the first time, be "pricked in their heart." However many of them, therefore, were present on this occasion, and united in church-fellowship, it must have been by virtue of their former confession, as in the instance of the apostles. Your argument, my friend, admits of exactly the same reply as you would furnish to our Pædobaptist brethren, who infer, that, because households were baptized, therefore the apostles baptized infants. Whether there were infants in the households, or not, you do not care to decide; for you maintain, that if there were they were not baptized: and why? Because there are certain circumstances stated of all who were baptized, which could not apply to infants. Now, my friend, I call this sound reasoning; reasoning so conclusive, that I glory in being able to adopt it

The Christian church, was now to assume a visible form; and its organization, as an associated body, to be governed by the laws of Christ, was to be rendered memorable, not by the "thunders and lightnings of Sinai but by the descent of the Holy Spirit."—Ex. xix. 16. Acts i. 5. ii. 16, 17.

In these "more glorious" circumstances, the new converts, and many of the former disciples publicly unite with the apostles in constituting the first Christian church. And we read that "they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine, and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."—Acts ii. 42, 47.

It is no where asserted in the Scriptures that *three thousand* were either converted or baptized on this day. We are not informed whether fifty, or five hundred, or more, were baptized on this occasion. We are simply told, in reference to those who were then "pricked in their heart," who "gladly received the apostles' word," that they were baptized. And we are further informed, "the same day there were added to the church, (not were baptized,) about three thousand souls."

John had made, "ready" and baptized thousands of disciples, from Jerusalem and Judea, "in the river of Jordan confessing their sins:" Mark i. 5. And Christ, it is said, "made and baptized more disciples than John."—John iv. 1.

The scriptures warrant us in saying, that the apostles, and the hundred and twenty disciples, mentioned in the preceding chapter, were all present; and as many other of the disciples in Jerusalem and in that region as could conveniently be at the feast of Pentecost. And as the disciples were led, by the promise of the Saviour, (Acts i. 15,) to expect something extraordinary on this occasion, we may safely conclude that there was an unusual attendance of disciples at this feast, who, in respect to baptism, were in a state similar to that of the apostles, and the rest of the hundred and twenty already mentioned, and to that of the five hundred brethren to whom our Lord appeared at one time after his resurrection.

on the present occasion. Whether, with the exception of the apostles, any of John's disciples were present, or not, I neither pretend nor care to decide: for I maintain, that if there were, they were not now baptized: and why? Because there are certain circumstances stated of all who were now baptized which could not apply to John's disciples. What these circumstances were, it is unnecessary to repeat.

M. But we have reason to conclude, that the repentance of John's disciples was "superficial, and that the greater part of such as appeared for a while most determined to press into the kingdom of God afterwards sunk into a state of apathy. And even of the professed disciples of our Lord, many walked no more with him. A general declension succeeded, so that of the multitudes who once appeared to be much moved by his ministry, and that of his fore-runner, the number which persevered was so inconsiderable, that all that could be mustered to witness his resurrection amounted to little more than five hundred, a number which may be considered as constituting the whole body of the church, till the day of Pentecost."—*Terms*, 34, 35. H. 38.

S. That the number of disciples who were present after our Lord's resurrection, amounted to about five hundred, is certain; but that more could not have been mustered, or that this number constituted the aggregate amount of the church, will not be so readily conceded; the former position being confirmed by scripture, the latter being entirely destitute of proof. But, be that as it may, we know that John was exceedingly particular in his reception of disciples. When he saw "many of the Pharisees and Sadducees," coming to his baptism, he rebuked them, saying, "Who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth fruits meet for repentance." Luke informs us that this expostulation was addressed to "the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him." The probability is, therefore, that, as all whom John baptized, were baptized "confessing their sins," multitudes came to his baptism who never submitted to that rite. Possibly, to adopt an expression used by our eloquent friend, "prodigious multitudes" came to his baptism; but that "multitudes," who presented themselves, were not admitted to that sacred rite, is established beyond a doubt. But if for a moment, we were to admit your hypothesis; that among the three thousand baptized at the Pentecost, there were some of John's disciples, then I should be glad to be informed why they were re-baptized? Was it on the ground of their transient apostacy? or, of the invalidity of their former baptism? If on the ground of their apostacy, while re-baptism for such

a reason would not invalidate John's baptism as such, it would render obligatory in our churches, a practice perfectly novel to modern Christians, and of which no traces can be discovered in ecclesiastical history; the re-baptism of penitent backsliders, prior to their restoration to the privileges of church-fellowship. On the other hand, if this supposed re-baptism were on the ground of the invalidity of the ordinance administered previous to the Pentecost, then not only should these supposed apostates have been re-baptized, but all John's disciples and Christ's disciples too, the faithful and the faithless, in one indiscriminate mass; those who adhered to their original profession, no less than those who had abandoned it, but who now repented; the twelve apostles, the seventy disciples, the five hundred brethren, all whom death had not removed previous to the Pentecost, and who now retained their fidelity, must have been re-baptized, either on this occasion or subsequently, before they were admitted to the privileges of the Christian church; a supposition, too absurd to be entertained for a single moment. Where, let me ask, is there a solitary instance of such a repetition of baptism?

M. I answer, confidently, that just such an instance occurred at Ephesus; where twelve of John's genuine disciples were re-baptized by St. Paul: the particulars of which are recorded in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

S. It is well known that critical expositors are not agreed concerning this passage, some being of the opinion that it was not intended to intimate a re-baptizing. But if we suppose it was, we can easily conceive of the reason. The transaction here mentioned, occurred more than twenty years after John had ceased to baptize, and nearly the same length of time after Christ had given his final commission to the apostles. When he gave that commission, surely he did not annul what he had sanctioned before his crucifixion. He only adapted the form of words to the full display which it is now proper for them to make of his divine character, and the system of redemption, and thus gave a rule respecting the baptisms which were to be administered after that period. In the case of these disciples, who, it is almost certain, were baptized after that period, this rule, which was then in force as a law of Christ, had been disregarded. And the apostle might well require its being scrupulously observed. Besides, Paul may have perceived a radical defect in the religious instruction which they had received previously to baptism. They had not, perhaps, in connection with their being baptized, been directed at all to the great object of evangelic faith. They were now,

indeed, believers in Christ. But they might have been baptized a few years before, by some one who had, some years still earlier, received baptism from John, or some of his disciples in Palestine, but who had failed to communicate to them the whole of the instruction that John had been in the habit of communicating. They might afterwards have been brought to the knowledge of the Saviour through the preaching of such a man as Appollos. They resided nearly a thousand miles from the scene of John's labors. And it is not said, nor is it at all probable, that they had been baptized by John, but only "unto John's baptism;" and they seem to have been ignorant, in a great degree, of what it implied. On this subject they still needed to be instructed. Then said Paul, "John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him who should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus." Among all the followers of Christ that had been baptized either by John or the apostles, before the giving of the final commission, not one, so far as we have any account, was re-baptized. Recollect, my friend, what was the fact in regard also to Appollos. "This man was instructed in the way of the Lord, and, being fervent in the Spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, *knowing only the baptism of John.*" When Priscilla and Aquila met with him, they did not re-baptize him. They only "expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly;" as we learn from Acts xviii. 25, 26.

M. I have listened very attentively to all your observations this evening, and will give them due consideration. You will not, of course, expect me now to express my opinion of their validity; though I have no doubt *you* think them conclusive! But even if they be, how unimportant is your victory! What, after all, have you achieved? As I observed at the commencement of this Conversation, "the admission of what you contend for, would merely prove that the ordinance of baptism was promulgated at an earlier period than the Lord's supper. But in determining a question of duty resulting from laws, the era of their promulgation is a consideration totally foreign: we have merely to consider what is enjoined, and to what description of persons or things the regulation applies, without troubling ourselves to inquire into the chronological order of its enactment. In the details of civil life, no man thinks of regulating his actions by an appeal to the respective dates of the existing laws, but solely by a regard to their just interpretation; and were it once admitted as a maxim, that the particular law latest enacted must invariably be last obeyed, the affairs of mankind would fall into

utter confusion. It is a principle as repugnant to the nature of divine, as it is to human legislation. It appears from the history of the patriarchs, that sacrificial rites were ordained much earlier than circumcision; but no sooner was the latter enjoined, than it demanded the earliest attention, and the offerings prescribed on the birth of a child did not precede, but were subsequent to, the ceremony of circumcision."—*Ess. Diff.* 6—8. *H.* 116.

S. Pardon me, my dear friend, if I venture to think that you reason much more conclusively respecting the details of civil life, than in relation to divine institutions. Surely you must have forgotten your own rule of interpretation—that we have not merely to consider what is enjoined, but also "to what description of persons or things the regulation applies," or you never would have hazarded the assertion, that "sacrificial rites were ordained earlier than circumcision." For, while this is true in itself, it is not true in relation to the *persons* to whom the rite of circumcision applies. Sacrifices were *not* enjoined on *them*, prior to circumcision; except, indeed, in the instance of its first recipients, who attended to each in the order of divine appointment. Consequently your inference is not sustained. In relation to the affairs of civil life, and distinct regulations, your remarks may be just. But suppose one law is not only promulgated at an earlier period than another, but, in a subsequent code of laws, is appointed to be *observed in a certain order*—immediately after obedience to previous duties, and before the observance of certain other duties—to such a case your reasoning is totally inapplicable. It is not, merely because baptism was promulgated at an earlier period than the Lord's supper, that we plead for our practice; but, because, in our Lord's commission, which is the law to which we refer you, and which was invariably acted upon by the apostles, the order in which baptism is to be observed is distinctly stated—a deviation from which, is, in our opinion, a breach of the law. But we must not now enter on the general question. If you please, our next conversation shall be *on the connection between baptism and church-fellowship*.

M. Agreed.

CONVERSATION III.

Baptism as indispensable a Prerequisite to External Church Fellowship, as Faith is to Baptism.

M. I PRESUME, my dear friend, we shall have but a short discussion, to-night; since

I am of the opinion, with Mr. Hall, that "the chief, I might say the only, argument for the restricted plan of communion is derived from the example of the apostles, and the practice of the primitive church."—*Reasons*, 7. *H.* 285.

S. This is not exactly correct. I humbly conceive that our arguments for restricted communion are precisely as numerous and conclusive as yours for restricting baptism to believers; and that, to be consistent, you must either abandon your own position, that faith is an indispensable prerequisite to baptism; or admit ours—that baptism is an indispensable prerequisite to church fellowship: both positions being established on the same evidence. Undoubtedly the example of the apostles is extremely valuable to us, as well as to you; since it shows how they understood their Lord's commission, and how punctiliously they adhered to it. Indeed, without John's baptism, and the example of the apostles, both the Baptist and the Strict Baptist would have a more difficult task to perform, each in confuting his respective opponents, than at present falls to their lot. The example of the apostles is, unquestionably, an important auxiliary to us both: since it elucidates the meaning of our Lord's commission, beyond all contradiction. Besides which, their injunctions on the first churches to imitate their example, to "keep the ordinances as they delivered them," must equally apply to our churches. But, following your own example, in reasoning with your Pædobaptist brethren, it is to the *commission*, the *law itself*, that we refer you, as the *authority* on which our practice is founded—as the primary, direct, authoritative rule, (confirmed, and reiterated, and enforced by the apostles,) by which we must be governed in the organization of our churches—a law, we humbly conceive, of peremptory and perpetual obligation.

M. My good friend, "we are agreed with you respecting the law of baptism. But the present inquiry turns not on the nature or obligation of baptism, but on the *necessary dependence* of another institution upon it. It is inconceivable, how any thing more is deducible from the law of baptism, than its present and perpetual obligation. The existence of a law establishes the obligation of a corresponding duty, and nothing more."—*Reply*, 16, 17. *H.* 162.

S. Thank you, my friend, for conceding that the existence of a law *does* establish the obligation of a corresponding duty—a position, we presume, of universal application. But you totally mistake us, if you imagine we refer to the law of baptism only. Not, indeed, that I am surprised at this; for it is a mistake into which the advocates of mixed communion are perpetually falling: as if the

laws of baptism and church-fellowship were so totally distinct, that they could never be viewed in connection; while with marvelous inconsistency, they confidently maintain, that both these laws are inseparably connected with a prior, and equally distinct law, the law of faith! But the law to which we refer, embraces *all* these, and exhibits their connection, and their dependence on each other. It is *The Commission of Christ*, and may be appropriately designated, *THE LAW OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH*—a law, in which the distinct laws of faith and baptism, and visible church-fellowship, are introduced as parts, or sections, of one complete whole, each part occupying its appointed, and therefore unchangeable place. It is *one* law, and requires the performance of certain duties in a *certain order*. The order in which these duties were *first enjoined*, is of comparatively inferior importance; but the order in which they are here commanded to be *observed*, is the order in which they *must* be observed, or the law is violated. As the pious *Richard Baxter* observes, relative to this law, (*Disputation of Right to Sacraments*, 149, 150.) "This is not like some occasional, historical mention of baptism; but it is the very commission of Christ to his apostles; and purposefully expresseth their several works, in their several places and order. Their first work is, by teaching, to make disciples: which are, by Mark, called believers. Their second work is, to baptize them. Their third work is, to teach them all other things which are to be learned in the school of Christ. To condemn this order, is to renounce all rules of order; for where can we expect to find it, if not here? I profess my conscience is fully satisfied, from this text, that it is one sort of faith, even saying, that *must* go before baptism." He might have added, by a parity of reasoning, that it is one sort of baptism, even that which Christ enjoined, that *must* go before church-fellowship. Indeed, in his *Plain Scripture Proof*, (p. 126,) he does say, "If any should be so impudent, as to say it is not the meaning of Christ, that baptism should *immediately*, without delay, follow discipling, they are confuted by the constant example of Scripture. So that I dare say, this will be out of doubt with all rational, considerate, and impartial Christians." And in the twenty-fourth page of the same publication, he asks, "What man dare go in a way which hath neither precept nor example to warrant it, from a way that hath a full current of both?" and replies, "Yet they that will admit members into the visible church without baptism, do so."*

* How Mr. Baxter could reconcile the above, and the quotations below, with his practice as a Pædobaptist, is to us, rather mysterious: but, believing he was "sincere

M. But "to justify the exclusion of sincere and conscientious Pædobaptists, it is not sufficient to allege the prescribed order of the institutions: it is —"

S. Excuse me, my friend, for interrupting you: but a remark at the beginning of a sentence may be forgotten, if not noticed immediately. I merely wish to observe, that the *prescribed order must* be observed, unless we pretend to be wiser than the Legislator by whom it is prescribed. If the order were *accidental*, we might perhaps, venture to deviate; but, since what we plead for is, on your own confession, "the prescribed order," it must, if we would maintain any pretension to obedience, be the order observed. But please to proceed.

M. I was about to observe that "it is not sufficient to allege the prescribed order of the institutions; it is necessary also to evince such a dependence of one upon the other, that a neglect of the first from involuntary mistake, annuls the obligation of the second. Let this dependence be once clearly pointed out, and we give up the cause. It has been asserted, indeed, with much confidence, that we have the same authority for confining our communion to baptized persons, as the ancient Jews for admitting none but such as had been circumcised, to the Passover." But the contrary is demonstrable. In the former case, there is an express prohibition: "No uncircumcised person shall eat thereof." But where, let me ask, is it asserted in the New Testament, that no unbaptized person shall partake of the eucharist?—*Terms*, 46, 47. H. 43.

S. No where, certainly. But why? Because such a prohibition is not only perfectly unnecessary, but would be ineffably absurd. I might ask, with at least equal propriety, Where is it asserted in the New Testament, that an unbaptized person *may* partake of the Lord's supper? and you would be compelled to reply, No where. There was a reason, my friend, for an express prohibition in relation to the Old Testament rites,

and conscientious," we presume he came to some such conclusion as Jeremy Taylor: who honestly confesses, "I think there is so much to be pretended against that which I believe to be the truth, that there is much more truth than *evidence* on our side."—*Liberty of Prophecy*, xviii. 245. The only difficulty is, to conceive how, with such a preponderance of evidence against him, the good Bishop should be so unphilosophical as to believe that his sentiments were true!

Extracts cited above:—"If there be no example given in Scripture, of any one that was baptized without a profession of saving faith, nor any precept for so doing, then must we not baptize any without it. But the antecedent is true; therefore, so is the consequent. I know of no one word in Scripture, that giveth us the least encouragement to baptize upon another faith."—*Disput. of Right to Sacram.* 149, 151.

But, perhaps, Mr. Baxter baptized infants, as the seed of Abraham! No such thing. He tells us, in the same performance, (114, 115,) "None are Abraham's seed in Scripture gospel sense, but those *cordially*, that are true believers; and those appearingly, that *profess* true faith. This is proved, Rom. ix. 4, 6, 7, 8. Rom. iv, 11, 12, 13. So Gal. iii. 6—9, 14, 16."

which does not exist in relation to those of the New Testament. The Passover was a family rite, of which, consequently, without a prohibition, *all* the family would naturally expect to partake; while there were some of its members, who were not only uncircumcised, but who were *under no obligation* to be circumcised. But the Lord's supper is a church ordinance; and there is not an individual member of the church of Christ, on whom baptism is not obligatory. If indeed, there were any believers who *might* remain unbaptized, then, to justify their exclusion from the Lord's supper, a prohibition might be necessary; but seeing that baptism is enjoined on all believers, the prohibition of an unbaptized believer, would be, in the very last degree, ridiculous. Such a singular document, (a virtual repeal in fact, of the law of baptism; containing an implied permission to neglect it!) would exhibit an indecision, not to say imbecility, utterly unworthy of Him, who is "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." Consequently, whatever may be thought of the inference in favor of restricted communion, drawn from the connection which subsisted between circumcision and the Passover, the absence of a prohibition in relation to the Christian ordinances, ought never to be urged against it. Besides, my friend, with what shadow of fairness can you require a prohibition?—you, of all others! who deny the right of your Pædobaptist brethren to require of you a similar prohibition of their practice? You maintain a *necessary connection* between faith and baptism. You assert, not only that faith is a duty, that baptism is a duty, and that both are of perpetual obligation; but also, that no unbeliever is entitled to baptism; nor will you allow the involuntary unbeliever; the unconscious babe; who, if it were to die, would be "instantaneously admitted to glory," the privilege of being an exception to your sweeping exclusion. Your Pædobaptist brethren might turn round upon you, and say, (adopting your own reasoning with us,) 'To justify the exclusion of infants from baptism, it is not sufficient to allege the prescribed order of faith and baptism: it is necessary also to evince such a dependence of one upon the other, that the involuntary absence of the first, annuls the obligation of the second. And where, let me ask, is it asserted, in the New Testament, that *no unbeliever shall be baptized*?' In reply, my friend, you would be compelled to resort to the same mode of reasoning as we adopt in the present controversy; but with which, when we adopt it, you, with glaring inconsistency, profess yourself dissatisfied! Our reasons for refusing to unite with the unbaptized in church-fellowship, are as conclusive as yours for refusing to administer baptism to

infants. You have no more scriptural evidence that faith is an indispensable term of baptism, than we have that baptism is an indispensable term of communion. You cannot produce, any more than we can, any *expressed* necessary connection. It is no where explicitly stated that faith and baptism are inseparable. You cannot furnish a prohibition of an unbeliever from baptism. And yet you confidently maintain your position, and uniformly act upon it, not excepting even the involuntary believer: and then, with the most flagrant injustice, you deny us the privilege of maintaining our position on precisely your own principles! Is this liberality? A Pædobaptist might say to you, "If teaching and faith be indispensable to baptism, why did not Jesus Christ explicitly say so, and forbid his ministers to baptize any who were not thus qualified?" In fact, they *do* argue thus: and are you silenced? No indeed. You reply, and very properly, "A prohibition is not necessary; the command is sufficient. Read our Lord's commission: 'Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Is not this plainly *the order* in which these duties are to be performed? First, we are to teach men the gospel; and then, secondly, on their believing the gospel, we are to baptize them." But, my friend, this is precisely what we plead, extending the argument, with perfect consistency, to the conclusion. You remind me very forcibly of our Pædobaptist brethren, who stop short at the word *children*, in that memorable promise of the Holy Spirit, quoted from the prophecies of Joel, by the apostle Peter, in his Pentecostal sermon. But *why* do you stop short, before you come to the conclusion? Is not the latter part of our Lord's commission as authoritative as the former? Or, is the order of it binding in one particular, and discretionary in another? Do not we as conclusively maintain that the second duty must precede the third, as you insist the first must precede the second? Surely, if teaching be intentionally enjoined, as the first duty, baptism is intentionally enjoined as the second duty, and visible church-fellowship as the third duty: and I humbly conceive, we are no more at liberty to invert the order in one case, than in another. We have precisely the same authority, then, for maintaining that baptism should precede visible church-fellowship, as you have for insisting that faith should precede baptism. The two positions stand or fall together.* With

* And were the writer, as a Baptist, reasoning with his Pædobaptist brethren, (who almost unanimously practise strict communion, refusing to admit to their communion any but those who are in their judgment baptized!) he might adopt the same principle, only reversing the argument, and say, We have precisely the

what show of fairness, my friend, can you require more explicit evidence from us, in favor of restricted communion, than you can furnish to your Pædobaptist brethren, in favor of your own plan of restricted baptism? Do you plead the *commission*? So do we. Do you say, there is *no command* to baptize infants? Neither can you produce a command to receive the unbaptized to church-fellowship. Do you maintain that there is *no example* of infant baptism? Neither is there any example of mixed communion. Were the candidates for baptism, in the judgment of the apostles, invariably *believers*? The members of their churches were, in the same judgment, uniformly *baptized* believers.

M. But there is a natural connection between faith and baptism, which certainly does not exist between baptism and the Lord's supper. Baptism is a profession of faith; and the profession of that which has no existence, is, in the last degree, unmeaning and absurd. But "that there is no natural connection between baptism and the Lord's supper, is obvious. They were instituted at different times, and for different purposes: baptism is a mode of professing our faith in the blessed Trinity: the Lord's supper is a commemoration of the dying love of the Redeemer: the former is the act of an individual, the latter of a society. The words which contain our warrant for the celebration of the eucharist, convey no allusion to baptism whatever; those which prescribe baptism, carry no anticipative reference to the eucharist."—*Reasons*, 21. H. 292.

S. But how is this? You are at variance with your friend, Mr. Hall! And (which,

same authority for maintaining that teaching should precede baptism, as you have for insisting that what you believe to be Christian baptism should precede visible church-fellowship. The two positions stand or fall together. But, from either a Mixed Communion Baptist, or a Strict Communion Pædobaptist, this argument would be nugatory; for though each should convict his brother of inconsistency, both might expect the retort courteous, "And what then? If we be inconsistent with ourselves, you should be silent: for so are you: if we invert the order of the commission in one particular, you invert it in another." And thus while they persisted in obeying the commission between them—one party pleading for one part only, and the other exclusively for the remainder—neither would be likely to produce conviction in the mind of his brother. Those, and those only, who observe the order of the commission, as a whole, can point out the deviations of their brethren, without exposing themselves to the mortification of a retort. Before either the Strict Pædobaptist, or the Mixed Baptist can, with any propriety, impugn our peculiar sentiments, they must abandon, the former his strict communion, and the latter his baptism. They would then, certainly, be one body,—having one Lord, one Faith, and, avowedly, one Baptism; and they might unite in one common cause. But what a union!—a union in displacing both faith and baptism from the position in which they were fixed by their common Lord! We, however, with all humility, as becometh "a sect every where spoken against," would be well content with the cast off principles of our brethren: and should they dispute our right of possession to these, we are prepared with an unimpeachable title—a special bequest in the last Will and Testament of our Sovereign Lord.

VOL. I.—EE.

perhaps, you will consider more wonderful still,) I am perfectly satisfied he is correct! He honestly concedes, that *there is* a natural connection between baptism and the Lord's supper. Allow me just to read a sentence or two from his first publication: (*Terms*, 69. H. 53.) "I must remark," he says, "that in insisting upon the *prior* claim which baptism possesses to the attention of a Christian convert, the advocates of strict communion triumph without an opponent. We know of *none* who contend for the propriety of inverting the *natural order* of the Christian Sacraments, where they can both be attended to, that is, when the nature of each is clearly understood and confessed."

M. But in this, I cordially agree with my friend.

S. In one particular, I admit you do. You have no desire to *invert* the natural order of the two ordinances, except in certain circumstances. But on *another* point, (the point for which I am contending,) you are *not* agreed. For, while he pleads for the *inversion* of the natural order on some occasions, (which, indeed, is not surprising; since he also pleads for the inversion of the order, which, by his own confession, *Christ himself prescribed*!) he *does* admit that the order for which we plead is the "natural order;" which you deny. He says, the order for which we plead, and which he would observe, except under certain circumstances, is "the *natural order* of the Christian sacraments." You, on the other hand, assert, that between the two ordinances "there is *no natural connection*." Now, my friend, I cannot agree with both of you; and my judgment certainly coincides with Mr. Hall's.

M. But I have some reason to believe that my friend Mr. Hall, has changed his opinion on this point, and that now he agrees with me. Consequently the question returns upon you: Is there, or is there not, between the sacraments, a natural connection? That there is not, is in my opinion obvious, for the reasons I have just now stated.—M. p. 198.

S. But surely, my friend you do not mean to affirm, that because the nature and design of the two ordinances are not in all respects the same, therefore there can exist between them no natural connection! On this principle, nothing would be easier than to undermine the connection between faith and baptism, the points of difference being equally obvious. A Pædobaptist, availing himself of your own reasoning against us, might say, "Brother M., I admire your arguments exceedingly; I think they are perfectly conclusive; and I cannot but indulge the hope that you will perceive their force also in relation to the alleged connection between faith and baptism. That there

is no natural connection between them is obvious. Faith is a divine principle, an exercise of the mind; baptism is an external ceremony, 'the sacramental use of water.' Faith is required to be in constant exercise; baptism is a 'transient rite,' to be administered but once. Faith is essential to salvation; but myriads, we trust, are in heaven, who were never baptized." It is true, my friend, if your Pædobaptist brother practised strict communion, (as most of them do,) you might exchange these arguments *ad infinitum*; alternately 'accusing and excusing' one another. But just suppose he was one of the modern few among them, who agree with you on communion, then how would you reply? If you admitted his argument, you would abandon the connection between faith and baptism: if you rebutted his reasoning, precisely your own arguments would confute your present position; that there is no natural connection between baptism and the Lord's supper. Baptism is the divinely appointed mode of avowing our union with the Head of the Christian church: a public pledge, before the church and the world, that having cordially accepted the offers of his grace, we devote ourselves unreservedly to his service, and will continue faithful unto death. But surely, the natural position of such an ordinance, is, obviously, at the commencement of the new relation, and prior to a participation of any of its peculiar privileges. Baptism, like the connubial rite, recognizes equally the past and the future. A public avowal of a union with Christ prior to its existence, and a participation of the privileges peculiar to such a union previous to its avowal, in the mode, and the only mode of divine appointment, are equally an inversion of the order of nature. Consequently, the Lord's supper being an ordinance peculiar to a church relation, and baptism being the divinely appointed mode of entrance into the visible church, the priority of baptism to the supper is founded no less in the nature of things, than in the uniform representations of scripture, whether in relation to the church commission, or to the undeviating practice of the first and purest age of the Christian church. And to unite with any person in the celebration of that ordinance which is a commemoration of the death of Christ, who has not, in obedience to his command, been "baptized into (the belief of) his death," appears to me, (no less than a few years ago it appeared to Mr. Hall,) a manifest inversion of "the natural order of the Christian sacraments;" which we also unite in believing to be "the prescribed order." The only point on which we are at issue is, whether we are at liberty to invert this order, in deference to the

erroneous notions of modern Christians; in other words, whether we may make a nose of wax of our Lord's commission, to be moulded into any shape, to accommodate every error of every Christian. My belief is, that the law of Christ is immutable, no less in its order than in its requirements; an order, equally commending itself to the judgment, whether we appeal to the commission, to the uniform practice of the apostles, or to the dictates of reason suggested by a calm consideration of the design of the two ordinances. Baptism is a "putting on" Christ; and the only appointed mode of entering his visible church. But the Lord's supper is a perpetual remembrance of that affecting transaction, into the belief of which all its recipients, in the first churches, were previously baptized. To invert this order, therefore, is a deviation from both scripture and reason, and, as Baxter has well said, a renunciation of all the rules of order. From a review of the whole, my friend, you must allow me again to remind you that if you would make any pretensions to consistency, you must either abandon your own position, that faith is indispensable to baptism, (unless, indeed, you can establish it on higher authority than the commission of Christ, the uniform practice of the apostles, and the nature of things!) or, you must allow that precisely the same arguments are conclusive in proof of restricted communion. You cannot, with any show of reason, maintain their validity in the one case, and deny it in the other. The two positions are supported by the same kind of evidence, and must stand or fall together. Take your choice, then, my friend; renounce the order of the commission *in toto*, and be a Mixed Pædobaptist; or adhere to it as a whole, and be a Strict Baptist. In either case you will at least be consistent.

M. But I am not quite satisfied of your own consistency yet! Either, you should "follow out your principles to their just consequences, by withholding from the members of other denominations every token of fraternal regard; or freely admit them to the Lord's table. As the case stands at present, your mode of proceeding is utterly untenable. In a variety of instances, you indulge yourself in those acts of communion with Pædobaptists which are peculiar to Christians; you frequently make them your mouth in addressing the Deity, exchange pulpits, and even engage their assistance in exercises intended as a preparation for the eucharist; and after lighting the flame of devotion at their torch, you most preposterously turn round to inform them that they are not worthy to participate! Is the observance of an external rite, let me ask, a more solemn part of re-

tion, than addressing the Majesty of heaven and of earth? And shall we depute him to present our prayers at His footstool, who would defile a sacrament by his presence?"—*Reasons*, 37, 38. *H.* 299.

S. Far be it from me, my friend, to depreciate the solemn exercise of prayer; but neither should it be exalted at the expense of an ordinance of Jesus Christ, equally imperative, equally an act of worship, equally edifying; and, when it is attended to, as it ought to be, "with all the heart, and mind, and soul," more interesting, more solemn, more affecting, more beneficial, than any ordinary pulpit exercise whatever. True, indeed, this "sacramental use of water," this "transient ceremony," as it is designated, has, in some places, degenerated into a very vapid, dull, tame, uninteresting sort of thing, as much like a mere ceremony, as any thing not a mere ceremony can possibly be. But, my friend, let the ordinance of baptism occupy its proper place, and be viewed in its scriptural import, and its important bearings and relations, and next to the conversion of a sinner, it becomes the most interesting spectacle on earth, that men or angels witness. Passing this, however, I must be allowed to remark, that you grossly misrepresent us. We are not chargeable with the inconsistency you allege against us. We do tell our Pædobaptist brother that he is "not worthy" to partake of the Lord's supper. We do not affirm that he would "defile a sacrament by his presence." We only refuse to unite with him in what we believe to be an irregular and unauthorized reception of it. And we never insult a Pædobaptist minister, by inviting him to "assist in an exercise intended as a preparation for the eucharist." For his services on such occasions, we are indebted, we presume to the friends of mixed communion!*

M. But still, you do unite with Pædobaptists voluntarily and spontaneously, in innumerable Christian exercises; in prayer, and praise, and preaching the gospel; and in a variety of benevolent institutions for the melioration of the miseries of mankind, and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

S. Undoubtedly we do; but what then? None of these exercises are peculiar to church-fellowship. They are incumbent upon us in our individual capacity, whether

we are connected with a Christian church or not. You greatly mistake, if you suppose we consider the absence of baptism as a disqualification for the Lord's supper only. Baptism being the divinely appointed mode of entrance into the visible church, we consider the absence of it, (as far as our concurrence is concerned,) as a disqualification for all the offices and exercises peculiar to churches. We decline a union with Pædobaptists in the celebration of the Lord's supper, because it is a church ordinance; and to unite with those as church-members, who, in our opinion, have not entered the church by the door of Christ's appointing, would be, we conceive, a most unworthy reflection on his wisdom, and disregard of his just authority. Since He has appointed baptism as the mode in which all believers shall be admitted to visible church-fellowship, who are we, that we should presume to receive them without baptism, to any of the exercises peculiar to Christian churches, as such? We should not elect a Pædobaptist to the office of either pastor or deacon; for they are church offices: and on the same principle we decline a joint participation of the Lord's supper. But prayer, and praise, and preaching the gospel, and Christian benevolence, are not acts peculiar to churches. They were duties before the formation of a single Christian church, and would have been duties to the end of time had no such institution existed. A union with Pædobaptists, therefore, in these exercises, is not a deviation from our principle. In such a co-operation, we should unite with them, not as church-members, in the celebration of an ordinance peculiar to churches: but as Christians, in the pursuit of objects in which all good men should engage, whether united to a church or not. In uniting with Pædobaptists, in prayer, and praise, and preaching the gospel, and acts of benevolence, we cultivate such a union as evidently is our duty; but a joint participation of the Lord's supper with Pædobaptists, would be a deliberate concurrence in such a reception of the ordinance as is, in our opinion, decidedly unscriptural; and this cannot be our duty. It may be their duty to partake of the Lord's supper, since they believe they have attended to "the prior obligation," every man being required to act on his own principles; but while our belief is the very reverse of theirs, our union with them, in what we believe to be an unscriptural reception of the ordinance, would undoubtedly be, on our part, a manifest dereliction of principle. Nor can even the Mixed Baptist be exonerated from blame, until he can show that he has a right to unite in that system of church-fellowship, which he also is compelled to acknowl-

* We may charitably presume, that such an arrangement is simply the result of inconsideration. But what shall be said of those ministers, who, under a pretence of Christian candor, deliberately impose a cheat on their churches, either by concealing, or misrepresenting the circumstances of their unbaptized friends, who wish for occasional communion! It is perfectly unnecessary to inquire whether this is Christian candor. Is it common honesty? Is it not wilful falsehood? No one who is acquainted with Mr. Hall will suspect him of such a contemptible and unchristian artifice.

edge is unscriptural. When you detect us, my friend, in uniting with persons, who are in our estimation unbaptized, in any office, in any exercise, peculiar to church-fellowship, then you may inveigh against our consistency; but otherwise, your allegation is groundless. We unite with Pædobaptists in prayer, and praise, and Christian benevolence; for they are universal duties. We unite with them in preaching the gospel, because it is the duty of all who "know the joyful sound," to publish it. We love the brethren, because we are commanded to love them, and because there is that in Christianity with which the heart of every Christian beats in unison. And, inasmuch as we are commanded to love them "for the truth's sake that dwelleth in them," we entertain the highest regard for those who appear to live most under the influence of divine truth in general, irrespective of their sentiments on any one point of truth whatever. But when we are required to unite with Pædobaptists in an ordinance peculiar to Christian churches, our minds naturally revert to the Christian commission, the peremptory and perpetual law of the Christian church, no less in its order than in its requirements; and while we should rejoice to receive our brethren in the way which Christ has appointed, we do not feel at liberty to receive them in any other way. But why do you smile?

M. Why, truly, my friend, I cannot help it. "The only color invented to hide this glaring inconsistency, is so pure a logomachy, that it is difficult to think of by becoming gravity. You remind us, forsooth, that the expressions of Christian affection in praying and preaching for each other, are not church acts, as though there were some magic in the word *church*, that could change the nature of truth, or the obligations of duty. If it is our duty to recognize those as our fellow Christians, who are really such, what is there in the idea of a church, that should render it improper there?"—*Reasons*, 38, 39. H. 300. But how serious you look! I hope I have not offended you.

S. No, my friend, I am not offended; but I confess I feel hurt at the manner in which you speak of a Christian church. Allow me, on this subject to refer you to your excellent friend, Mr. Hall. If you were to consult him, he would teach you better. In his memoir of the late Mr. Toller, of Kettering, he says, "Churches are the institution of God." If so, Christian churches are the institution of Christ, and deserve to be mentioned with a little more decorum. And allow me just to say, my friend, that we do not think there is any "magic" in the word *Church*, that can change the nature of truth, or the obligations of duty. We do not sup-

pose there is any thing in the idea of a church, that should render it improper there to recognize as fellow Christians, those who are really such. But we *do* suppose it would be improper to receive even Christians to a church ordinance in any other way than that appointed by the Head of the Christian church. And "pure a logomachy" as you are pleased to designate our distinction between universal Christian duties and church fellowship, it is a *distinction which Mr. Hall recognizes and avows, and partially reduces to practice.*

M. Impossible!

S. Nay, my friend, I assure you I am serious. Upon what other principle, let me ask, could he have penned that most extraordinary paragraph, commencing on the 12th page of his *Reasons for Christian Communion?* (H. 288.) In that passage he introduces to our attention a candidate for church fellowship; and represents the minister (a Mixed Baptist!) as inquiring into his views of the ordinance of baptism!—and this, as a matter of course! But why, I wonder, should he institute an inquiry on that particular subject, at that particular time?—an inquiry, natural enough, we should say, from one who maintains a peculiar connection between baptism and church-fellowship; but how are we to account for *his* putting the question? Is he accustomed to introduce this subject in relation to other Christian unions? If, for example, his friend instead of desiring the privileges of church-fellowship, had proposed that they should unite in a social prayer meeting, or in preaching the gospel, or in promoting the interests of an Auxiliary Bible Society, would he, on either of these propositions, think you, have sounded his friend on the subject of baptism? Nay, would he not indignantly repel the insinuation, and unhesitatingly pronounce the man who would institute such an inquiry, in such a connection, a bigot of the very deepest tincture? But why does he observe a difference? Why does he make a distinction? Why does he pointedly, however "respectfully," put the question in *one* case, and not in *all*? On other occasions, he would spurn the idea of trying the consciences of his Pædobaptist brethren on the subject of baptism; except, indeed, in friendly discussion on equal ground; but let them propose to join his *church*, and the case is altered; a tribunal is erected; and they must pass through an ordeal! He does not, indeed, require, as a *sine qua non*, that they should be *baptized*: but he *does* require, either that they shall be, or that they shall believe they *have been baptized*. But why? Why even this stipulation? Why cannot he receive them to a church union, as well as to a union in other Christian exercises, without instituting any

inquisitorial process, however gentle and respectful, on the subject of baptism? Surely that heretodox and narrow notion, maintained by us, that there is a *peculiar* connection between baptism and church-fellowship, must, by some strange unaccountable fatality, (or rather, may we not hope, by a sort of *scriptural* instinct!) have taken possession of his mind, and controlled his pastoral examination! Seriously, my friend, seeing he would not introduce the subject of baptism in relation to a proposed union in the exercises of prayer, and praise, and preaching the gospel, and Christian benevolence, (as, indeed, he ought not;) and seeing he would—and would, *as a matter of course*, introduce the subject in relation to a church union; the conclusion is inevitable, that Mr. Hall distinctly recognizes, and avowedly reduces to practice, the identical principle, for the statement of which, *you* hold us up to ridicule; viz.: that there is a peculiar connection between baptism and church-fellowship!

M. But the case to which you allude, is only a *supposed* case.

S. Very true; but it is a case of Mr. Hall's own supposing; and is introduced as a specimen of the course which he and his mixed communion brethren would pursue on all such occasions.

M. Leaving Mr. Hall to defend himself, (which, be assured, he is well able to do!) let us proceed. There is another, most lamentable inconsistency into which you are betrayed. You "acknowledge that many Pædobaptists stand high in the favor of God; enjoy intimate communion with the Redeemer; and would, on their removal hence, be instantaneously admitted to glory—

S. Undoubtedly.

M. "Now, it seems the suggestion of common sense, that the greater includes the less, that they who have a title to the most sublime privileges of Christianity, the favor of God, the fellowship of Christ, and the hope of glory, must be unquestionably entitled to that ordinance whose sole design is to prepare us for the perfect fruition of these blessings. To suppose it possible to have an interest in the great redemption, without being allowed to commemorate it; that he may possess the substance who is denied the shadow; and though qualified for the worship of heaven, be justly debarred from earthly ordinances; is such an anomaly, as cannot fail to draw reprobation on the system of which it is the necessary consequence. Men will, ere long, tremble at the thought of being more strict than Christ, more fastidious in the selection of the members of the church militant, than He is in choosing the members of the church triumphant."—*Reasons*, 39, 40. H. 300.

S. This argument, my friend, so specious

and so plausible, is generally advanced with such an air of confidence and triumph, as often to silence the opponent, whom it fails to convince. It is, nevertheless, founded in misapprehension, and perfectly fallacious. In the first place, you misrepresent us. We admit that our brethren are entitled to the Lord's supper, inasmuch as all Christians are entitled to all the privileges of the Christian church. But it does not follow that they are entitled to *deviate* from the regulations *prescribed* by the Founder of the feast. He prescribed, on your own confession, that baptism should precede visible church-fellowship. To say, then, that a Christian is absolutely entitled to any of the privileges peculiar to church fellowship, prior to baptism, is taking leave of your friends, to dispute with the Christian Legislator; and there, my friend, I am perfectly willing to leave the decision of that point. But, besides, this absolute title of all Christians to all the privileges of the Christian church, in the way and order prescribed by the Christian Legislator, we admit that sincere and conscientious Pædobaptists as such, are, in an inferior sense, justly entitled to the Lord's supper, inasmuch as they believe they *have* complied with the prior obligation; and all men are under a sacred obligation to act on their own belief. Consequently, this eloquent appeal in justification of the title of our Pædobaptist brethren to the "earthly ordinances," and the insinuations that we *deny* them the privilege, might have been spared. On this point all parties are agreed, except in one particular. You contend, that in relation to baptism and the Lord's supper, they are entitled to invert the prescribed order of the institutions: they contend that they are not; in relation to faith and baptism, you both change sides: while we, at least consistently, plead for the strict observance of our Lord's commission, in all its requirements, and all in their prescribed order. When either of you can show that the Legislator has *granted permission* to waive a compliance with his injunctions, or, on any pretence, to invert the order, however mysterious such a permission may appear, we shall bow to his new authority, with the most profound reverence. But, in the absence of such a singular document, it appears to our simple, uninspired judgments, that while our Lord continues faithful to the promise he has graciously annexed to the commission—to be with his church (which will be "*always to the end of the world*,"") so long he expects, and has a right to expect, that his church shall be faithful to the commission he united with the promise; faithful alike to the duties he has enjoined, and to the order in which he has commanded that these duties shall be observed. Surely, my friend,

it is one thing to admit that all Christians are entitled to all the privileges of the Christian church, in obedience to the Christian commission; and quite another thing to contend that they are entitled to them in deviation from it: it is one thing also, to allow that, in an inferior sense, "sincere and conscientious" Pædobaptists are entitled to such a reception of the Lord's supper as is, in their opinion, in agreement with the "prescribed order;" and a very different thing indeed, to assert, that equally sincere and conscientious Baptists, who believe the very reverse, are entitled to unite with them. They believe they have entered the visible church by Christian baptism, and act accordingly. We believe they have not, and ought to act accordingly. Their Christianity is indubitable. But what then? Will the Christianity of individuals justify churches, as such, in deviating from the order of their Lord's commission? The fallacy of your reasoning consists in confounding things that differ. You take it for granted that the rule of admission into the church militant, and the church triumphant, is one and the same rule; a position, perpetually asserted and assumed, but totally incapable of proof. In the admission of members to the celestial church, Christ acts as a Sovereign; in the admission of members to Christian churches on earth, we must act as servants; yielding implicit, undeviating obedience to the directions of our Sovereign Lord. To reproach us with being "more fastidious in the selection of the members of the church militant, than Christ is in choosing the members of the church triumphant," may be applauded as an unanswerable argument, by those who are less attentive to sense than to sound; to reason, than to the charms of eloquence. Could you reproach us with being more strict, more fastidious in the selection of our members, than the commission of Christ requires us to be, there would be some justice in the rebuke: at present there is none; and it may better become those to "tremble," who are less strict, less fastidious than their Lord's commission, and who wish to receive members into their churches in a way which Christ never authorized.

M. But if the absence of baptism disqualify for a participation of the eucharist, as one of the "all things" which Christ commanded to be observed, must it not equally disqualify for the observance of every other duty comprehended in the same expression?

S. Certainly not. From our Lord's commission, we infer, 1. That baptized believers are to be instructed to observe "all things whatsoever," which Christ has commanded. 2. That others are not to be instructed to observe all things, but only such things as are their duty irrespective of

church-membership. And what inconsistency there is in this conclusion, I cannot imagine.

M. But "if it be once admitted, that the clause on which so much stress is laid, is not to be interpreted so as absolutely to exclude unbaptized Christians from the *whole* of its import, to what purpose is it alleged against their admission to the eucharist? or how does it appear that this may not be one of the parts in which they are comprehended?"—*Terms*, 45. II. 42.

S. Because the Lord's supper is a church ordinance: and there is a peculiar connection between baptism and church-fellowship. To attempt any elaborate proof of this position, must be perfectly unnecessary; since, whoever else may dispute it, it is presumed, that, on reflection, *you* will not; it being a position clearly recognized, deliberately avowed, and partially reduced to practice, by your eloquent friend himself, between whose opinion and your own, it were a libel to suppose there existed a single shade of difference! Perhaps we may now dismiss this branch of the inquiry: what shall we consider at our next interview?

M. The argument derived from *Apostolic Precedent*, if you please; a point, on which I think the advocates of strict communion have greatly miscalculated their strength.

S. Well, "to the law and the testimony." If our sentiments will not bear that scrutiny, they cannot be true, and ought to be abandoned.

CONVERSATION IV.

The example of the Apostles, in their obedience to their Lord's commission, an inspired explanation of their Lord's will; and a pattern, intended for the imitation of the Church in all succeeding ages.

M. APOSTOLIC PRECEDENT is, I think, the subject appointed for this evening's conversation.

S. It is; and while we appeal to our Lord's commission as our primary authority, we consider the example of the apostles an important auxiliary, both as an inspired explanation of the law, and a pattern of obedience evidently intended for our imitation.

M. But "precedent derived from the practice of inspired men is to be regarded as law, in exact proportion as the spirit of it is copied, and the principle on which it proceeds is acted upon. If, neglectful of these, we attend to the letter only, we shall be betrayed into the most serious mistakes." "The letter killeth, (says St. Paul,)

the spirit giveth life.”—*Reasons*, 8, 12. *H.* 286, 288.

S. Well, I am astonished! The letter killeth! It must indeed, be confessed, that this is a literal, or nearly a literal quotation from the apostle Paul; but a more glaring perversion of words is scarcely conceivable. The letter killeth! What letter, my friend? The letter of New Testament ordinances? Alas! alas! In what a deplorable condition, then, must they be, who, month after month, and year after year, literally celebrate the Lord's supper! True; the letter killeth: but what letter? A literal imitation of apostolic obedience, in relation to their Lord's commission? O that the whole world were involved in such a massacre! But my good friend, if, as you say, “the example of the apostles is to be regarded as law, in proportion as the spirit of it is copied, and the principle from which it proceeds is acted upon;” then, their example in requiring that all believers should be baptized previous to external church-fellowship, must be law; for, by what spirit, and what principle could they have been actuated, but a spirit and principle of profound regard for their Lord's injunctions?

M. But “there are a thousand actions recorded of the apostles, in the government of the church, which it would be the height of folly and presumption to imitate.”—*Reasons*, 8. *H.* 286.

S. If there were ten thousand, what then? Unless, indeed, their strict adherence to the order of their Lord's commission were one of such actions: which it would be “the height of presumption” to affirm.

M. “The apostles, it is acknowledged, admitted none to the Lord's supper, but such as were previously baptized: but under what circumstances did they maintain this course? It was at a time, when a mistake respecting the will of the Supreme Legislator on the subject of baptism was impossible: it was while a diversity of opinion relating to it could not possibly subsist, because inspired men were at hand, ready to remove every doubt, and satisfy the mind of every honest inquirer.”—*Reasons*, 8. *H.* 286.

S. Certainly, we have no intimation of a diversity of opinion on the subject of baptism, during the ministry of the apostles. But to say that a mistake on this subject was impossible, is to assert more than can be proved. It was not impossible, for the Corinthians awfully to pervert the Lord's supper, nor to entertain the most erroneous notions concerning the resurrection. It was not impossible for the church at Rome, and the churches of Galatia, to depart from the simplicity of the doctrine of *justification by faith*. Why, then, should it be thought a

thing “impossible,” that a mistake should subsist on the subject of baptism?

M. “The instructions of the apostles were too plain to be mistaken, and their authority too sacred to be contemned by a professor of Christianity, without being guilty of daring impiety. In such a state of things, it may be asked, how could they have acted differently from what they did.”—*Reasons*, 9. *H.* 286.

S. And yet, on some subjects, either their instructions were not sufficiently plain, or their authority was not sufficiently sacred, or (which appears to me, a much more rational conjecture,) these inspired men were not always “at hand” to prevent very important errors on some of the doctrines of Christianity. On some points, there evidently existed, from some cause or other, the most erroneous conceptions. But, if, my friend, as you affirm, their instructions on baptism were too plain to be mistaken, what has rendered them less plain now? Why should not the written law be as explicit and as binding, as the law verbally delivered? If the apostles were inspired, when they first opened their commission, and acted upon it, were they less inspired, when for our guidance, they committed it to writing? Had the first churches the law? So have we. Had they the example of the apostles? It is recorded, by inspired penmen, for our instruction. Were distant churches favored with apostolic epistles? These epistles, by a special providence, have been preserved and perpetuated, a precious boon, for the guidance and consolation of the Christian church, in every successive age, and under every changing scene, till time shall be no longer. We possess, in fine, in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, an accumulation of evidence, which no Christian, in the first age of the church, could possibly enjoy.

M. But “the most rigid Baptist will probably admit, that, however clear and irresistible the evidence of his sentiments may appear to himself, there are those whom it fails to convince, and some of them at least, illustrious examples of piety; men, who would tremble at the thought of deliberately violating the least of the commands of Christ, or of his apostles.”—*Reasons*, 11. *H.* 287.

S. But why are they not convinced? Is the failure, think you, in the evidence, or in themselves? You will scarcely admit, I presume, that the evidence which the Divine Spirit has supplied, is, in itself insufficient. If it be, unquestionably our Pædobaptist brethren are not only blameless, but worthy of commendation; for who can require faith and obedience, without sufficient evidence of the nature and obligation of the supposed duty? But, on this

hypothesis, our own faith is invalidated; and, with all our pretensions, we shall stand convicted of the supreme folly of believing without sufficient evidence! The evidence either is sufficient, or it is not. If it is not, how came you, my friend, to be convinced? If it is sufficient, how is it our brethren are not convinced? Have we the commission? So have they. Have we, in the practice of the apostles, an inspired explanation of that law? So have they. Have we the assistance of the learned? So have they. Finally, have we a capacity for judging? It were a libel to breathe any other response than—*So have they.* In short, we do not monopolize a single privilege; we do not possess a single advantage peculiar to ourselves. Then why are they not convinced?

M. It is sufficient for me, that they are not convinced; and surely you will allow that their error is "involuntary and conscientious."

S. My friend, I can readily concede, that our Pædobaptist brethren are sincere and conscientious; but I am not prepared to allow that their error is in every sense involuntary. That may be conscientious, which is not involuntary. Multitudes who believe what they profess, and who are, therefore, conscientious, might believe otherwise, and probably would, if, in the investigation of divine truth, they would be satisfied with the evidence supplied by the Divine Spirit. But if they will desert the only infallible oracle, and inquire of those whose highest pretensions are ambiguous, uncertain and uninspired, their sincere conviction, under such a wilful choice, of inferior testimony, cannot by the greatest stretch of charity, be denominated involuntary. Some, probably, of all religious communities, believe without examination, relying on the testimony of their minister, and of their intimate friends: others deem it indispensable to profess the sentiments of their immediate ancestors: the belief of a third class is regulated by feeling: while a fourth indolently assumes that the religion of the majority is infallibly true. These and a multitude of inferior considerations, it is to be feared, induce a large proportion of the professing community—I do not say to avow their conviction of what they do not believe to be the truth; but, unquestionably, to believe, without personal examination of the only certain evidence.*

* A shrewd reader may possibly wish to inquire, whether the writer intends to intimate that Pædobaptists are more accustomed than Baptists, to believe without personal examination? In reply, without intending any unkind reflection on his brethren, he would appeal to the common sense of his reader, and ask, whether it is not the natural tendency of Pædobaptism to produce such a result? Who are most likely to "search the Scriptures" on baptism: those who are taught, from their earliest youth, that they have been baptized? or those who have

Now the professions of such persons may be sincere; they actually believe what they profess to believe; but their errors are not involuntary, inasmuch as they choose to believe without a personal examination of the only certain evidence. They might, and probably would believe otherwise, if, in imitation of the Bereans, instead of relying on any inferior testimony, they were to "search the scriptures" for themselves, and receive the inspired testimony "with all readiness of mind."* It is not enough, my friend, that we act conscientiously, unless our consciences are enlightened by the word of God. Conscience itself may err. And a conscientious error cannot, by the utmost ingenuity, be converted into scripture truth; nor is a practice founded on that error, scriptural obedience. The truth is, that many of the most eminent Pædobaptists have candidly acknowledged, that the New Testament does not, by a single precept, or a single example, sanction the ceremony of infant baptism. [*See Booth's Pæd. Ex.*] This is true of Baxter, and Owen, and Leighton, and many besides, among the "myriads" of Pædobaptists, whom Mr. Hall is pleased to represent as sacrificed on the altar of our bigotry and intolerance. But surely it is not enough that they are conscientiously of opinion, for some reason or other, that Pædobaptism is lawful, while, at the same time, they avow their conviction that it is not sanctioned by divine precept, or by apostolic example. On whatever evidence they have formed their conclusion, they are, on their own confession, without the sanction of the best, the only certain testimony; the appointment of the Christian Legislator, and the practice of the apostles. On this sub-

received no such impression, but who know they have not been baptized? Indeed, those persons must have had little intercourse with candid Pædobaptists, who are not familiar with such an avowal as this: "If I had not been baptized in my infancy, I should feel it my duty to examine: but as I have, and as I am now, I trust, a believer, and as the mode cannot be of consequence, I do not think it worth while, at any time of life, to harass and perplex my mind about it."

* It is a little singular, that the liberal minded Robert Robinson, who advocated the cause of mixed communion on principles "more lax and latitudinarian" than Mr. Hall could approve; and who not only affirmed that Pædobaptism was an involuntary mistake, but whose favorite position was, the innocence of error, in relation to divine truth; should also have maintained, (in his *General Doctrine of Toleration*, &c. 42, 43,) that the "New Testament is utterly unacquainted with infant sprinkling;" that the "dipping of adults, on their own personal profession of faith and repentance is plain," and that "the New Testament is a book so plain, that any man of common sense might understand it, if he would." In the pulpit, he repeatedly inculcated this proposition; and in the first volume of *Village Sermons* (*The Christian Religion easy to be understood*), he amplifies and illustrates it with his characteristic ingenuity; prefacing his observations with this remarkable sentence: "When I say all may understand it, I mean, if their own depravity does not prevent it." The consistency of this sentiment with the *involuntariness* and *innocence* of error, is not exactly like the Christian religion, "*easy to be understood.*"

ject, Mr. Baxter himself presents us with a noble remonstrance, the principle of which will apply equally to baptism and church-fellowship. "What man, (says he,) dare go in a way which hath neither *precept* or *example* to warrant it, from a way that hath a full current of both? Who knows what will please God but himself? And hath he not told us what he expecteth from us? Can that be obedience which hath no command for it? Is not this to accuse God's ordinance of insufficiency? O the pride of man's heart! that instead of being a law-obeyer, will be a law-maker! that, instead of being true worshippers, will be worship-makers! For my part, I will not fear that God will be angry with me for doing no more than he hath commanded me, and for sticking close to the rule of his word, in matters of worship." [*Plain Scripture Proof*, 24, 333.] Now, how, with these views, acknowledging likewise, that "there is neither precept nor example in scripture, of infant baptism," this good man could be a Pædobaptist, is, to me utterly inconceivable. Doubtless, he had his reasons, to himself satisfactory: but that they did satisfy his conscience, and that they should have satisfied his consciences are two very distinct propositions.

M. But surely you will not have the hardihood to impugn his Christianity!

S. Certainly not; but what then? Are we to violate the scriptural constitution of our churches, in deference to the erring consciences of persons, who substitute a ceremony confessedly unsanctioned by scripture precept or example, for a Christian ordinance which they acknowledge is so sanctioned, simply because they are Christians? Would not this indicate a greater regard for Christians, than for Christ? Mr. Baxter's sentiments on baptism, were, on his own showing, precisely of this description.

M. But if a person, proposing himself "as a candidate for admission to a Baptist church," were to confess that he was "not convinced of the divine authority of the rite which was administered to him in his infancy: and that, on mature deliberation and inquiry, he considered it as a human invention; and yet refused to confess Christ before men, by a prompt compliance with what he is satisfied is a part of his revealed will; alleging that it is not essential to salvation, that it is a mere external rite, and that some of the holiest of men have died in the neglect of it." Mr. Hall himself has "no hesitation in affirming, that such an individual is disqualified for Christian communion."—*Reasons*, 12, 13. *H.* 288.—But why do you smile?

S. Because, my friend, notwithstanding the tendency of your system, you instinct-

ively cling to the once descriptive epithet, "a Baptist church:" whereas you must be well aware, that if your sentiments were universally prevalent, there would not be a single Baptist church in all Christendom! But why (provided his Pædobaptist members did not out-vote him!) would Mr. Hall reject such a person?

M. Because, "to receive him under such circumstances, would be sanctioning the want of principle, and pouring contempt on the Christian precepts."—*Reasons*, 13. *H.* 286.

S. Perhaps there are scarcely any Pædobaptists who would confess quite so much as your supposed candidate; nor, among our cotemporaries, have any been found who acknowledge as much as their predecessors. But if modern Pædobaptists have found scripture precept or example for their practice, it follows that their predecessors conceded too much: if they have not, they concede too little. If they have, of course they can produce them: otherwise, whether they make the acknowledgment or not, they are in the same predicament as their forefathers: and their reception into our churches, under these circumstances, would be, in my opinion, on our part, equally pouring contempt on the Christian precepts.

M. But "the evidence by which our views are supported, though sufficient for every practical purpose, is decidedly inferior to that which accompanied their first promulgation: the utmost that we can pretend, is a very high probability."—*Reasons*, 13. *H.* 288.

S. I am pleased, my friend, to hear you say that the evidence is "sufficient for every practical purpose;" because that is an acknowledgment that, in your opinion, Pædobaptism is not attributable to the want of sufficient evidence. But I am lost in astonishment and shame, that a Baptist should talk about the "decided inferiority" of the evidence in favor of his sentiments; and allege that supposed inferiority in extenuation of his mistaken brethren! On this hypothesis, the present "very high probability," may soon become moderately high; that again may dwindle to a very humble probability; and a few more gentle touches by the destroying wand of time, may reduce even that to a certain indistinct something—just a possibility; so dim and obscure, and equivocal, that the rejection of such evidence, rather than its admission, may be the suggestion of reason! And if the successive transitions proceed as rapidly as the descent from a superior elevation occupied by our eloquent friend in 1818, when [*Reply*, Pref. xxiii. *H.* 153.] he thought the evidence was "overwhelming" to his present humiliating position, the

existing race of Baptists can scarcely hope to escape the mortification of contemplating the dying embers, and of witnessing with emotions more easily conceived than described, the extinction of the last "illustrious spark" of that evidence, which had been a faithful light to their pious ancestors for eighteen centuries! Nor shall we alone be affected. For, inferior or not, "overwhelming" or fast ebbing to a Lethæan gulf, it may be well to consider, that it is the only certain evidence on the subject of baptism with which the church ever was, or ever will be favored. Consequently, if this be subject to decay and dissolution, we have nothing to do, but, one and all, Baptists, and Pædobaptists, to convene a solemn assembly, elect some good friend Barclay as our president, and, in profound stillness, muse on that which was, but which, alas, for want of better evidence, hath vanished away! Nor is this all. For when the evidence of scripture on this subject is neutralized and dried up, what becomes of those evidences of the whole of Christianity derived from the inspired records? But, at present you admit that the evidence is "sufficient for every practical purpose." And so certain do I feel that our sentiments on baptism are scriptural, and that Pædobaptism is not, that I challenge the whole world to produce a single scriptural proof that it is of Divine appointment, whether of precept, example, or certain inference. The evidence for baptizing professing believers only, appears to me, as a few years ago it appeared to Mr. Hall, "overwhelming;" almost as clearly revealed as the way of salvation.

M. But that may be clear to you, which is not clear to them, and *vice versa*; and "the apostles refused the communion of such, and such only, as were insincere, 'who held the truth in unrighteousness,' avowing their conviction of one system, and acting upon another: and wherever similar indications display themselves, we do precisely the same."—*Reasons*, 13, 14. II. 288.

S. Indeed! Far be it from me to say, that the pious Richard Baxter, "held the truth in unrighteousness," in the worst acceptance of the phrase; but that he "avowed his conviction of one system and acted upon another," is as clear as the sun in the firmament. And, consequently, you could not, without violating your own pretensions, have received him to your communion; nor any of those otherwise excellent men, who, on the same question, displayed, on their own showing, this glaring inconsistency,* and yet where, on the

whole, you will find better men, either in your own or in any other denomination, I am at a loss to conceive.

M. But the Pædobaptists of the present day are "restrained from following our example by the deference to the will of God."—*Reasons*, 17. H. 50.

S. Or, rather, by deference to what they presume is the will of God; for surely you do not mean to affirm that the ceremony they call infant baptism is the will of God! But they could not even suppose it is the will of God, but upon the assumption that *that* is his will which he has not revealed; and that they are at liberty to celebrate as a Christian ordinance, a ceremony for which the ablest among them cannot produce a single precept or example, or even a certain inference, from the Christian scriptures.

M. Still you admit that they are Christians; and "the apostles never give the slightest intimation of the possibility of possessing the inward and spiritual grace, without being entitled to the outward sign. The assertion of such an opinion, and the practice founded upon it, is a departure from the precedent and example of the earliest age, which it would be difficult to parallel."—*Reasons*, 16. H. 290.

S. And what then? We are not chargeable with "the assertion of such an opinion," nor is our "practice founded upon it." On the contrary, we assert, not only that the possession of the thing signified entitles its possessor to the sign; but also, that, being so qualified, he is under an obligation to receive it. He who is sanctified, and redeemed, is not only entitled to the symbols of sanctification and redemption, but is under a sacred obligation to be baptized, and to celebrate the Lord's supper: but then, it is equally imperative that he should receive both these ordinances, and each in the order in which Christ appointed they should be received.

M. But "the discipline of the church, as

must have refused to admit these good men to communion: and, consequently, that on himself will rebound all the odium and criminality, with which, for the theoretical rejection of the very same men, he unsparingly loads his Strict Communion brethren.—[*Terms*, 133, 135. *Reply*, 124, 265.] The writer freely concedes that he has pursued this inquiry, into the inconsistency of those eminent Pædobaptists, much farther than the general argument required; and it was only in deference of the plea of his mixed communion brethren, that he noticed it at all. But the truth is, that, were every Pædobaptist in the world as sincere and conscientious in maintaining his error, as the most sincere and conscientious Baptist, that could be selected is, in maintaining the truth, and were the error as involuntary as it is represented, this would not in the slightest degree affect our system; since the principle on which we act, is—not that our Pædobaptist brethren are culpable in their faith (that depends on circumstances,) but that, while they are in our estimation unbaptized, our union with them in church-fellowship, would be on our part, a manifest deviation from the mind of Christ, as expressed in his memorable commission to the eleven apostles.

* It will be obvious to the attentive reader, that, on his own principle, of rejecting those who "avow their conviction of one system, and act upon another," Mr. Hall

prescribed by Christ and his apostles, is founded on principles applicable to every age, and to every combination of events to which it is liable, in a world replete with change, where new forms of error, new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth, are destined to follow in rapid and unceasing succession. Among these, we are compelled to enumerate the prevailing notions of the Christian world on the subject of baptism; an error which it is obvious, could have no subsistence during the age of the apostles. Here then, arises a new case, and it becomes a matter of serious inquiry, how it is to be treated. It plainly cannot be decided by reference to apostolic precedent, because nothing of this kind then existed, or could exist."—*Reasons*, 18. H. 200.

S. My friend, when you can show that Christians did not fall into any error in the apostolic age, then you may with some plausibility assert that this error could not exist. But while we know that they fell into gross doctrinal error, and awfully perverted the Lord's supper, this favorite position of yours will not be received as an "obvious" truth. That they did not fall into this error, as far as our information extends, furnishes an additional testimony to the clearness of the law; for it would be absurd to suppose the apostles were always present, to solve every rising difficulty in the minds of the first Christians. But the law is the same now as ever, and the authority of the New Testament is surely tantamount to that of the apostles and evangelists; it being, in fact, identically their own testimony. We are obliged to you, my friend, for conceding that "the discipline of the church is prescribed by Christ and his apostles;" because, being once satisfied of that, we shall take the liberty of adhering to it, in reference to a positive and perpetual law, regardless of any "new form of error," or any "new mode of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth." The question on which we are at issue is plainly this: Whether the constitution and discipline of our churches shall be conformed to the commission of Christ; or whether a strict adherence to that law of the Christian church shall occasionally be waived in deference to the erroneous notions of Christians? Your opinion has been distinctly avowed. Our opinion is, that the Christian commission is immutable in its order no less than in its requirements, and of peremptory obligation as long as the promise attached to it remains in force, "always to the end of the world;" and, consequently, that we are not at liberty to deviate from it, in compliment to "new forms of error," or "new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude

and truth." You say, the present case cannot be decided by a reference to apostolic precedent; but this is neither more nor less than saying, that though the apostles, in the admission of church-members, were under an obligation to adhere uniformly to the matter and order of their Lord's commission, modern Baptists, in the admission of members to their churches, are at liberty to deviate from either or both! It is freely admitted, that some particular actions of the apostles originated in the particular circumstances under which they were called to act, and were not attributable to any express injunction of the Christian Legislator; and these precedents, of course, are imperative on us, only in proportion as we are similarly situated. But their uniform practice of baptizing only believers, and of receiving to church-fellowship baptized believers only, may not be confounded with such precedents, being clearly referable to the Christian commission. Their conduct, in relation to the Christian ordinances, was doubtless congenial with existing circumstances; but to say that it originated in those circumstances, is to ascribe it to an inferior and variable cause, during the co-existence of a cause infinitely superior and immutable; a mode of reasoning, unphilosophical in itself, and alike dishonorable to Christ and his apostles. The will of the Christian Legislator is surely a weightier consideration than circumstances; and with the apostles, was, doubtless more influential. But His injunctions are as binding on modern Baptist ministers, little or great, as they were on the apostles; and, whatever may be said of their local and circumstantial actions, their unbending, undeviating obedience to their Lord's commission is a precedent, an example which it is incumbent on every Christian church, in every age, and under every combination of circumstances, punctiliously to imitate; regardless of any of those "new forms of error, and new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth," which you tell us are "destined to follow in rapid and unceasing succession."

M. But, "if action be founded on conviction, as it undoubtedly is, in all well regulated minds, we are as much obliged to mould our sentiments into an agreement with those of the apostles, as our conduct; inspired precedents of thought are as authoritative as those of action."—*Reasons*, 19. H. 291. You smile at this, my friend; but I assure you I am serious.

S. But, my dear friend, where are these said "precedents of thought" to be found? Not being recorded for our instruction, we are obliged to infer what they were from inspired precedents of action. But the uniform actions of the apostles lead us to infer

that they thought faith ought to precede baptism, and that baptism ought to precede church-fellowship.

M. "But if we should treat all Pædobaptists exactly as the apostles would have treated unbaptized persons in their day, must we not, for the same reason, think the same of them?"—*Reasons*, 19. *H.* 291.

S. Undoubtedly, my friend, we should think of modern Pædobaptists as the apostles would have thought of exactly such unbaptized persons in their day, who, notwithstanding their erroneous sentiments on the subject of baptism, exhibited as clear and satisfactory proofs of Christianity as our cotemporaries. It is reasonable to conclude, that if just such persons had existed in their time, they would have thought they were unbaptized Christians, and have treated them as such; that while they must unquestionably have recognized their Christianity, they would not, in a single iota, have deviated from the law of Christ in deference to their erroneous notions. The supposition of there having been such, or any other Pædobaptists, is merely hypothetical, introduced in deference to your novel notion of inspired precedents of thought. As there are no thoughts of this description recorded, we cannot speak with certainty: but it commends itself to our simple, uninspired judgments, that it is imperative on us both to think of people, and to act towards them, agreeably to what they are, or appear to be. Consequently, it is incumbent on us to think our Pædobaptist brethren are Christians, and to treat them as such; and to think they are unbaptized, and to treat them as such; regulating our thoughts and our actions, in both instances, by the laws of Christ; one of which is, that we are to judge of men by their fruits; the other, that believers are to be baptized before they are instructed to observe "all things" which Christ has commanded. Agreeably to the first of these laws, we judge that our Pædobaptist friends are Christians, and should rejoice to receive them to church-fellowship: but, agreeably to the second, we require that they should be received in the way, and the only way of Christ's appointing. Seriously, my friend, I am of opinion, that neither our thoughts, nor our actions, towards sincere and conscientious Pædobaptists, vary from what would have been the thoughts and the actions of the apostles, if precisely such unbaptized persons had appeared in their day.

M. But "the difference is immense, between a conscientious mistake of the mind of Christ, on a particular subject, and a deliberate contempt or neglect of it. Who can doubt that the apostles would be the first to feel this distinction; and, as they would undoubtedly, in common with all conscientious persons, regulate their con-

duct by their sentiments, that, could they be personally consulted, they would recommend a correspondent difference of treatment?"—*Reasons*, 20. *H.* 291.

S. Undoubtedly, "they would recommend a correspondent difference of treatment;" but that they would recommend such a difference as that for which you contend, is not quite so clear. A deviation from the law of Christ, in deference to the mistakes of Christians, however conscientious, would indicate a greater regard for the erring servants, than for the infinitely wise, and a supreme Lord. In all probability, could the apostles be personally consulted, they would recommend just such a difference as that which we observe. While they must have considered a "deliberate contempt or neglect" of the mind of Christ as invalidating the Christian pretensions of the party, and have acted accordingly; they would have allowed, we presume, that a sincere error, though not entirely involuntary, was compatible with Christianity; and if they could not have produced a conviction of the truth, doubtless they would have treated the party as an erring Christian, and have recommended, as in the case of a member of the church at Thessalonica, who walked not according to their commandment, that while the church should "withdraw themselves" from such a person, they should "yet not count him as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother." It is not pretended, that the cases are precisely similar; the one being a moral, the other a ritual dereliction; the suspension of the former from church-fellowship having been designed as an expression of disapprobation, and the non-recognition of Christians as church-members without baptism being intended solely as an act of obedience on our part to the order of our Lord's commission. But they are sufficiently similar, to exhibit all that is desired, viz: an example of treating a Christian as a brother, without the joint participation of those exercises which are peculiar to church-fellowship. This is the course we pursue. And to say that the apostles would, in any case, recommend a deviation from the law of Christ, is a libel on their Christian fidelity. Assuredly, nothing so derogatory to their character can be found in the inspired record of their actions, or in their equally inspired epistles. What they addressed to the churches, they had previously "received of the Lord," not in relation to one ordinance only, but to both; and likewise to the order in which the relative duties of faith and baptism and church-fellowship should be observed. To the order of their Lord's commission, as a whole, they invariably required implicit submission; nor is it possible, without manifest injustice, to imagine for a moment, that

their uniform adherence to this course of action, originated, not in a profound regard for their Lord's expressed will, but in submission to "circumstances;" or to insinuate that, had these "circumstances" varied, not only would they have observed a correspondent difference, but that that difference would have consisted in an abandonment of the prescribed order of their Lord's commission. No! we hear not a word about the law being binding in some cases, and not in others; not a syllable about accommodating it to "new forms of error," or of waiving it in compliment to "new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth;" not a breath in favor of a certain fashionable distinction between essentials and non-essentials. And, besides their own rigid adherence to one straight line of simple obedience, their epistles abound in exhortations to the churches, to "keep the ordinances as they were delivered." And as these exhortations were principally addressed to ministers and churches as such, they must be equally binding on us, not merely as individuals, but in our official capacity, as Christian ministers, and Christian churches.* Nor will it avail to reply, that these exhortations have not a

* To the Romans, the apostle Paul writes: "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned."

To the Corinthians, in his first Epistle, he writes, "Now, I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." "I beseech you, be followers of me. For this cause have I sent Timotheus, my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways, which be in Christ, as I teach every where, in every church." "Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ. Now, I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances as I delivered them to you." "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord."

To the Philippians, he writes: "Brethren, be ye followers together of me; and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an example."

To the Colossians, he writes: "Though I be absent in the flesh, yet I am with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ. As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him; rooted and built up in him, and established in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thanksgiving. Beware lest any man spoil you, through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."

To the Thessalonians, he writes: "We beseech you, brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more. For ye know what commandments we gave you, by the Lord Jesus." "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle." "We have confidence in the Lord, touching you, that ye both do, and will do, the things which we command you." "Now, we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us."

To Timothy, he writes: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called, which some professing have erred concerning the faith." "Held

special reference to baptism; since it is evident they have a special relation to the duties of churches generally, of which the scriptural administration of baptism is by no means the least interesting or important; while some of them related to temporary customs, inferior to any command whatever of perpetual obligation. How any person, who is familiar with the epistles, and observes with what particularity and reiteration churches as such, are urged to obey and to require obedience to the injunctions of Christ, as exemplified by his apostles, can yet deliberately believe that if the apostles could now be consulted, they would recommend a deviation from the matter and order of that commission which they uniformly enforced, and thus impugn and nullify their own solemn injunctions, surpasses all conception. Such a recommendation, if we could suppose it possible, should be entitled,

THE RECANTATION OF THE APOSTLES, OR A MODERN EXPLANATION OF THEIR INSPIRED INJUNCTIONS TO THE PRIMITIVE CHURCHES.*

For, if the apostles would now recommend a deviation from their example, they

fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus." "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." "Thou hast fully known my doctrine, &c. Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them."

To Titus also, he writes: "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God, holding fast the faithful word as he has been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers; for there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision. Rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith; not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men, that turn from the truth."

And even the affectionate apostle John, who, more than any other, might be supposed to be carried away by feeling, writes in nearly the same strain. In his first Epistle, he informs those to whom he wrote: "By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments; for this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous." In his second Epistle, addressed to a Christian matron, he says, "I rejoiced greatly that I found of thy children walking in truth, as we have received a commandment from the Father. And now I beseech thee, lady, not as though I wrote a new commandment unto thee, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another. And this is love, that we walk after his commandments. This is the commandment, That as ye have heard from the beginning, ye should walk in it." Thus, so far from a rigid adherence to the commands of Jesus Christ indicating the absence of love, the most affectionate of all the apostles represents such a scrupulous adherence to them, as the very criterion and evidence of that Christian grace.

The apostle Jude also, in his General Epistle, exhorted those to whom he wrote, that they should "earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints."

And it is worthy of remark, that two of the seven Asiatic churches, those at Pergamos and Thyatira, were reprobated, not so much for individual participation in erroneous doctrine, as for tacitly allowing it in their respective communities.

* In the absence of the real recantation, (for which

must contradict their own epistles, they must revoke their former injunctions, they must nullify the whole course of their actions; and thus be guilty of the most astonishing *felo de se* ever perpetrated.

M. But, as you are such an advocate for a rigid adherence to apostolic precedent, allow me to remind you how grossly you depart from it. By a formal separation from true Christians, you divide the true church, and are guilty of schism; a sin against which the apostles most earnestly inveighed.

all Mixed Baptists are in duty bound to make diligent search,) the following, if not in exact agreement with the letter, may, perhaps, be received as a free imitation of the *spirit* of that most singular document. And should the reader experience a momentary emotion of wonder, at perceiving certain quotations, he has only to imagine (and what can be less romantic? or to the author, more honorable!) that the apostles have read and approved the publications from which they are transcribed.

To the Churches of the Nineteenth and successive Centuries, the Apostles, in this their Epistle Extraordinary, send greeting:

Whereas, it has come to our knowledge, that, in these latter days, there are certain Christians, who are conscientiously of opinion, that, though they cannot discover a single scripture precept or example of infant sprinkling, yet they are, for certain other reasons, justified in substituting that ceremony for a Christian ordinance, which they acknowledge is commanded, and of which numerous examples are recorded in the New Testament:

And whereas, it has also come to our knowledge, that certain other Christians, under the pretence of adherence to the Christian commission, and of imitating our example, and of keeping the ordinances as we delivered them to the primitive churches, (thereby calculating upon our commendation!) do pertinaciously refuse to unite with their erroneous, though confessedly Christian brethren, in church-fellowship:

This is to certify, That when we commended the churches for keeping the ordinances as they were delivered, and enjoined on them an exact imitation of our uniform obedience to the Christian commission, and exhorted them to be followers of us, as we had followed Christ, we did not intend to regulate the conduct of churches in successive ages of the world; but only the affairs of those which were planted by our own instrumentality, or which existed during our personal ministry. Our authority, (except in granting dispensations, and rebuking "schismatics," and "narrow-minded bigots,") terminated with our lives.

Be it therefore known to you, That, in future, the law of Christ is to be accommodated to "circumstances," to "new forms of error," and "new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth;" and that, henceforth, no church is under an obligation to require obedience to the laws of Christ, if any Christian, applying for admission, be conscientiously of opinion, either that he has obeyed them, or that it is not his duty to obey them; although it shall be clear to such a church that he has not, and that such obedience is his duty. That is to say, Your conduct as a church, as well as his individually, must be regulated, not by your own views, (whether of faith, of baptism, or of church-fellowship,) but by his; and consequently, (to apply this "general rule," this "broad principle," this "maxim of universal application," to a particular case,) if he believe he is baptized, though you believe he is not, not only is he at liberty to think and act for himself, without being amenable to you; (a position, we believe, which you never disputed,) but you, in deference to his sincerity, must receive him to church-fellowship without baptism, his alleged unconscious obedience being equivalent to actual obedience. True, we never acted on this principle, except in relation to matters of indifference: but what then? We were inspired, and we could work miracles. How strange, then, it is, that it should never have occurred to you, and that, now your brethren suggest so rational a position, ye will not believe, that, no sooner did any doubt arise in the mind of any convert, on the subject of baptism, than, wherever either party might have

S. My friend, the question is, do we separate from our Christian brethren? or, do they separate from us? And the answer to this inquiry involves another. Whose churches are constituted on the apostolic pattern? theirs, or ours? If ours be, (which I confess is my opinion,) then they, and not we, are the schismatics. But this is a serious accusation, and a question of considerable importance: we will, therefore, if you please, defer any farther discussion until our next interview.

been an hour before, we were instantly "at hand," to solve every difficulty, and remove every doubt! Before, therefore, you presume to initiate the letter of our example, even in our punctilious obedience to our Lord's commission, do take into serious consideration the prodigious difference of circumstances, in that age and this.

Now, therefore, The errors of Christians, not only in relation to abrogated Jewish rites, and things indifferent, as aforesaid, but also in relation to a perpetual law of Christ, must be accommodated: and you must relax the rigid, bigoted, and intolerant customs of your forefathers, and also of your own selves; and adopt the mild, and gentle, and persuasive law of liberty and candor. The Christian commission was not intended to be kept inviolably: it is to be obeyed or not, just as "weak brethren" may decide. Sincerity is every thing. In future, therefore, you must not be so strict, in requiring men to believe and obey the truth: it is quite sufficient that they practise what they believe. And if what they practise be in their judgment right, on whatever evidence they have come to that conclusion, or if without evidence, still, not only will God receive them, who is not subject to any law; but you, also, who have a rule of church-fellowship, must receive them, just as if that rule had been burnt, and its ashes scattered by the four winds of heaven, at the destruction of Jerusalem; conscientious error being equivalent to truth, and a practice founded on that error, equivalent to Christian obedience.

Now, therefore, we commend, not those who keep the ordinances as we delivered them; but those who, in compliment to sincere error, are willing occasionally to invert "the natural and prescribed order of the Christian sacraments." And we solemnly warn the rigid, strict adherents to the letter of our former injunctions, henceforward to pay no manner of deference whatever, either to our practice, or to the law on which that practice was founded, whenever such attention to either shall appear, to any respectable individual, "harsh and illiberal."

We, therefore, publish to all the churches, hereby revoking our former injunctions, save and except as shall be hereafter excepted; that, in future, our directions to keep the ordinances as they were delivered, are not binding. And, (not now to provide for other innumerable diversities, from Popery downward) we recommend, for the sake of consistency, the publication of three editions of the New Testament. One for the use of the Strict Communion Pædobaptists, with such inferences and improvements as may be required. Another, with suitable variations, for the use of the Mixed Baptists. And a third, for the use of the Strict Baptists, *verbatim et literatim*: for upon them individually, the law of Christ and our former injunctions are still binding; because they believe so. But Baptist churches are exhorted to conform to "the genius of the age;" to receive to their communion, without baptism, all good men, of every faith; and thus show, to an admiring world, with what unparalleled generosity they can sacrifice their very existence as a community, in amiable condescension to the diversified "aberrations" of their sincere, "weak brethren." That is to say, Every individual of every church is to do right in his own eyes: but every church, as such, must agree to observe or to abandon, as circumstances may dictate, the regulations confessedly "prescribed" by their Sovereign Lord.

If a Papist apply for admission, who sincerely believes he ought to receive the Lord's supper in one kind only, you must receive him—he is conscientious.

And if a Katabaptist apply for admission, sincerely believing that baptism is not of perpetual obligation, but that the Lord's supper is, you must receive him—he is conscientious.

CONVERSATION V.

A strict Adherence in the Constitution of our Churches, to the Laws of Christ, as Exemplified in the uniform Practice of the Apostles, not Schism, but Christian union.

M. You are true to your engagement; and perhaps equally true to your cause.

S. I am; still, I hope there will be no alienation in our feelings. But I am concerned about this charge of schism, which you prefer against the advocates of strict communion.

M. Certainly, it appears to me, that, in formally and systematically separating yourselves from other Christians, you are chargeable with schism, with dividing the body of Christ.

S. But, as I intimated at the close of our last conversation, the schismatics are those who separate from churches formed on the Christian model. Undoubtedly, if Pædobaptist churches are constituted on the principles prescribed by Christ, and exemplified by the apostles, then we are most unequivocally, schismatics; you, my friend, no less than ourselves; inasmuch as you voluntarily united yourself, not to a Pædobaptist, but to a Baptist church. Or, if mixed communion churches are thus sanctioned, then we and our Pædobaptist brethren must unite in humble confession. But if, as is in my opinion demonstrable, Strict Baptist churches are the only churches whose constitution and practice agree with the rule of church-fellowship prescribed by Christ, and strictly obeyed and enjoined by his apostles; then, to whomsoever the charge is applicable, we cannot, by the utmost ingenuity, be convicted of this heinous sin. This reply, I humbly conceive, is of itself sufficient to repel the charge: but I shall be glad to hear any thing you may please to advance, in support of your allegation.

M. Thank you, my friend. You must admit, that "a schism in the mystical body of Christ is deprecated as the greatest evil, and whatever tends to promote it, is subjected to the severest reprobation." Now I beseech you, by the name of the Lord Jesus, (is the language of St. Paul,) that

ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. For it has been declared unto me by them who are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"—*Reasons*, 24. H. 293.

S. Undoubtedly, my dear friend, I must admit, not only that schism is an enormous evil, but also that the apostle, in the passage you have quoted, deprecates it in terms of "the severest reprobation." But what then? This does not fix the sin on us! Of all the texts you could possibly have selected for your purpose, this, it appears to me, is decidedly the most unfortunate; being most unequivocally opposed to the system for which you contend. Assuredly, the apostle exhorts the Corinthians, (and the exhortation is, we presume, equally applicable to every church,) that the members should all "speak the same thing;" that there should be "no divisions;" that they should be "perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment." But this, my friend, is an exhortation, to a compliance with which, your mixed churches cannot, by any possibility, make the slightest pretensions. The exhortation (as far as it extends,) may be obeyed by a Pædobaptist church, and by a Baptist church; but it is an injunction of which a mixed church is, in its very constitution, and of rigid necessity, a palpable violation: nor, in the whole range of scripture, are we presented with a more explicit and unequivocal interdict of those diversified communities. The only question necessary to be decided, lies between us and our Pædobaptist brethren: but whatever be the result, your churches can have neither part nor lot in the matter. The question for decision is, In what were the Corinthians to be of one mind? were they all to maintain mistaken, or correct sentiments? What were they all to speak? the mind of Christ, or human traditions? What judgment were they all to entertain? that which was uniformly dictated by the oracles of truth, or that which has no foundation in scripture

And if a Friend apply for admission as a church member, who denies the perpetuity of both the sacraments, you must admit him: his not receiving the Lord's supper must not be any obstacle to church-fellowship, any more than his not being baptized—he is conscientious.

And if a Sabbatarian apply for admission to the celebration of the Lord's supper only, though all the remainder of the day, and on all other Lord's-days, he follow his worldly calling, or his innocent amusements, you must receive him—he is conscientious.

In fine, if any professed Christian apply for admission into your churches, whatever he may practise, or what-

ever he may neglect, so that he be sincere, you must receive him.

Seeing, therefore, that none of these diversified Christians impose upon you any of their erroneous practices; and seeing that, whatever differences exist between you, you are of one mind with them all in that identical particular in which they request to unite with you, you must receive them all—they are all conscientious.

† This to continue in force, until some "genius of the age," still more remote from the letter of the ancient precedent, may render it expedient to procure a new and more liberal dispensation,

or reason? Most assuredly, they were not to call any mere man, Master; whether Paul, or Cephas, or Apollos; but they were to call Christ, Master, who had been crucified for them, and in whose name they had all been baptized. So far, then, from the passage under consideration militating against us, it is the very passage, of all others, which we should select, as containing the most unequivocal sanction of Baptist churches, and the most positive interdict of churches on the mixed principle. The apostle exhorts the church at Corinth to be of one mind, and that undoubtedly the mind of Christ: but mixed churches are, by special agreement, of two minds respecting the very first duty which Christ enjoins on his disciples; and, under pretence of promoting a unity of feeling, (than which, after all nothing can be more precarious,) you establish a "division" at the very entrance, one company entering in by the front-door of Christ's appointing, the others, by a private, side-entrance, of human invention. Nor is this all. Other "divisions" follow in the train. Unless both parties agree to compromise their peculiar principles, each studiously avoiding the inculcation of that, which, if he be sincere, he considers a Christian precept, your churches, like the church at Corinth, will be the scene of contentions and internal schisms. One will say, I am a Baptist: another, I am a Pædobaptist: a third, I am for neither: a fourth, I am for either; or, to secure the smiles of both "God and Mammon," *I am for both!* The additions to the church, too, instead of exciting one general feeling of satisfaction and delight, will create jealousies, as the numbers of either party may happen to preponderate. Thus you would systematically and unscripturally divide at the very entrance, and be perpetually exposed to internal jealousies, discords, and schism. It will be of no avail to reply, that the common bond of love to Christ will prevent the exercise of these party feelings. That it should, and that it would, are two very distinct propositions. Every attentive observer of human nature is aware that men are much more sensitive to that which divides them, than to that which unites them. But I am unwilling to concede, that the bond of love to Christ either would or should render it a matter of indifference to Christians, whether obedience to a command of Christ or the practice of a human invention, shall prevail in the church. In my humble opinion, obedience to a Christian ordinance, and the practice of a worldly ceremony, ought not to coalesce. Baptism is an ordinance of Christ; but Pædobaptism, yourself being judge, my friend, is not an ordinance of Christ, but a human tradition;

worldly in its origin, worldly in its subjects, and worldly in its tendency. Now, these opposite institutions ought never to coalesce: they ought never to be performed in the same community. It will be of no avail to reply, that your Pædobaptist members do not impose upon you the observance of their ceremony, while the church, as a body, recognizes and practises two baptisms. You are responsible, not only as an isolated individual, but as a member of a community. As one of the church, you are accountable for the customs of the church; and though individually you do not practise Pædobaptism, yet if you suffer it in your church, you are exposed to the rebuke of Him who reproved the church at Thyatira, not for an open and avowed participation of false doctrine, but for tacitly suffering it in their community. It is worthy of remark also, that while the church at Pergamos were commended because they held fast the name and faith of Christ, they were censured for having among them those who held fast false doctrine. A Christian should neither adopt, nor suffer in the church of which he is a member, the substitution of what he believes to be a human invention for a command of Jesus Christ. And, unless both parties consent to preserve an unworthy, an unchristian silence on the very first personal obligation of a believer, your mixed churches, instead of presenting an antidote, would be fruitful sources of the most baneful schism; not only a schism in practice, but an incurable alienation of affection; a violation, equally, of "the unity of the Spirit," and of "the bond of peace."

M. But allow me just to ask two questions. "First, are our Pædobaptist brethren a part of the mystical body of Christ? or, in other words, Do they form a portion of that church which he has purchased by his precious blood? You are loud in your professions of esteem for pious Pædobaptists, nor is there any thing you would more resent than a doubt of your sincerity in that particular. The persons whom you exclude from your communion are, then, by your own confession, a part of the flock of Christ, a portion of his mystical body, and of that church which he has bought with his blood. The next question is, Whether a formal separation from them, on the account of their imputed error, amounts to what the scripture styles schism? Supposing one part of the church at Corinth had formally severed themselves from the other, and established a separate communion, allowing those whom they had forsaken, at the same time, the title of sincere Christians, would this have been considered as a schism? That it would, is demonstrable from the language of St.

Paul, who accuses the Corinthians of having schism *σχίσμα* among them, though they never dreamed of forming a distinct and separate communion. If they are charged with schism, on account of that spirit of contention, and that alienation of their affections from each other, which merely tended to an open rupture, how much more would they have incurred that censure, had they actually proceeded to that extremity. If there is any meaning in terms, this is schism in its highest sense."

—*Reasons*, 25, 26. H. 293.

S. That an open rupture is a schism is certain; but it does not follow that we are the schismatics. Suppose the church at Corinth had proceeded to an open separation, who would have sustained that odium? The party who observed, or the party who abandoned the regulations prescribed by the Christian Legislator? It is very far from grateful to my feelings, even by implication, to fix the charge of schism on any of my brethren, who, though decidedly erroneous, are sincere and conscientious. But on what principles we can be convicted of this heinous sin, I am totally at a loss to conceive. If those who strictly adhere to the order of their Lord's commission, notwithstanding the Christian character of their opponents, are chargeable with schism, then you are schismatics for insisting on the prescribed order of faith and baptism: if, on the contrary, such an adherence to the order of the commission does not convict you of schism, how can a similar adherence to the same commission, in relation to the equally "prescribed" order of baptism and church-fellowship, constitute us schismatics? You require such a confession of faith as you believe is scriptural before you will admit any one to baptism. We, on the same principle, require such baptism as we believe is scriptural, before we receive any one to church-fellowship. With a few modern exceptions, all Pædobaptists, whether Independents, or Presbyterians, or Episcopalians, do the same. Consequently, if this be schism, great is the company of the schismatics; the only "little flock," who can walk erect, and, with a bold front, and a firm step, and an unflinching accent, declare, in the hearing of all Christendom, that they are not schismatics—being a modern sect, of Mixed Communion Pædobaptists; a party who, with perfect consistency, deviate from the order of their Lord's commission *in toto*, baptizing without faith, and receiving members to church-fellowship without baptism! They and the Strict Baptists, of course, occupy extreme positions; while between us, moving hither and thither, in busy succession, are seen a diversified crowd, constituting two distinct bodies;

Mixed Communion Baptists, and Strict Communion Pædobaptists, each with his party banners. Both these parties are alternately here and there, with us and with our opponents, for each and against each, accusing both and defending both. Parading up and down, exulting in their *union*, yet disagreeing entirely with each other and dividing the Christian commission between them, (what a schism!) both prove that we are right, while both tacitly imply that they think our opponents right. Whenever we baptize, one party defends us with the first half of the commission, while the others are with our opponents—of course without that sanction: no sooner, however, are we engaged in church-fellowship, than away start our Mixed Baptist friends to the opposite side of the camp—without the commission, of course; while their places are supplied by the Strict Communion Pædobaptists, with the other half of that important document.* Now, my friend, we are not satisfied with these flying, transient visits: we wish for a permanent union with all of you, on the principles of our Lord's commission. Whether, however, the Strict Communion Baptists, or the Mixed Communion Pædobaptists, are the schismatics, is a question between them and us. But whichever shall be convicted of schism, your case is deplorable indeed. For if either are schismatics, it inevitably follows, *so are you*. For example: Are they schismatics for abandoning the "natural and prescribed order" of faith and baptism and church-fellowship, then you are guilty of schism; for you also abandon this natural and prescribed order in relation to baptism and church-fellowship. Or, are we schismatics for maintaining "the natural and prescribed order" of faith and baptism and church-fellowship, still you are guilty of schism; for you likewise maintain this natural and prescribed order in relation to faith and baptism. Consequently, whether a strict adherence, as Christian churches,

* *Barter*. "What man dare go in a way which hath neither precept nor example to warrant it, from a way that hath a full current of both? Yet they that will admit members into the visible church without baptism do so."—*Plain Scripture Proof*, 24.

Wadl. "No church ever gave the communion to any persons before they were baptized. Among all the absurdities that ever were held, none ever maintained that, that any person should partake of the communion before he was baptized."—*History of Infant Baptism*. Part ii. Chap. ix.

Doddridge. "It is certain, that as far as our knowledge of primitive antiquity reaches, no unbaptized person received the Lord's supper. How excellent soever any man's character is, he must be baptized before he can be looked upon as completely a member of the church of Christ."—*Lectures*, 511, 512.

Dwight. "It is an indispensable qualification for this ordinance, (the Lord's supper,) that the candidate for communion be a member of the visible church of Christ, in full standing. By this I intend, that he should be a person of piety; that he should have made a public profession of religion; and that he should have been baptized."—*System of Theology*, Serm. 160.

to the order of the Christian commission. or a *two-fold inversion* of that order be schism, you are unquestionably involved; and how you are to extricate yourself from this dilemma, except by adhering to the order of the commission throughout, I am at a loss to conceive. But to return to ourselves, (for I had almost forgotten that we were on trial!) you misrepresent us, my friend. We wish to receive our Christian brethren to church-fellowship; we should rejoice to receive them all; we never reject any who are willing to enter by that porch in the front of the church which Christ erected for that purpose: we set this divinely appointed door wide open (thus showing our attachment to open, though not to mixed communion!) and we proclaim audibly and distinctly, "Ho! ye believers in our Lord Jesus Christ, desiring a participation in the provisions of his table, come and welcome! This is the way of his appointing; the gate of the Lord; at which all the righteous may enter. Who can forbid water, that you should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? Come in, ye blessed of the Lord, wherefore do ye stand without?" Now, my friend, if, after such a full and free and scriptural invitation as this, they turn away, intimating that they do not think it essential they should enter in that way, they are the separatists, not we. What can we do? We did not erect the porch. Christ erected it; and we have not received any orders, either to pull it down, or to block it up; nor have we been furnished with instructions to leave this scriptural, Grecian porch open, for the use of one class of Christians only, and to make a breach, a schism in the building, to accommodate other Christians with a side entrance of Roman architecture. The question is, Shall we venture on such a schism without instructions? You may. *We never will.* If a separation on these grounds be schism, still the odium and criminality of this heinous sin cannot attach to us; since we are desirous of a scriptural union with "all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." But such a union as you propose, would be a combination of the members against the Head! a schism of the most appalling description. Nor would such a combination be likely to promote harmony among the members. As we have already observed, such a union, unless, indeed, both parties agree to treat a positive command of Jesus Christ as a matter of indifference, must, of rigid necessity, promote the identical schisms against which the Apostle directs his censure, internal schisms, contentions, jealousies, and mutual recriminations. A formal separation, if it be schism, is not such a schism: it is perfectly compatible

with Christian love, and Christian union in those Christian pursuits which are not peculiar to church-fellowship; and for which, therefore, baptism is not a prerequisite. But to decline to form a church-union on principles not authorized by the New Testament is not schism; and a Baptist is the last person in the world, who should criminate his brother for such a separation.

M. But "it deserves your serious consideration, that you are contending for that schism in the body of Christ, against which he so fervently prayed, so anxiously guarded, and which his apostles represent as its greatest calamity and reproach. 'The glory,' said our Lord, 'which thou hast given me, I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me.' Here it cannot be doubted that our Pædobaptist brethren are comprehended in this prayer, because our Lord declares it was preferred, not merely for the disciples then existing, but for those also who should hereafter believe through their word, adding, 'that they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.' In these words, we find him praying for a visible union among his disciples; such a union as the world might easily perceive: and this he entreats in behalf of them all, that they all may be one. The advocates of strict communion plead for a visible disunion."—*Reasons*, 18. H. 995.

S. And perhaps it will appear that they plead for a visible union too; not, however, *such* a visible union as our Lord did *not* pray for: but such a visible union as he evidently did pray might subsist among all his disciples; a visible union in observing his will, and extending the boundaries of his kingdom. That our Lord's intercession included all true Christians, in every age of the church is freely admitted; and that he prayed that they might *all be one*, is equally certain. But allow me to ask, my friend, In what was this oneness to consist? Evidently, judging from the context, one bond of this union was to be the *truth*. "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is *truth*. For their sakes also I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth." A union, therefore, which *systematically* comprises any part of the truth, cannot be included in our Lord's intercession. It is a manifest absurdity, to suppose that our Lord should appoint baptism in his name as the very first personal duty of all his disciples, and yet pray that they should form a church union, in which it should be *stipulated*, that of *some* disciples

obedience to this command should not be required! Of whatever kind was the union for which Christ prayed, it could not possibly be such a union as that for which *you* contend; since baptism is demonstrably the first personal obligation of *all* who are included in the prayer. The command is as extensive as the intercession. Did the prayer include all believers in every age of the church? So does the command. And every attempt to promote the object of the former at the expense of the latter, is, at the best, equivocal obedience, and a systematic dereliction from one part of Christian duty. Again, if we take into consideration the *model* of this union, it will be evident that a mixed communion church, as such, cannot possibly be an exemplification. Our Lord prayed that all believers might be one, *as he and the Father were one*. Now, in what particulars, applicable to believers, were Christ and the Father one? If we examine only the context, taking the prayer as a whole, we shall find that, whatever unity besides was intended, the Father and the Son were of one mind in a certain particular, concerning which the members of a mixed communion church systematically agree that such a unity is unnecessary; they were of one mind respecting the *commands* which Christ delivered to his disciples. "Now," said our Lord, addressing his Father, in allusion to his disciples, "they have known that all things whatsoever thou hast given me are of thee. For *I have given unto them the words which thou gavest unto me*; and they have received them. I have given them thy word." Here it is evident, Christ and the Father were of one mind respecting the *Christian commands*; and this is one part of the model of that union which our Lord prayed might subsist among *all* his disciples. On the contrary, mixed communion churches, as such, are theoretically, practically, and by special agreement, of *two* minds, respecting the very first command which Christ requires his disciples to obey. Christ also assured his disciples, "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted, shall be rooted up." Now, on your own confession, Pædobaptism is a plant which our heavenly Father has not planted. But, instead of adopting all scriptural expedients for rooting it up, Mixed Baptists nurse it, and cherish its growth, transplanting it into their own soil; and by displacing the plant which our heavenly Father *has* planted, perpetuate the unscriptural exotic. Christ, in praying that his disciples might be one as he and his Father were one, prayed for a union in *honoring* his commands; you plead for a union, the distinguishing feature of which is a *covenant*, that obedience to the first command enjoined on a believer shall not be required!

It is true, you profess to be of opinion that Pædobaptism *ought* to be rooted up; but, with strange inconsistency, you introduce into your churches, persons, who, however estimable their characters, *feel a deep interest in its growth*! And, as members of the same church, possessed of the same rights and privileges, it is absurd to plead that, because you do not individually practise pædobaptism, therefore you are not actively concerned in its promotion; while it is evident to every one but yourselves, that *as a church*, you do practise it; and for the practice of the church, every member is accountable. You may say you only tolerate it; but nothing can be more futile. While you are the majority, you directly sanction it by your votes in its favor; when you become the minority, in addition to this sanction, you will form a constituent portion of a community, the major part of which pleads for it, and promotes it by individual practice. And having once admitted your Pædobaptist friends, you have empowered them to demand, as a right, that the church of which they and you are equally members, shall practise, and formally agree to continue in practice, *two baptisms*; an innovation, inferior in importance only to the introduction of two Lord's and two gospels, "*One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism*," ought to be inscribed in legible characters, in the most conspicuous place in every Christian church. Christ prayed that all his disciples might be one, as he and his Father were one. But Christ commanded all believers to be baptized, appointing this ordinance as the mode in which they should profess their faith in him, and enjoining on Christian ministers to require, 1. Faith. 2. Baptism, 3. Church-fellowship. This command, in common with all others, he received of the Father. And further, the Holy Spirit so enlightened the minds of the apostles that they could not misunderstand it, and inspired the sacred penmen to record it in connection with its practical exemplification, for the guidance of all believers, in every succeeding age. Here, then, is a command, concerning which the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are of one mind; but respecting which your mixed churches agree to be of two minds, and to adopt two practices! In whatever, therefore, consists the union for which Christ prayed, on behalf of his disciples, he could not, by any possibility, have intended a union of Baptists and Pædobaptists in mixed church-fellowship. But we should hail, with sincere delight, such a union as that for which Christ evidently did pray; a union, the bond of which should be love to God, and love to Him who "loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, by the washing of water,

through the word ; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." But such a union, while it undoubtedly includes Christian affection towards "all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," must of necessity be a union in keeping the commands of Christ ; a union in promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, by personal obedience to his laws, and by a systematic inculcation of them on all who would unite with us in church-fellowship.

The first relative duty of every Christian, whether he be a member of a church or not, is undoubtedly, (as he possesses ability and opportunity,) to tell the glad tidings of salvation to his fellow men. In this Christian duty, which is not peculiar to a church relation, Baptists and Pædobaptists can consistently unite. Here we are of one mind, one heart, and one soul ; our principles are one, our directory is one, our practice is one, our aim is one. The love of Christ constrains us both ; both are borne away by its impelling influence. Here, then, we occupy common ground : there is a oneness of feeling, of interest, and object. Here we are emphatically one. But there is another duty, which, if not equally important, is equally imperative with that of publishing the gospel, and which, in the New Testament, immediately follows, and never precedes, the belief of the gospel, Christian baptism ; a duty which all believers should not only personally obey, but inculcate on those believers who have not obeyed it. But Baptists and Pædobaptists are of two minds respecting this ordinance ; the latter, indeed, (with a few modern exceptions,) agreeing with us, that baptism is the appointed mode of entrance into visible church-fellowship, but opposed to us both, respecting its subjects and mode of administration. In church-fellowship, then Baptists and Pædobaptists cannot consistently unite. Here they cannot be one ; for, whichever is right, one party obeys the command, and the other does not obey it ; and, by consequence, one party inculcates Christian obedience, and the other inculcates a deviation from the Christian law. Here, then, we divide, and here we *must* divide, each acting agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience. While Pædobaptists persist, for whatever reason, in declining a compliance with what we believe to be Christian baptism, our union with them in church-fellowship would be an anomaly equally opposed to reason, to their own sentiments, and to Christian principle : a union which cannot plead the least shadow of scriptural authority. What *is* Christian church-fellowship, but a union in keeping the Christian ordinances as they were delivered ? But a mixed church, so far from exemplifying such a union, is a

fellowship established on a solemn compact, the leading article of which is, that a compliance with the very first personal obligation of every believer shall not be enforced ; a special agreement that its members shall not be required to comply with their Lord's commission, in the matter or the order of it ; but that some members shall be at liberty to deviate from either or both ! Christian union commends itself to the heart of every Christian : but let us be disunited to the end of time, rather than form an unscriptural alliance. If our Pædobaptist brethren cannot see it their duty to be baptized, rather than compromise the principle, which they, for the most part, equally with the Strict Baptists, profess to derive from the New Testament, that baptism is essential to church-fellowship, let us form our churches, each on the plan which he believes to be the mind of Christ ; and unite with each other in every Christian feeling, and in every Christian pursuit, to which baptism has not a special relation. In my humble opinion, this will be a much happier exemplification of *Christian Communion*, and of the union which our Lord prayed might subsist among all his disciples, than a connection which, on the part of the Baptists at least, involves the occasional sacrifice of a Christian ordinance.

M. Still you plead for "a visible *disunion* ; nor will it avail you to reply, that you cultivate a fraternal affection towards Christians of other denominations, while you insist on such a visible separation, as must make it apparent to the world that they are *not one*. Internal sentiments of esteem cognizable only by the searcher of hearts ; external indications are all that the world has to judge by ; and so far are you from exhibiting these, that you value yourselves in maintaining such a position towards your fellow Christians, as confounds them, in a very important point, with infidels and heathens. What degree of criminality may attach to such a procedure it is not for me to determine ; but I have no hesitation in affirming, that it is most abhorrent from the intention of the Head of the church, and miserably compensated by that more correct view of the ordinance of baptism which is alleged in its support. 'Charity is the end of the commandment,' 'the fulfilling of the law ;' and since the religion of Christ is not ceremonial, but vital, and consists less in correct opinions, and ritual observances, than to those graces of the Spirit which are the 'hidden man of the heart,' it deserves serious consideration, whether so palpable a violation of the unity of the church, is not more offensive in the eyes of Him who 'tries the hearts and the reins,' than an involuntary mistake of a ceremonial precept."—*Reasons*, 29, 30. *H.* 225.

S. My dear friend, this is a serious charge. That we plead for a separation, is true; but *why*? If you imagine that we do not sincerely deplore this separation, you do us an injustice. It is not a schism for which we are accountable; nor can we prevent it, except by a deliberate abandonment of the principles of church-fellowship confessedly prescribed by Christ and his apostles. A *necessity* is laid upon us, by the sentiments of our brethren; and being driven to the choice of one of two evils, we conscientiously choose that which appears to be the least. We love our brethren; but we do not, and we hope we never shall, so love even the best of Christians, as to deviate from our own views of the Christian commission in deference to theirs. Assuredly, this is not that "charity, which is the fulfilling of the law," but a charity in deviation from the law. "By this we know that we love the children of God," said the most affectionate of all the apostles, "when we love God and keep his commandments." This is a principle, my friend, which you would not for a moment hesitate to apply to individual obedience. We, in addition, extend it to the obedience of our churches, as such. We are no advocates for a succedaneous love; a species of charity no where delineated or commended in the New Testament. Nor will the most attentive perusal of that inspired volume present us with a solitary instance of that undervaluation of Christian baptism which forms so prominent a feature in the argument for mixed communion. Assuredly, "graces of the Spirit," were never intended to be placed in opposition to the ritual institutions of Jesus Christ. But if Christian baptism is to be depreciated and lightly esteemed, on what principle are we to account for the profound reverence which is manifested by all our brethren for the Lord's supper? How is that that "*ceremonial precept*" is never despised and undervalued? and instead of being celebrated as it deserves with the most affectionate veneration, virtually stigmatized as a "petty speculation, and minute opinion?" Does universal suffrage confer a dignity on one "ritual observance;" and is another "ceremonial precept" rendered unimportant, simply because it is unpopular? On this principle, the Christian religion, as a whole, being decidedly the most unpopular of any, must be least dignified. Who authorized you, my friend, to observe such a marked difference in your treatment of two "ceremonial precepts," enjoined by the same Lord in a certain order, on precisely the same persons? What is there, we should be glad to know, in the whole of the New Testament, to justify such an invidious distinction? The Christian rituals are not rivals: both emanate from the same glorious Lord, are invested with the same divine authority, and equally demand the devout homage of every Christian, and of every Christian church. But even if a strict adherence to the order of our Lord's commission were as the tithing of "anise, and mint, and cummin," (which it were impiety to suppose;) if a cordial submission to Christian baptism were but as a single grain in the scale of Christian obedience, (as has been gravely asserted!) still the observance of the moral precepts can never sanction the neglect of those which are ritual, and which, whatever may be their relative importance, are equally imperative, both having emanated from the same Supreme Legislator. "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." The Jews were not reproved for a strict adherence to ceremonial precepts, but for neglecting the weightier matters of the law; and if our attention to the Christian rites, or to either of them, were a succedaneum for Christian love, there would be some pertinence in your rebuke: at present there is none. What right, we should like to know, have Mixed Baptists to assume that *they* are the only Baptists who "cultivate a fraternal affection towards Christians of other denominations?" Is a union with Pædobaptists in one Christian ordinance a more certain indication of love, than an equally cordial union with them in every Christian exercise not peculiar to external church-fellowship? Or is that one association so exclusively lovely and splendid, as to obscure and extinguish the character of every other Christian association? So then, a union in prayer, and praise, and preaching the gospel, and the various exercises of Christian benevolence in which we do coalesce with our Pædobaptist brethren, is *nothing*; and a joint participation of one Christian ordinance, in which, for certain conscientious reasons, we are not a party, is every thing; the *all in all*; the one omnivorous, all absorbing indication of Christian love! We do not need to be told, that every thing, unaccompanied with love, is nothing. We are fully convinced that love is the cardinal grace: but then who authorized the assumption that mixed communion is love, and that, in the New Testament, love means *Mixed Communion*? Or where is it asserted, that the joint participation of the Lord's supper is to constitute the *test* of Christian charity? especially, such a union at the Lord's table, as is confessedly (though in your opinion, justifiable!) an infringement on the regulations prescribed by "the Governor of the feast," in his last commission? Surely, my friend, this is a *new Test Act*; and strange to tell, *enacted by a Protestant Dissenter of the nineteenth century*! Now, just consider for a moment, *the consequence* of making our union with

Pædobaptists at the Lord's table *the test* of our Christian regard towards them; and I am persuaded, your benevolent mind will abandon the position for ever. On this principle, it follows, of necessity, that the Strict Baptists (let the *fact* be as it may,) are to be considered as destitute of Christian love:—Therefore they are to be considered as having no title to the comfortable persuasion that they have “passed from death unto life:” for *hereby* “we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.” Nay, it becomes a matter for grave consideration with the church, whether these *strict* adherents to the order of our Lord's commission *have* “received the grace of life;” for “he that loveth not his brother, abideth in death.” And is it not very presumptuous in Pædobaptists to repose in unsuspicious security while their persons are accessible to these enemies of mixed communion? for “whoso hateth his brother is a *murderer!*” and — Nay, in pity, stop; peradventure they may have repentance; and by yielding to a *lovely* deviation from their Lord's commission, be acknowledged as exhibiting “the movements and expressions of charity,” and be released from the painful suspicion, for want of evidence to the contrary, of being murderers, destitute of spiritual life, and exposed to eternal death.* Now, my friend, I cannot for a moment suppose that you believe we are destitute of Christian love to our Pædobaptist brethren, and therefore obnoxious to these tremendous consequences. Then why, by perpetually exhibiting strict

* If the practice of our opponents *were*, as is represented, the essence of Christian charity, what an important service might be rendered, in the event of a new translation, by the substitution of the term *mixed communion*, for the words *love* and *charity*, in all those texts in which the expressions relate to the exhibition of this grace towards our fellow Christians. Not that these terms are considered *precisely synonymous*; for though the Strict Baptists cannot obtain credit for “exhibiting external indications of esteem towards Pædobaptists,” the existence of sort of *latent* love in their breasts, is not, we believe, in every case, absolutely denied. As a *synecdoche*, the alteration must be very imposing, and “in perfect accordance with the genius of Oriental speech, which, in the exhibition of a complex object, is wont to represent it only by its boldest and most impressive feature.”—The following may serve as a specimen:

Now abideth faith, hope, *mixed communion*, these three: but the greatest of these is *mixed communion*.

Put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another. And above all these things, put on *mixed communion*, which is the bond of perfection.

Neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by *mixed communion*.

It might be still more desirable, with respect to the last of those passages, to convince the new Translators of the propriety of deviating from the letter of the original, in favor of its supposed *spirit*, by the substitution of *baptism for circumcision*; and of *no baptism*, for *uncircumcision*. With these trifling corrections, the argument would be complete, and this unhappy controversy would be laid to rest for ever. No Strict Baptist, however bigoted, could withstand such irrefragable evidence; and all Christians might form one glorious communion, having *one Lord, many faiths, and no baptism!*

communion as indicating the absence of that grace, convey such a hateful insinuation? How studiously, and industriously, and successfully, this false imputation must have been circulated by some of our “public teachers,” (from whom, Mr. Hall assures us, almost every error is derived!) is evident, from the circumstance, that among our liberal opponents, a Strict Baptist, and a strait-laced bigot, are, very generally, convertible terms! My dear friend, however charitable you may feel, towards Christians of other denominations, you have no right to misrepresent the Strict Baptists. If you have expended all your candor, pray bestow upon us a scantling of justice. To bring us into disrepute you tell the world that Strict Baptists exhibit “no internal indications of esteem towards Christians of other denominations.” But this is not true. And for proof of my assertion, I appeal to our mutual friend, Mr. Hall. It is not long since, adopting his language, you charged us with inconsistency for *doing* that, which you now accuse us of not doing! for acting towards other Christians, in every particular except church-fellowship, precisely as you do. But that acknowledgment, or rather that *accusation*, (for our very virtues are represented as a stigma and a reproach!) that we do act, in every other particular, just as you act, and do not withhold from them other tokens of fraternal regard, is utterly irreconcilable with the charge you now prefer; viz.: that, “so far from exhibiting external indications of esteem, we value ourselves in maintaining such a position towards our fellow Christians as confounds them, in a very important point, with infidels and heathens.” It will not avail to reply, in mitigation of the severity of this charge, that you alluded merely to communion at the Lord's table: because you have alleged this single restriction as the very proof that we do not exhibit towards Pædobaptists *any* external indications of esteem. But one of these accusations must be withdrawn: it is impossible in the nature of things, that both should be true; one of them must be a fiction, not to say a calumny. You tell us, in the first place, in agreement with Mr. Hall, how inconsistent we are, in *not* withholding from Pædobaptists every token of fraternal regard. Well, we admit the fact, and have endeavored to repel the alleged inconsistency. But it is too much, after this, to turn round and tell us, in the next place, that we *do* withhold those tokens of fraternal regard; or, in other words, that we *do not* exhibit external indications of esteem towards Christians of other denominations! My friend, we admit the first accusation, and repel the supposed inconsistency. But we deny the last, and challenge you to the proof. What! is there

no external "Christian communion," but at the Lord's table? Undoubtedly there is. But as you may hesitate to receive my opinion, just be so kind as once more to consult our good friend Mr. Hall; and you will instantly discover, that in this particular we are precisely of one opinion. "Nothing is more certain," says that great writer, [*Reasons*, 35, 36. *H.* 298.] "than that the communion of saints is by no means confined to one particular occasion, or limited to one transaction, such as that of assembling around the Lord's table: it extends to *all* the modes by which believers recognize each other, as the members of a common head. Every expression of fraternal regard, every participation in the enjoyments of social worship, every instance of the unity of the Spirit exerted in prayer and supplication, or in acts of Christian sympathy and friendship, as truly belongs to the communion of saints, as the celebration of the Eucharist." And, however you may be disposed, he avows his conviction, that in all these particulars but one, we act just as you do. I hope, therefore, in future, you will study your author to better purpose, than again to accuse us of *not* doing that, for *doing* which, while we decline to ascend the last step of his ladder of perfect love, Mr. Hall reproaches us with inconsistency. I do not expect you to agree with me; but do for your own credit, agree with your friend.

M. Well, well; I did not mean to disagree with Mr. Hall, I assure you! I suppose I must have forgotten what he said. But, as I perceive now, that he has given you credit for acting towards Christians of other denominations just as we do, except in one particular, I will not again accuse you of not exhibiting towards them external indications of esteem. But allow me once more to recur to the vain boast of the Strict Baptists, of a scrupulous adherence to the example of the apostles.

"Say, did the apostles refuse the communion of good men? Did they set the example of dividing them into two classes, a qualified and a disqualified class; and while they acknowledge the latter were objects of the divine favor, equally with themselves, enjoin on their converts the duty of disowning them at the Lord's table? Are any traces to be discovered in the New Testament, of a society of *Purists*, who, under the pretence of superior illumination on one subject, kept themselves aloof from the Christian world, excluding from their communion myriads of those whom they believed to be heirs of salvation? Did they narrow their views of church-fellowship, for the purpose of holding up to view one neglected truth? The direct tendency of such a principle is not merely to annihilate the unity of the church, but to contract the heart, to narrow

the understanding, and in the room of 'holding forth the word of life,' to invest every petty speculation, and minute opinion, with the dignity of a fundamental truth."—*Reasons*, 30, 31. *H.* 296.

S. Gently, my friend, gently. You have no right, even by implication, to class a Christian precept with "petty speculations, and minute opinions." Does the Lord's supper also, as you celebrate it, occupy the same degraded position? I humbly conceive, that the least of the Christian commands is as imperative as the greatest. But who will have the hardihood to affirm that baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, is a *little* command? That a Christian community cannot be expected to maintain a uniformity of sentiment in "every petty speculation, and minute opinion," is freely admitted: but nothing is more clear, than that they can and ought to maintain a uniformity of both sentiment and practice, in relation to all the commands of Jesus Christ, of perpetual obligation. There may be speculations, respecting which uniformity may be unimportant; but to place a single command of Jesus Christ, of perpetual obligation on a level with these, indicates no high degree of reverence for his supreme authority. In reply to your string of questions relative to the apostolic church, you must allow me to ask a few previous questions. Did any good man ever *apply* to the apostles, to be received without Christian baptism? *Would he have been so received, if he had made the application?* Did two such classes of Christians as we are acquainted with, exist in the apostolic age? If they *had existed*, would the apostles have *deviated from their instructions?* Are there any traces in the New Testament of such *mixed* communities as yours, having one Lord, one faith, and *two baptisms?* some of the members being allowed to substitute a human invention for a Christian command, (*that* Christian command, too, which was enjoined as "the *prior* obligation!") thus making void the law of Christ, by their traditions? The direct tendency of such a system is, as we have already seen, to undermine the authority of Christ to destroy the unity which he prayed might subsist among his disciples, and, under the specious pretence of charity, to promote the most baneful and incurable *schisms*.

M. It is not pretended, certainly, that there were any churches, in the apostolic age, composed of Baptists and Pædobaptists, for a very obvious reason. But the principle on which we proceed, in the admission of our erroneous fellow Christians, is distinctly recognized by St. Paul. He did not require uniformity of sentiment and practice; but inculcated on the church at Rome, in a

spirit of the most enlarged catholicism, the toleration of their erroneous brethren: "Him that is weak in the faith, receive ye. For God hath received him." From hence we conclude, that we ought to receive all whom God has received: and as our Pædobaptist brethren are unquestionably of that number, their reception is as imperative as if they had been mentioned by name.

S. I am quite aware, my friend, that this is your strong position. And I can assure you I have not the slightest desire to evade any argument which you may please to advance. We will, then, if you please, make this the subject of our next Conversation.

M. We will: and if you are not then convinced of your error in rejecting pious Pædobaptists, I shall begin to think you are incorrigible.

S. Perhaps, my friend, we should not reject such as the apostles would have received. But we must not anticipate. When shall we meet again?

M. To-morrow evening, if you please: and recollect, I am quite prepared to receive you, my friend, weak in the faith as I think you are!

S. Receive me, indeed! And is that all? You must surely have forgotten your precedent! The Apostle enjoins not only that the strong should receive their weak brethren; but also, that rather than throw a stumbling-block in their way, they should even abandon their own practice! Now it is notorious, that this practice of yours, this mixed communion, has proved a great stumbling-block to some of your Baptist brethren. Under a momentary impulse of feeling, after many hesitations and doubts, they have at length been induced to yield to the fascinations and allurements of your mixed assemblies, contrary to the dictates of a cool and deliberate judgment, whereby their weak consciences have been wounded. You must, therefore, if you would make any pretensions to "walking charitably," extend your courtesy; stretch it out to the full length of your precedent; and not only receive us, but, in deference to our "weakness," *abandon* your favorite practice! Just be so kind as to think this over, my friend, before our next interview.

CONVERSATION VI.

A Reception to Church-fellowship, of all whom God has received, in obedience to the Christian Commission, but not in deviation from it, the Imperative duty of Christian Churches, notwithstanding a diversity of opinion and practice in relation to matters of indifference.

M. WELCOME, my friend! I have always

been glad to see you; but I am particularly pleased this evening. Our Conversations hitherto have not been very congenial with my feelings; and it is to me, I assure you, quite "refreshing," to turn from "the rigid and repulsive principles," which have at present engaged our attention, to the contemplation of "the generous maxims of the New Testament."

S. Then perhaps we may agree, to-night; for I assure you, my friend, I am quite as disposed to adhere to the "generous maxims" of the New Testament, as to what you designate our "rigid and repulsive principles." I am no advocate for dividing the scriptures between us, appropriating one set of texts to my own party, and the others to our opponents. I would not only say, with Chillingworth, "The Bible *alone* is the religion of Protestants;" but, The scriptures, even *all* the scriptures which are applicable, shall be the foundation of every part of my religious system. That creed or that practice which requires the rejection of *any* relevant part the word of God, in its *intended* application, must, I conceive, be indefensible. Now then, my friend, be so kind as to state these "generous" maxims of the New Testament, that we may ascertain whether, or not, they are opposed to what you are pleased to denominate our "rigid and repulsive" principles.

M. Besides innumerable inculcations of kindness and brotherly love, in their most amiable forms, there is one exhortation to which I would invite your particular attention. "We are expressly commanded in the scriptures, to tolerate in the church those diversities of opinion which are not inconsistent with salvation. We learn from the New Testament, that a diversity of views subsisted in the times of the apostles, betwixt the Jewish and Gentile converts especially, the former retaining an attachment to the ancient law, and conceiving the most essential parts of it to be still in force; the latter, from correcter views, rejecting it altogether. Some declined the use of certain kinds of meat forbidden by Moses, which others partook of without scruple: 'one man esteemed one day above another,' conscientiously observing the principal Jewish solemnities; 'another esteemed every day alike.' Instead of attempting to silence these differences, by interposing his authority, St. Paul enjoins mutual toleration. 'Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, not to doubtful disputations. For one believeth that he may eat all things; another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth: for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? unto his own master he standeth

or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up; for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' (Rom. xiv. 1—5.) To the same purpose are the following injunctions in the next chapter: 'We then that are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Now the God of peace and consolation grant you to be like-minded one towards another, according to Jesus Christ, that ye may with one mind and with one mouth, glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God.' (Rom. xv. 1, 5—7.) It cannot be denied, that these passages contain an apostolic canon for the regulation of the conduct of such Christians as agree in fundamentals, while they differ on points of subordinate importance; and by this canon they are commanded to exercise a reciprocal toleration and indulgence, and on no account to proceed to an open rupture. In order to determine how far these apostolic injunctions oblige us to tolerate the supposed error of our Pædobaptist brethren, we have merely to consider whether it necessarily excludes them from being of the number of those whom Christ has received to the glory of the Father, whether it be possible to hold it with Christian sincerity, and finally, whether its abettors will stand or fall in the eternal judgment. If these questions are answered in the way which Christian candor irresistibly suggests, and which your own judgment approves, they conclude in favor of the admission of Pædobaptists to communion, not less forcibly than if they had been mentioned by name; and all attempts to evade them, must prove futile and abortive. If it be asserted, on the contrary, that a mistake on the subject of baptism is not comprehended in the above description, the passages adduced must be acknowledged irrelevant, and the whole controversy assumes a new aspect."—*Terms*, 96. *H.* 65.

S. My dear friend, I have been listening to your observations with profound attention, and cordially approve of the toleration and forbearance enjoined by the Apostle. And though the *reception* here recommended could not be a reception to external church-fellowship, since both parties were already members: still, as they *were* members, and continued to sustain that relation, it appears to me, a fair inference, that, had they now, for the first time, applied for admission into the church at Rome, their points of difference would not have prevented their reception. But what then? Why simply this: That *similar* diversities are to be tolerated in our churches. This is the

ultimaum; and, consequently, the precedent is *totally inapplicable to the present controversy*. Do you seriously believe that the circumstances of the respective parties are *similar*?

M. I do. "The forbearance which the Apostle enjoins, was exercised towards a class of persons exactly in the same situation, as far as its principle is concerned, with the modern Pædobaptists; that is, towards persons who violated a precept which was still supposed to be in force."—*Reply*, 168. *H.* 229.

S. True—"supposed" to be in force! But, allow me to ask, my friend, Is the violation of a precept which, (allowing the utmost for which you plead,) was only supposed to be in force, but which, on your own confession, was not, at the time, *actually* in force, and which, if it *ever were* in force, was *never binding on the party accused of violating it*, to be placed on a level with the neglect of a Christian precept, which on your own confession, *is* in force, which *is* binding, and binding on *every* believer? The practice of the Gentile was, on your own showing, *correct*: it was perfectly *unexceptionable*: while the utmost that can be pretended of the scrupulosities of the Jew is, that they were *allowable*. Are you, then, prepared to affirm the former of *pædobaptism*, and the latter of the sacred rite to which *you* have attended? The Jew was the weak brother: The Gentile was strong. Are *you* weak? And are the *Pædobaptists* strong? If so, the controversy assumes a new aspect! If not, the situation of the parties, (as far as this view is concerned,) so far from being "*exactly similar*," is, in the very last degree, *dissimilar*.

M. But "it is not, be it remembered, by a peremptory decision of the controversy, or by assigning the victory to one in preference to the other, that the Apostle attempts to effect a reconciliation. He endeavors to bring it about while each retains his peculiar sentiments; from which it is manifest, that there was nothing in the views of either party, which in his judgment, formed a legitimate barrier to union. The attachment of the Jew to the observation of the legal ceremonies, was not, in his opinion, a sufficient reason for refusing to unite with him, by whom they were disregarded."—*Reply*, 168. *H.* 229.

S. Nor *was* it a sufficient reason. That the Apostle endeavored to reconcile *those* parties, while each retained his peculiarities, is undeniable; from which, as you justly observe, it is evident there was nothing in their views which formed a legitimate barrier to their union. But whether, from a similar conviction, he would, if presented with the opportunity, adopt a similar conduct,

in relation to *our* peculiarities, is quite another question. Be that as it may, you must allow me to dissent, *in toto*, from your preliminary observation. My friend, the Apostle *did* decide the controversy. He *did* say which was the weak brother: "Another, *who is weak*, eateth herbs." He clearly *justified* the Gentile converts, while he respected the conscientious scruples of his brethren in the flesh: "*I know and am persuaded*, (says he,) *that there is nothing unclean in itself*: but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean." A more "peremptory decision of the controversy," than this is scarcely conceivable. And even in exhorting the Gentiles not to throw a stumbling-block in the way of their weak brethren, he affirms that their practice is, in itself, *good*. "Let not your *good* be evil spoken of." Unquestionably, the Apostle recommended mutual toleration, while each party retained his peculiarity: but *why*? Plainly because the practice for which each party contended, was *discretionary*. Each party *might* retain his peculiarity; but the peculiarity which each party might retain, was *not binding*, either on himself, or on his brother. The indiscriminate participation of meat was not obligatory, either on the Gentile, or on the Jew; for it was not commanded: nor was a scrupulous abstinence imperative, either on the Jew, or on the Gentile; for it was not commanded. Both practices, if attended to conscientiously, and without a violation of the law of love, were clearly *allowable*, but as clearly *unimperative*. Show that this is true of baptism and pædobaptism, and the controversy will be decided. But who will venture to maintain, that the substitution of a worldly ceremony for a Christian ordinance is allowable in *any* Christian? or that Christian baptism is not enjoined on *all* believers? The other peculiarity to which you refer us, is subject to the same decision. One man esteemed "one day above another:" another esteemed "every day alike." Here also they are exhorted to mutual toleration. But *why*? Plainly, because, as in the former case, the peculiarity of each party, though *allowable* was *unimperative*. But who will presume to affirm this of *our* peculiarities? If the scriptures may be permitted to decide, pædobaptism is *neither imperative nor allowable*. They who "teach for doctrines the commandments of men," are expressly said to "make void the law of God" by their traditions. On the contrary, if we may form a judgment from the same infallible testimony, Christian baptism is *not only justifiable, but imperative*; and imperative, not on *one* class of Christians only, but on *all* penitent believers. The observance of days, and abstinence from meat,

though confessedly weaknesses, were clearly *allowable*. Will you affirm this of pædobaptism, and of the neglect of the Christian ordinance? The non-observance of days, and the participation of meat, though "good" were *unimperative*: and the latter was not only not to be required of the "*weak in the faith*," but was actually to be waived on the part of the *strong*, in deference to their weak brethren! But what Baptist would be so accommodating? And yet pædobaptism *must* be allowable, and Christian baptism *must* be unimperative, or the ancient and the modern controversies are in their principle, totally dissimilar.

M. But "neither of the ancient, nor of the modern error, is it pretended that they are fundamental, or that they endanger the salvation of those who hold them. Thus far they stand on the same footing, and the presumption is, that they ought to be treated in the same manner. Before we come to this conclusion, however, it behooves us to examine the *principle* on which the Apostle enjoins toleration, and if this is applicable in its full extent to the case of our Pædobaptist brethren, no room is left for doubt. The *principle* plainly is, that the error in question was not of such magnitude as to preclude him who maintained it from the favor of God. 'Let not him who eateth, despise him who eateth not; and let not him who eateth not, judge him who eateth; *for God hath received him*. Who art thou, that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up; *for God is able to make him stand*.' In the same manner, in the next chapter of the same Epistle, after reminding the strong that it is their duty to bear the infirmities of the weak, he adds, 'Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also hath received us to the glory of the Father. If such is the reason assigned for mutual toleration, and it is acknowledged to be a sufficient one, which none can deny without impeaching the inspiration of the writer, it is as conclusive respecting the obligation of tolerating every error which is consistent with a state of salvation, as if that error had been mentioned by name; and as few, if any, are to be met with, who doubt the piety of many Pædobaptists, it not only justifies their reception, but renders it an indispensable duty.'—*Reasons*, 32, 34. H. 296.

S. It is freely admitted, my friend, that your statement of the principle on which toleration was enjoined in the church at Rome, is, as far as it extends, correct; and if what you have advanced were the whole of the principle on which the Apostle proceeded, I do not see how your conclusion is to be resisted. But it is not. The principle is evidently compound, consisting of

three essential particulars. 1. God had received the parties. 2. They were conscientious. 3. Their peculiarities were not subversive of any existing divine law.* Now, the apparent weight of your argument arises from the partial representation you give of this three-fold principle. You select a part, and reason from that as if it were the whole! On the contrary, we contend for the recognition of the principle as a whole, and feel no disposition to evade the conclusion. Reduced to a simple proposition, the conclusion is neither more nor less than this: *Christian churches are to receive all whom God has received, who are conscientious and whose peculiarities are not subversive of any existing divine law.* But what then? Does this rule enjoin the reception of pious Pædobaptists? Let us examine. Has God received them? He has. Are they conscientious? They are. Is their peculiarity subversive of any existing divine law? In the opinion of every Baptist, it is. Consequently their reception into Baptist churches, would be, on the part of the receiving members, a deviation from the principle. Before the obligation of receiving Pædobaptists can be established from the precedent in the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the following syllogism must be conclusive reasoning:

The toleration enjoined on the church at Rome is binding on all Christian churches.

But the toleration enjoined on the church at Rome was a reception of those whom God had received, who were conscientious and whose peculiarities were not subversive of any existing divine law.

Therefore it is binding on all Christian churches to receive those whom God has received, who are conscientious, and whose peculiarities are subversive of an existing divine law.

But who does not perceive the sophistry of this; and that so far from exemplifying, it is a manifest departure from the precedent you exhibit for our imitation; and such a departure as the Apostle most pointedly deprecates? The fallacy lies in confounding things essentially different. Surely, it is one thing to tolerate in a Christian church a matter of indifference, and quite

another thing to tolerate the substitution of a human invention for a Christian ordinance. It is one thing to dispense with that uniformity which was not required in the primitive churches, and quite another thing to dispense with that which was required: one thing to abstain from making new terms of admission, and quite another thing to deviate from the old terms, of divine appointment, even though in both cases the parties be Christians. A profession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and submission to Christian baptism, were the terms of admission; and unless we are at liberty to deviate from this divine appointment, the profession of whatever is essential to saving faith, and submission to whatever is essential to Christian baptism, must be terms of admission still. The ancient diversities, my friend, were not subversive of any existing law, there not being any such law to which they could be referred. But the modern diversities are referable to a law, a Christian law; a law of perpetual obligation, which law is obeyed by one party, and subverted by the other. The diversities, therefore, bear no analogy. But not only is your mode of reasoning illogical, it is equally unscriptural. As if on purpose to prevent the identical perversion with which you are chargeable, the Apostle, in the very context, expressly distinguishes the diversities then practised, from the righteousness pertaining to the kingdom of God. "The kingdom of God, (says he,) is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." And to the same purpose, even in relation to what had formerly been imperative, he addresses the church at Corinth: "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping the commands of God." What is this, my friend, but pointedly and studiously exposing the essential difference, which you as studiously conceal, between abrogated rites and things indifferent in themselves, and existing Christian commands? If he had set himself expressly to prevent your perversion of his exhortation to the Romans, he could scarcely have written more pointedly. It is as though he had said, "Do not mistake one part of the principle on which toleration is enjoined. The points of disagreement between you, if observed conscientiously and charitably, not being subversive of any law, may be left to your own discretion. Each party is at liberty to eat meat or to eat herbs, to observe days or to disregard them, as his own judgment may dictate. But beware of abusing this toleration. Remember, though the kingdom of God—the Christian dispensation—consisteth not in meat and drink, it does consist in righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy

* It will not avail to reply, that by the substitution of, "*not incompatible with a state of salvation,*" for, "*not subversive of any existing divine law,*" the error would be truly designated, and the conclusion in favor of mixed communion: for, besides that this is necessarily included in the expression "*God hath received him,*" it is a defective definition, and its substitution would necessarily exclude a distinguishing feature of the principle on which the Apostle reasoned, viz: *That the peculiarities did not affect the righteousness pertaining to the existing dispensation.*

Ghost. It is imperative, therefore, that you 'fulfil all righteousness,' in the manner and order of the divine appointment. And though circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, this cannot be pretended of existing divine ordinances: the 'keeping of the commandments of God' is imperative." That the Apostle made any special allusion to baptism, in distinction from other branches of the righteousness pertaining to the new dispensation, is not pretended; but that the principle on which he reasoned, applies to baptism, as a part of that righteousness, as a duty incumbent on all believers in the order of divine prescription, must be obvious to every understanding. The duties belonging to the Christian dispensation, so far from being confounded with the peculiarities then under discussion, are exhibited in direct contrast; to treat them as similar, therefore, is preposterous, and diametrically opposed to the principle on which the apostle reasons. You say the ancient and modern diversities are similar; he says they are dissimilar. You propose to treat them alike; he would have treated them differently. To argue, therefore, as you do, that, because a diversity of opinion and practice relative to things indifferent, and abrogated Jewish rites, was no bar to church-fellowship, therefore a diversity of opinion and practice in relation to an existing Christian ordinance is to be tolerated in our churches, appears to me, equally opposed to sound reasoning and to scripture principle, and eminently calculated to nullify the authority of the Christian Legislator.

M. My friend, you seem wonderfully partial to this distinction. "There is nothing, however, in reason or in scripture, from which we can infer, that to omit a branch of duty not understood, is less an object of forbearance, than to maintain the obligation of abrogated rites. Let my friend assign, if he is able, a single reason why it is less criminal to add to, than to take away from the law of Christ; to receive an obsolete economy, than to mistake the meaning of a New Testament institute. How will he demonstrate will-worship to be less offensive to God, than the involuntary neglect of a revealed precept?"—*Reply*, 165, 166. H. 228.

S. My friend, there is just this difference between will-worship and the omission of a branch of Christian duty. Of the former, we have an example, and perceive that it was tolerated. Of the latter there is no example; and the pointed distinction instituted between the ancient diversities and the righteousness pertaining to the Christian dispensation, clearly shows, that had any such innovation been attempted, it would not have been tolerated. There

existed a reason for the toleration of the former, which will not apply to the latter: the observance of obsolete rites was at that time discretionary; but existing Christian commands are of perpetual obligation. It is tiresome to be obliged so frequently to advert to this distinction; but the necessity arises from your persisting to consider and to treat as similar, things, between which there not only exists an essential difference, but which essential difference is most emphatically expressed by the apostle himself, both in his Epistle to the Corinthians, and in immediate connection with the very transaction to which you refer us. You must also allow me to observe, my friend, that your remarks are replete with misrepresentation. You contrast "the omission of a branch of duty not understood," with "maintaining the obligation of abrogated rites;" and representing the Jew as *adding to the law of Christ*. But it is obvious, that the Jew was not allowed to maintain the obligation of his peculiarity; he was only permitted to observe it. Nor was he allowed to consider his practice as any addition to the law of Christ: both parties were expressly told, that meat and drink did not belong to the Christian dispensation. And you are equally incorrect, my friend, in relation to the modern parties. Neither are our Pædobaptist brethren the counterpart of the Jew, nor the Baptists of the Gentile. The believing Jew was tolerated on the express understanding that his peculiarity did not belong to the kingdom of God: but Pædobaptists insist that their ceremony does belong to the kingdom of God; that it is, in fact, Christian baptism. The practice of the believing Jew was not a substitute for Christian obedience, and subversive of the law of Christ; but pædobaptism, yourself being judge, is a substitute for Christian obedience, and its abettors "make void the law of Christ by their tradition." Nor are the Baptists similarly situated with the Gentile converts. They were not required to receive their Christian brethren without obedience to the very first command enjoined on a believer. They were not required to invert the "natural" and "prescribed" order of the Christian institutions. They were not required to show their love to the brethren, by deviating from the order of their Lord's commission, the perpetual law of the Christian church. They were not required to destroy the unity of the church, by the admission of two baptisms. Whatever diversities existed, the primitive churches were neither required nor permitted to tolerate any practical deviation from the law of Christ. In that respect, there existed the most perfect uniformity.

M. On the contrary, my friend, we have

"an instance of men's being tolerated in the primitive church, who neglected an express command of Christ, and that of the highest moment. We must only be allowed to assume it for granted, that the apostles were entitled by the highest right to be considered as members of the church which they planted, and of which they are affirmed to be the foundation. These very apostles, however, continued for a considerable time, to neglect the express command of their Master, relating to a subject of the utmost importance. It will not be denied that he expressly directed them to go forth immediately after the descent of the Spirit and to preach the gospel to every creature. Did they immediately attempt to execute this commission? From the Acts of the Apostles, we learn that they did not; that, for a considerable period they made no effort to publish the gospel except to the Jews; and that it required a new revelation to determine Peter to execute this order in its full extent, by opening the door of faith to the Gentiles. But for the vision presented at Joppa, from all that appears, the preaching of the word would have been limited in perpetuity to one nation."—*Reply*, 171, 172. *H.* 230.

S. It must be admitted, certainly, that the apostles and primitive Christians were some considerable time before they fully complied with the extent of their Lord's commission; but that they are fairly chargeable with "neglecting an express command," is by no means a consequence. They were not commanded to go immediately to the Gentiles. It is remarkable, that neither are the facts of the case as they are stated; nor, if they were, would they reach the position in support of which they are adduced. Allowing that the facts were correctly stated, there are two important particulars to be shown, before the cases can, with any propriety, be considered analogous: 1. That the church believed that the apostles "neglected an express command of Christ." 2. That with this conviction they tolerated the apostles as "weak brethren," permitting their continuance in the church while they persisted in this neglect, simply because, though confessedly "weak in the faith," they were good men, whom God had received! But, my friend, the facts themselves are incorrectly stated. You presume, "it will not be denied that Christ expressly directed his apostles to go forth immediately after the descent of the Spirit and to preach the gospel to every creature." But it is denied that they were directed to go "immediately" to the Gentiles. You ask with an air of confidence, "Did they immediately attempt to execute this commission?" and

triumphantly reply. "From the Acts of the Apostles, we learn they did not." But my friend, notwithstanding this decided negative, I am bold to maintain that they did, and did immediately after the descent of the Spirit attempt to execute their Lord's commission. Allow me to ask, What were their instructions; that "immediately" after the descent of the Spirit, they should leave Jerusalem, and travel by forced marches to the nearest seaport and take their passage in the first ship bound to some remote heathen country, and there commence the gospel campaign, resigning their own countrymen to the just award of their crimes? No. Their Lord mercifully ordained, that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." And, faithful even to the letter, as well as to the spirit of their instructions, they did preach the gospel among all nations, "beginning at Jerusalem." From the Acts of the Apostles we learn, that their Lord also appointed, that after the descent of the Spirit, they should be his witnesses, "both in Jerusalem; and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." And these instructions they faithfully obeyed. As Mr. Kinghorn observes, "a large field was to be the scene of their labors, before they went to the Gentile nations, and they occupied every part of it in its order." But, because they did not invert the prescribed order, and regardless of their Lord's instructions to the contrary, immediately go among the Gentiles, they are accused of neglecting an express command of Jesus Christ! Surely, my friend, on reflection, you will be disposed to withdraw the indictment. Passing that, as we decidedly disapprove of your application of the injunctions in the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, it is but fair, both to you and to ourselves, to show that we consider the injunction binding in relation to similar diversities; diversities not subversive of any existing divine law. As a familiar and not inappropriate illustration, suppose some of the members of our churches were very tenacious for the observance of Christmas-day, and Lent, and Good Friday, and Easter, and Whitsuntide, or any other "Christian Fasts and Festivals," as they are designated; while others not perceiving either precept or precedent for their celebration, declined thus to observe them; and suppose the parties were perpetually disputing on the subject; those who observed the days "judging" those who did not observe them, and those who declined to observe them, "despising" those who regarded them; here the apostolic injunctions would be in point. He who observes these seasons religiously, ob-

serves them, we may charitably presume, to the Lord; while he who disregards them, recognizes the same principle; he declines to observe them religiously because the Lord has not enjoined their observance, either personally or by his representatives, the apostles: and, as neither peculiarity is subversive of any existing divine law, it is not in itself, a disqualification for church-fellowship. Since, then we are prepared to receive the weak in the faith, in nearly the same circumstances as those to whom the exhortation was originally addressed, "how preposterous is it, (to adopt Mr. Hall's rebuke on another occasion,) to charge us with departing from the apostolic injunction. In the same circumstances, or in circumstances nearly the same, we are ready instantly to act the same part; let the circumstances be essentially varied, and our proceeding is proportionably different." The apostles tolerated men whose sentiments differed from their own, provided they did not refuse submission to existing Christian commands; and so do we. They received, and exhorted Christian churches to receive the weak in the faith, whose errors were not subversive of the law of Christ; and this is precisely the course we pursue. Prove that the apostles would have done more, and we will imitate their example. We will receive all whom God has received, who are conscientious, and whose errors are not subversive of the regulations which Christ has prescribed for the perpetual regulation of his church: but we do not feel at liberty to violate the trust reposed in us by a reception even of Christians to external church-fellowship without obedience to that significant ordinance prescribed by our Sovereign Lord as the mode in which all believers should profess their faith in him.

M. "Nothing can be more futile than the attempt to turn aside the edge of our reasoning, by remarking that there is no mention of baptism, and that this is not the subject of which St. Paul is treating; as though the Bible contained no general principles, no maxims of universal application, but that precise directions must be found for every possible emergence that in the lapse of ages may occur. Were it constructed upon this plan, the Bible must be infinitely more voluminous than the statutes at large. It is composed on one widely different: it gives general rules of action, broad principles, leaving them to be applied under the guidance of sound discretion; and wherever it has decided a doubtful question accompanied by an express statement of the principle on which the decision is founded, such explanation has all the force of an apostolic canon by which we are bound to regulate our conduct in all the variety of cases

to which it applies."—*Reasons*, 34, 35. H. 268.

S. But, my friend, it is not in remarking, that in the example before us there is "no mention" of baptism, that we attempt to turn aside the edge of your reasoning; it is rather by showing that a reception to church-fellowship without baptism would be opposed to the *principle* on which the Apostle proceeded; an essential feature of which was, that the peculiarities were not subversive of any command pertaining to the existing dispensation; plainly implying that such practical diversities would not have been tolerated. Surely, my friend, the "general rules" of the Bible were never intended to subvert, or to tolerate the subversion of the particular laws of Christ! Are the scriptures at variance? Does the Lord Jesus Christ enjoin baptism on every believer, for a special purpose, at the commencement of the Christian life; and does the Bible furnish a "general rule," authorizing modern churches to receive members as if that injunction were obsolete? In what part of the Bible is this "universal maxim," this "general rule," this "broad principle," this "apostolic canon," to be found? Not in the 14th chapter of the epistle to the Romans. That rule of toleration, judging, not merely from a solitary expression, but from the whole context, and from the tenor of the Apostle's reasoning, is, as we have already observed, neither more nor less than *this*:—A reception of all whom God has received, who are conscientious, and whose practice is not subversive of any existing Divine law. 'This is the rule, my friend, and we apply it in every case to which it is applicable. You on the contrary, apply it, where, as a whole, it is not, applicable, inasmuch as, yourself being judge, pædobaptism is subversive of an existing Divine law. Which acts most under the influence of "sound discretion," may be left to the decision of others. We are willing to receive all whom God has received in obedience to the Christian commission; but assuredly we have no authority, either from the example to which you refer us, or from any other part of scripture, to receive even those whom God has received, in deviation from it. We do not feel at liberty to set two scripture canons at variance; and to countenance the subversion of one by an unauthorized application of another.

M. But, in rejecting pious Pædobaptists, you are guilty of *withstanding* God. Allow me to remind you, my friend, of the Apostle Peter. "When the Holy Ghost fell upon the Gentiles assembled in the house of Cornelius, though he had a short time before doubted the lawfulness even of eating with them, he considered it as such a seal of the Divine approbation, that he felt no

hesitation in immediately admitting them to all the privileges of the church. He did not presume (with reverence be it spoken) to be stricter or more orderly than God. 'Forasmuch (said he,) as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us who believed, who was I, that I should withstand God? a question which I presume to recommend to your serious consideration. The principle on which he justified his conduct is plainly this, that when it is once ascertained that an individual is the object of Divine acceptance, it would be impious to withhold from him any religious privilege. Until it be shown that this was not the principle on which he rested his defence, or that the practice of strict communion is consistent with it; we shall feel ourselves compelled to discard with just detestation, a system of action which St. Peter contemplated with horror, as withstanding God: and when I consider it in this just and awful light, I feel no hesitation in avowing my conviction that it is replete with worse consequences, and is far more offensive to God, than that corruption of a Christian ordinance, to which it is opposed. The latter affects the exterior only of our holy religion, the former its vitals; where it inflicts a wound on the very heart of charity, and puts the prospect of union among Christians to an interminable distance.'—*Reply*, 86, 87. *H.* 198.

S. But in my opinion, a candid attention to the history will show, that you, not we, deviate from the principle and practice of the holy Apostle. Perceiving that God had received the Gentiles, he received them. But how did he receive them. As you would? No. But as we receive those whom God has received. He said, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be BAPTIZED, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" And this is the principle which we adopt. On the contrary this is the echo of your principle—"Can any man forbid that these should be received *without baptism*, who have the Holy Ghost as well as we?"—a very different question from Peter's which we humbly recommend to your serious consideration. True, the Apostle was not "stricter or more orderly than God;" but was he, I would ask, less strict, or less orderly, than his Lord's commission required him to be? Nor could we more grossly insult his memory, or traduce his character than by insinuating that, under any circumstances, he would have deliberately deviated from his Lord's commission, in deference to the erroneous conscience of any man whatever. He would not withstand God by rejecting the believing Gentiles: for Jesus Christ was "Lord of all," of the Gentile no less than of the Jew. But he was not so enamored

with a spurious catholicism as to forget that he was Lord of all and as such entitled to the obedience of all. He therefore received them by baptism. And this is precisely the course we pursue. You set the scripture canons at variance: we contend for their union. Surely, it cannot be horrible to withstand God, and the very essence of Christian charity to withstand Christ! Can it be, that "the corruption of a Christian ordinance" is a less evil than a strict adherence to the confessedly "prescribed" order of the Christian institutions? and that a deference to that uniform practice of the apostles which was founded on divine appointment, is far more offensive to God, than the subversion of a law of Christ, by the substitution of a human invention? Such, it would seem, is the "unhesitating avowal" of our eloquent friend! "No wonder, (as Mr. Kinghorn very justly observes,) that Pædobaptists are so attached to Mr. Hall: they never met with such a Baptist before!" My friend, we have considered the question of the apostle, long ago: and the result is, a determination to do as Peter did, lest we should withstand God.* I am not aware, indeed, that there is a single example which we do not imitate, or a single injunction which we do not obey, in relation to the reception of Christians to external church-fellowship. To recur, however, once more to your favorite precedent, (in the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans,) allow me to ask, Are you prepared to adopt the whole of the injunction? The apostle, as was hinted at the close of our last conversation, enjoined, not only that the weak in the faith should be received, but also that the strong, in deference to their weak brethren,

* It has been suggested to the writer, by a highly esteemed friend, an advocate for mixed communion, that an additional conversation should be introduced, in deference to the argument drawn from the circumstance that pious Pædobaptists are a part of the true spiritual church. But why? It has received more attention already, both in the preceding and the present Conversation, than, as an argument, it merits. For to what, after all, does it amount? To just this: "They are members of Christ's spiritual church; therefore, rather than not unite with them in external, or visible church-fellowship, you must deviate from the rule prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ, for the regulation of his visible churches, 'to the end of the world.'" Receive them in Christ's way, if you can; but at all events receive them. That pious Pædobaptists, as well as pious Quakers, pious Katapultists, &c. &c., are members of Christ's spiritual church, is certain. But what then? Will that justify us in deviating from our instructions? We are sometimes told, that the baptism of the Spirit is a sufficient qualification for external church-fellowship without Christian baptism. But it is very evident the apostle Peter did not think so. On the contrary, perceiving that Cornelius and his household had received the baptism of the Spirit, he assigned that as the very reason why Christian baptism was their immediate privilege and duty. "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized." Had Peter either refused these good men the privilege of Christian baptism, or hesitated to require their submission to the ordinance in the order of divine appointment, he would equally have withstood God.

should abandon their own correct practice: to which, it is presumed, you would never agree. But why not? It will not avail to reply, that the practice of baptism is not calculated to produce the same results as the participation of meat. It is very true, baptism is not quite so fascinating as mixed communion: there is not much danger of "the weak in the faith" being baptized against their conviction! But are you prepared to admit the principle, and to adopt the whole of the precedent in relation to the weak consciences of all whom God has received, all for whom Christ died? The question for consideration is, Would you intentionally neglect a Christian injunction if your obedience would in any way occasion a weak brother to sin? That you would not, I firmly believe. But then you abandon your precedent. And why? Is not the injunction applicable? That is our argument. We say the apostle did not allude to such peculiarities, and therefore consider any appeal to the injunction perfectly irrelevant. Will you say that the precedent applies in part? Then why not *in toto*?* Is the "apostolic canon" imperative in part, and discretionary in part? There is the most exact agreement throughout, both in the subject and the principle of reasoning. With what show of consistency then, can you, from this precedent, maintain the right of receiving "the weak in the faith," whom God has received; and refuse to abandon a peculiarity, the neglect of which you have agreed to tolerate, in deference to the weak consciences of those for whom Christ died? The apostle enjoins both practices, and urges both on the same principle. Adopt the precedent then, as a whole, or reject it altogether. If the injunction to receive the weak in the faith be in point, the injunction to abandon the correct practice cannot be irrelevant. If the apostle did not enjoin the abandonment of a Christian command under certain circumstances, neither did he enjoin the toleration of the neglect of such a command. Whatever it was, the neglect of which he tolerated in the weak brother, that practice

was to be abandoned by the strong in the faith. It will not avail to reply, that it is one thing to unite in church-fellowship with those who neglect a Christian ordinance which they are not convinced is binding, and quite another thing personally to neglect what we believe is a Christian duty; and that many who approve of the former, would shrink from the latter. We can easily believe they would. But why? We have not any more scriptural authority for the former than we have for the latter. Do you appeal to the injunction under consideration? If that enjoins the former, it also enjoins the latter: if, on the other hand, it does not enjoin the latter, then neither does it enjoin the former. Once admit that it is applicable to the present controversy, and you must assert, not the lawfulness of mixed communion only, but the duty of personally disobeying Christ, whenever obedience to his injunctions would in any way occasion those to sin, "for whom Christ died." If, on the other hand, to repel this conclusion, you remind us that the apostolic injunction was not intended to apply to such diversities, that is our argument, and is conclusive, not only against personal disobedience, but likewise, as far as this injunction is concerned, against the lawfulness of mixed communion.

M. I am sorry, my friend, that we cannot agree. There is one point more to be discussed, the tendency of our respective systems. I cannot but think that yours is as impolitic as it is repulsive. On the contrary, "the generous confidence" imparted in mixed communion, appears to me, eminently adapted for the insinuation of our sentiments on baptism.

S. "Whatever is right, is wise." But if mixed communion be, as I believe, a deviation from the rule prescribed by Christ for the regulation of churches, "to the end of the world," then it can not be politically wise. Still, as you believe it to be right, I am ready to consider whatever you may advance in support of its policy.

M. Then this, in connection with the impolicy of strict communion, shall form the subject of our next and final Conversation.

CONVERSATION VII.

A strict adherence to the Commission of Christ, in the formation of our churches, neither Bigotry nor Folly; and a Deviation from it, in deference to Modern Error, neither Charity, nor Christian wisdom.

M. If, in glancing at the tendency of

* On the contrary, we should adopt the precedent as a whole, in relation to similar diversities. For example, if a pious friend, conscientiously abstaining from certain meats on certain days, were to dine with us on any of those days, we should consider it a religious duty to avoid the introduction of any food of which he could not partake without violating his conscientious scruples. "It is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth." The principle may also be applied to certain amusements, and festivals, and associations, not in themselves sinful. Though our consciences might not upbraid us, yet if our compliance would in any way occasion a brother to commit sin, certainly we ought to deny ourselves a gratification, which otherwise we might innocently enjoy. But to apply the principle to any Christian injunction, is subversive of Christianity. And yet it must apply to Christian institutions, or its application to the present controversy is a perversion of the apostle's meaning.

our respective systems, I can show that mixed communion is favorable to the prevalence of our views of baptism, surely you will be a little more pleased with it than you have hitherto appeared.

S. Undoubtedly, my friend, I am desirous of promoting the practice of Christian baptism; for I believe it is the very first act of allegiance which Christ requires of all his disciples: but neither do I believe that your system is calculated to accomplish so desirable an object; nor, were such a result demonstrable, could I approve of the expediency you propose to adopt. We are not at liberty, I conceive, to displace a Christian ordinance from the position which Christ assigned it, or to form churches opposed to the principles of our Lord's commission, with a view to the individual practice of the ordinance itself. In the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom, means must unquestionably be employed; but assuredly, he who "hateth robbery for a burnt offering," cannot be pleased with an expedient so derogatory of his just authority. This, my friend, is my view of the question. Still, as you believe mixed communion is lawful, I shall listen with attention to any observations you may be disposed to make.

M. Then allow me, first, to direct your attention to the inexpediency of strict communion. "The first effect necessarily resulting from it, is a powerful prejudice against the party which adopts it. When all other denominations find themselves lying under an interdict, and treated as though they were heathens or publicans, they must be more than men not to resent it; or if they regard it with a considerable degree of apathy, it can only be ascribed to that contempt which impotent violence is so apt to inspire."—*Reasons*, 41. H. 301.

S. But, if Pædobaptists "resent" our conduct, they resent that in us which, (with a few modern exceptions,) they themselves practise: and if they feel "contempt" of what you designate our "impotent violence," it would better become them to inquire, whether it is not equally chargeable on themselves. Whatever qualities belong to strict communion, are as attributable to them as to us; they, for the most part, equally with ourselves, declining to unite in church-fellowship with any who, in their opinion, are unbaptized. Whatever stigma, therefore, it may please you to inflict, they cannot apply any epithet to our practice which will not rebound on themselves. I fear you have again forgotten the testimony of our friend, Mr. Hall; who tells us that the Strict Baptists and the Pædobaptists "both concur in a common principle, from which the practice deemed so offensive is the necessary re-

sult." It is his opinion, too, that "this may suffice to rebut the ridicule, and silence the clamor of those, who loudly condemn the Baptists for a proceeding, which, were they but to change their opinion on the subject of baptism, their own principles would compel them to adopt."—[*Reasons*, 6. H. 285.] But, my friend, you grossly misrepresent us. We do not treat our Pædobaptist brethren as "heathens or publicans;" but as Christians, whom we shall welcome to the Lord's table immediately on their compliance with what we believe the Lord himself, the founder and governor of the feast, has been pleased to enjoin as a previous duty. They know, and some among them acknowledge this to be our feeling towards them: they do not reproach us, as you do, with treating them as "heathens or publicans."* And why, my friend, should you designate our practice "impotent violence?" Of what "violence" are we guilty? and wherein is that alleged violence "impotent?" Is a strict adherence to the order of our Lord's commission, and keeping the ordinances "as they were delivered," to be designated "impotent violence?" If it be, it is a violence in the exercise of which we are sanctioned by apostolic commendation: and if not, then you, with all your pretensions to superior candor, are chargeable with applying to

* Unhappily, (such is the contagion of a great example,) this Christian candor is becoming more rare and limited. Before the revival of this controversy some dozen years ago, nothing was easier than to convince intelligent Pædobaptists that, however stupid we were in not being able to discern that their ceremony was Christian baptism, still, that was the sum total of our offence. Since then, however, they have studied in a new school; and their proficiency is truly astonishing. They have made two important discoveries: that Christian baptism is a trifle, and that the crowning sin of the Strict Baptist is a position maintained by their own body from time immemorial, and by most of them to the present day!! The following specimen, selected from half a dozen pages of a Review of certain publications on both sides of the present controversy, will serve to illustrate the spirit and manners of the age—of—what shall we call it? liberality and candor?

"Gold, silver, liberal, Christian world, victory, great powers, comprehensive views, intellectual giant, generous-acute understanding, ingenuous and noble ardor, inspirations of genius and of truth, rare assemblage of excellencies, counter-charm of intolerance, genius of emancipation, enlightened instructor, enlightened and benevolent efforts, temperate and masterly production, palm of victory, lucid, powerful, great judgment, Christian spirit, well sustained argument, considerable acumen, and invincible force, forbearance-transcendent, illustrious name, halo of glory."

"Iron, clay, intolerance, human presumption, insignificant and rapidly decreasing party, sectarian aggression, contumely and disdain, pignices, arrogant assumption of infallibility, excommunicating, pernicious errors, ignorance, pride and intolerance, mental and spiritual bondage, chain of prejudices, torrent of ungrateful abuse, enslaved people, ignorance and bigotry, rancorous hostility, blinded by prejudice, impervious to all arguments, weakness, peevishness, infantile talents, exasperated, close the gates, hurl defiance, intolerant position, not the show of arguments, feeble assailant, great ignorance, immeasurable illiberality, foulest charges, paw of the bear, 'deplorably imbecile and narrow,' 'thick-skinned monsters of the ooze and the mire, which no weapon can pierce, no discipline tame.'"

our practice, violent epithets, as undeserved as they are impotent.

M. "We are incompetent judges of the light in which our conduct appears to those against whom it is directed; but the more frequently we place ourselves in their situation, the less will be our surprise at the indications of alienation and disgust which they may evince. The very appellation of Baptist, together with the tenets by which it is designated, become associated with the idea of bigotry; nor will it permit the mind which entertains that prejudice, to give an impartial attention to the evidence by which our sentiments are supported. With mingled surprise and indignation they behold us making pretensions which no other denomination of protestants assumes, placing ourselves in an attitude of hostility towards the whole Christian world, and virtually claiming to be the only church of Christ upon earth. The power of prejudice to arrest the progress of inquiry is indeed to be lamented: nothing could be more desirable, than that every opinion should, in the first instance, be judged of by its intrinsic evidence, without regard to the conduct of the persons who embrace it; but the strength and independence of mind requisite to such an effort, is rather to be admired than expected. There are few who enter on the investigation of theological questions in that elevated state; secret antipathies or predilections will be sure to instil their venom, and obscure the perception of truth and the suggestions of reason."—*Reasons*, 42, 43. *II.* 301, 302.

S. My friend, we deny the charge of "placing ourselves in an attitude of hostility towards the whole Christian world." But we do claim, (and of this presumption, you, equally with ourselves, are guilty!) we do maintain that Baptist churches are the only churches in the world who "keep the ordinances as they were delivered." And if this is to subject us to "indications of alienation and disgust," and to occasion the mingled emotions of "surprise and indignation," so be it; we are not careful to shun the honest avowal of our principles. If our Pædobaptist brethren allow your misrepresentations of our conduct, and their own misconceptions and "secret antipathies," to "instil their venom, and obscure the perception of truth," the blame does not lie at our door. If we were as bigoted as some of our liberal friends are pleased to represent, or ten thousand times more so, the word of God is as true, and obedience to the laws of Christ as imperative, as if we were more liberal than the most liberal of all the liberals within the widest pale of the Catholic church.

M. But, "by the stern rejection of the members of all other denominations, until

they have embraced our distinguishing tenets, what do we propose to effect? to intimidate, or to convince? We can do neither. To intimidate is impossible, while there are others far more numerous than ourselves, ready to receive them with open arms. The hope of producing conviction by such an expedient is equally groundless and chimerical; since conviction is the result of evidence, and no light whatever can be pretended to be conveyed by interdicting their communion, unless it be that it manifests our intolerance. We propose to extirpate an error, and we plant a prejudice; and instead of attempting to soften and conciliate the minds of our opponents, we inflict a stigma."—*Reasons*, 43. *II.* 302.

S. Who, but yourself, my friend, could ever imagine, that, in declining to receive Pædobaptists to our communion, our object was either to "intimidate," or to "convince?" Our object is to "keep the ordinances as they were delivered," regardless of "new forms of error, and new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth." If we are under a delusion, convince us; but, by applying to us epithets, as undeserved as they are wounding, reproaching us with consequences to which our system does not necessarily lead, and impugning, not only the validity of our arguments, but the integrity of our motives; while you propose to extirpate what you believe to be an error, you "plant a prejudice;" and, instead of attempting to conciliate the minds of your opponents, you "inflict a stigma." Such expedients, my dear friend, will neither "intimidate" nor "convince;" but they may alienate the heart.

M. But, "you do all in your power, to place our Pædobaptist brethren beyond the reach of conviction. Since it is unreasonable to expect, however attractive the ministry, that a pious Pædobaptist will stately attend where he must despair of ever becoming a member, and of ever enjoying the privileges to which every serious person is supposed to aspire: he attaches himself, as a necessary consequence, to a connection in which there is no such impediment, but where he is certain of hearing nothing but what will foster his prejudices, and confirm his error. Thus he is excluded from the only connection where the arguments for adult baptism are stated, and is exposed to the constant operation of an opposite species of instruction."—*Reasons*, 44. *II.* 302.

S. And what a prodigious disadvantage! For, seriously, unless the subject of baptism were introduced more frequently than it is at present, he might, in some of our congregations, attend constantly, from January to December, without once being in-

structed either in the nature or the requirements, the mode or the subjects, of this interesting Christian ordinance.* We never introduce the subject but when we baptize: nor is it then uniformly discussed controversially; and if it be, the statement is sometimes accompanied with apologies and concessions, eminently calculated to neutralize the truths, which, in spite of the most liberal pretensions, will force an utterance from the lips of the preacher, and an entrance into the judgments of the hearers. This, in some churches, is the state of things at present; and he must be a very superficial observer of human nature, who should gravely affirm that a union with Pædobaptists would produce an improvement. The probability is, that from delicacy to their feelings, the subject would be consigned to oblivion; or, if occasionally lightly touched, the most cogent arguments would be blunted, by the simple circumstance of some of the members having been received, avowedly as unbaptized. They will have learnt a lesson, which it will be well if they ever forget, not only that they are eligible to admission into heaven in agreement with divine rule, (John iii. 16,) but also that they have a right to a place in the churches of Christ on earth in deviation from a divine rule, for the regulation of ministers and churches "to the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 19.) In vain will you maintain that your sentiments are true, while you practically admit that they are unimportant. Besides, it may not be improper to remind you, that having once admitted your Pæ-

dobaptist brethren as members of your churches, it will be manifest injustice to require that they shall listen to your views of baptism, without allowing them the privilege of a reply. They will have as good a right to introduce their sentiments, and their practice into the church, as you have to introduce yours. Now, either by an inglorious silence on both sides, the truth, on whichever side it be, will be compromised; or, by the admission of both parties, as even-handed justice undoubtedly decides, to the privilege of defending each his peculiarity, the pulpit, from which nothing but the truth ought ever to emanate, will become the arena of conflicting sentiments, and a powerful instrument in the promotion of antipathies, discords, and schisms—schisms, be it remembered, a thousand times more injurious than a formal separation. In open controversy, whether from the pulpit or the press, there is something manly, and fair, and honorable. But there is nothing more pitiful, or more annoying to the feelings, or more subversive of Christian affection and the exercises of social religion, than occasional, unexpected, uncalled-for hints from the pulpit, in favor of any practice, concerning which the members of a church are nearly equally divided in opinion, and to which the dissentients can never have the privilege of replying. The uniform triumph and exaltation of one party will be death to the other; and, whatever be the result in relation to the subject of dispute, an incurable wound will be inflicted on the very heart of charity. On this principle, it appears manifestly improper to introduce the subject of baptism to a church composed of Baptists and Pædobaptists. You could not honorably introduce one side of the controversy only. Common fairness requires that all the members shall possess equal privileges; and, to avoid the most flagrant injustice towards one party, either truth and error must be published from the same pulpit, and a Christian command and a human invention be practised in the same church; or both parties must enter into a compact, either to banish into the land of forgetfulness, or to observe "without the camp," each his peculiar reproach. To permit each party publicly to vindicate his sentiments, (not to mention that one must necessarily disseminate error,) would be a glaring violation of your favorite apostolic precept, "Receive ye one another, but not to doubtful disputations." For one party to arrogate the exclusive privilege of defending his practice, would be flagrant injustice to the other. And for both parties to agree to consign their peculiarities to the shades, or to observe them without the recognition of the church, would be an un-

* "It is not unusual, (says the late Dr. Dwight,) for a minister of the gospel to devote twenty-four sermons annually, to the consideration of the Lord's supper. On baptism, at the same time, ministers rarely preach. Why such a difference is made between two institutions of Christ, invested with the same authority, solemnity, and influence, I am unable to determine. But, whatever be the ground of this distinction, I am satisfied it cannot be a good one."—*Syst. Theo. Sermon 156.*

It is a most fortunate circumstance, that this pointed remonstrance, equally applicable to some of our churches, proceeded from the pen of a Pædobaptist! It contains not, of course, the smallest particle of bigotry! Without replying for his Pædobaptist brethren, or supposing that the Doctor wished for exactly twenty-four baptismal sermons per annum, the writer cordially acquiesces in the spirit of his protest against that marked distinction between the two institutions, and that undervaluation of the ordinance of baptism, which characterizes some of our brethren. Besides the tendency of mixed communion to produce this result, there is another injurious custom, which is common, perhaps, to most Baptist churches—the system of deferring the administration of the ordinance until several candidates present themselves; a system for which the only plea generally advanced is, convenience! But apart from the injustice of this mode of procedure to some of the candidates, it is obvious, that the administration of the ordinance when believers presented themselves, without waiting for several more, while it would be in agreement with the primitive practice, would greatly conduce to restore the ordinance to that scriptural eminence, from which, partly owing to the infrequency of its administration, and partly in consequence of the depreciating influence of mixed communion, it has so lamentably fallen.

worthy sacrifice of principle on the shrine of a suspicious and precarious affection; and the declaration of one part of "the counsel of God" would be systematically restrained. And truly, my friend, how either of these expedients is calculated to convince or to edify, I am totally at a loss to perceive.*

* On the mischievous internal tendency of the system, the late venerable Abraham Booth, in his *Apology for the Baptists*, pp. 131, 132, 1312 edition, introduces some pointed interrogations and remarks, evidently drawn from personal observation. And, in a modern most interesting piece of biography, we are, with a candor which exceeds all praise, presented with a highly-instructive exemplification, in the early history of the church at Oxford, under the pastoral care of the late amiable and excellent Mr. Hinton. Sincerely and cordially attached to the principle of mixed church-fellowship, this good man experienced, in his own person, some of its almost inevitable evils. Although the ordinance of baptism was not at that time administered at Oxford, but at Abingdon, to which place also the arguments in favor of Christian baptism were principally confined; yet, because a principle of Christian integrity would not allow the entire exclusion of the subject from the pulpit at Oxford, its introduction for the first time in 1790, (ten years after the formation of the church), proved "a source of dissatisfaction." Early in the same year, too, an individual instituted "a complaint that Mr. Hinton had catechized, or improperly questioned, a gentleman of Pædobaptist connections, who wished to join the church." This complaint, however, the church discountenanced. But, about five years after, a reason assigned by our highly esteemed friend, in favor of a removal, presents an unequivocal indication that the offences complained of were now become more general, and attributable, not, as formerly, to the discontent of an individual, but to the system. "I cannot," says he, "be free in my ministry without giving offence: the congregation is of so mingled a nature, that I find it impossible to escape censure, either from Baptists or Pædobaptists; from Dissenters, or friends of the Establishment."—*Biographical Portraiture of the late Rev. James Hinton, M. A. of Oxford, by his son, the Rev. John Howard Hinton, M. A. Part ii. Chap. iii.*

It is rigidly due to the Biographer, who is one of the most candid and honorable of our opponents, briefly to notice the distinction of which he reminds us, between mixed communion and mixed membership. We are fully sensible of the difference, and that the history of the church at Oxford is a specimen of the latter; an appeal to which, therefore, in these pages will, it is presumed, appear perfectly justifiable, on the consideration that it is mixed membership for which Mr. Hall so strenuously pleads. The subject being introduced, however, it ought not, perhaps, to be dismissed without a few words (additional to Note, p. 227,) as to the propriety of the distinction itself. It is the decided conviction of the writer, that there is no scriptural authority, for either mixed communion or mixed membership. But if there be any scriptural authority for the former, is there not the same authority for the latter? The distinction itself has no foundation in scripture. The reception of the weak in the faith, for instance, to whatever kinds of diversities it may apply, included, we presume, full church-membership. If not, which party were members of the church? and which only communicants? If it be replied, that some things are lawful which are

* And no wonder; for, instead of complimenting his Pædobaptist hearers on the involuntariness of their error, Mr. Hinton had the candor to relate some causes which had come under his own personal observation. "Our brethren," says he, "will allow that the prejudices of education, together with the fear of being singular, and of incurring ridicule, operate very strongly against our sentiments. I have found not a few, who have acknowledged themselves afraid to pursue the subject of believers' baptism, lest they should be convicted of its obligation; and some who even allowed that scripture is very much in our favor, but who, having formed their connections, and not liking a public disavowal of their former sentiments, have neglected what they at least suspected to be their duty. This, (I speak seriously, and without the least exaggeration,) I have found to be the case with many of my acquaintance."

M. But "he who was really solicitous to extend the triumphs of truth, would surely leave nothing unattempted to break down the rampart of prejudice,* and, by making the nearest approaches to his opponents, consistent with truth, avail himself of all the advantages which a generous confidence seldom fails to bestow, for insinuating

not expedient, we would ask, Is the reception of the weak in the faith one of these things? On the contrary, it is an apostolic injunction, and not a question of expediency. We say the precept does not apply to such diversities as are subversive of a standing law of Christ, and act accordingly: our opponents believe it does: but some of them obey it in part only, rejecting from church-membership the weak in the faith, whom they receive to a church-ordinance! But the apostolic precept enjoins both on neither. If it enjoin mixed communion, it also enjoins mixed membership, with its train of evils; or, rather, for the preservation of peace, with an absolute silence on the subject of dispute! If, on the contrary, it do not enjoin such an union with Pædobaptists in church-membership, neither does it authorize their reception to communion in a church-ordinance.

"*Rampart of Prejudice.*" We are perfectly willing to break down this, and every other barrier to communion, of human origin; but the barrier in the present instance, as far as we are concerned, is of divine origin. If indeed, Christian baptism were "a little punctilio," a mere trifle, then we might displace it. But we dare not displace a Christian barrier. On this subject, the Rev. Christmas Evans, "the apostle of the principality," has some very pertinent observations in his characteristic style. Delighted with the idea of universal Christian communion, the venerable man convenes a general congress, and exhorts Christians of every communion to make a sacrifice of what is their own. He finds there are two principal barriers—the Baptists and the Pædobaptists. "Willing, (says he), to do every thing in my power, to promote a general communion of all Christians, I took my pickaxe in my hand, and went up to the Baptist barrier. Pausing a little, to examine the wall, I perceived something divine emanating from it! But, being resolute, I said, 'Certainly, it is better to pull these down, than that thou shouldst be the occasion of keeping thousands from communion whom I expect to meet in heaven!' Directly I lifted up my pickaxe to break down the barrier; but I imagined in one moment's time, that twelve personages of heavenly extraction confronted me, hard by the wall, exclaiming, with loud but heavenly voices, 'Mortal man, hold thy hand! What art thou about to do? Wilt thou presume to sacrifice what is not thine own? Art thou so full of temerity as to attempt the demolishing of this barrier which heaven erected, and which was sanctioned by the Messiah to the visible wall of separation between his kingdom and the world; and that, not only during one century, but to the end of time? Know, vain man, that he expects to find this barrier in good repair at his second coming.' Their expostulation pierced my soul; my heart failed within me; and I exclaimed, 'I will never touch this sacred wall of separation, for the sake of any man living, let my veneration be what it may for his talents and piety.' Notwithstanding, I was not convinced that no sacrifice could be made on the other side. Immediately, therefore, we went to the other separating wall, commonly called Pædobaptist barrier. Then said I, 'Dear brethren, I have been attempting the pulling down of the Baptist barrier on my side, and to sacrifice it for the promotion of general communion among the godly; but these heavenly personages who are with me, prevented me, by asserting that the wall was not of human invention, but according to the counsel of God. Brethren, cannot you make a sacrifice of your barrier, without offending these noble personages of the court of heaven? They allege that there is no written patent in the volume of inspiration, for your wall.' They, however, refused, and pleaded, for their barrier, its great antiquity; asserting, that they had uninspired papers, proving its existence in the second century! They produced large bundles of analogical reasonings—the act passed for circumcision, &c. They said the silence of the Bible was in favor of their barrier, as it did not contain any prohibition against the wall, &c., &c., &c. 'Dear brethren,' I replied, 'It was not from any blind attachment to the barrier on my side, that I refused to destroy it; but because it is according to the written patent. It is pro-

his sentiments, and promoting his views."—*Reasons*, 46. H. 303.

S. So then, your mixed communion churches are so many beautiful gardens, into which Pædobaptists are to be allured; so many enchanted islands, to which, in condescension to their weakness, you all kindly give them access, by a newly invented, finely wrought, reticulated bridge,* that you may with the greater facility "insinuate your sentiments, and promote your views!" Oh! that I had a voice that could be heard from one end of their community to the other. In common honesty, and for the credit of my own denomination, I would proclaim, "Ho, ye Pædobaptists! *Beware of Mixed Communion churches!*" With a soft and persuasive eloquence you are invited to their communion; but be not deceived. Scarcely any thing would be more indignantly resented by the Baptists among them, than the insinuation that they attach less importance to the ordinance of baptism than their Strict Communion brethren. If, then, you have the slightest objection to hear your sentiments discussed, and your practice denominated a "nullity," do not flatter yourselves that you will escape this mortification by taking refuge in a Mixed Communion church. Beware of these diversified communities; for though probably you will not hear much of baptism from the pulpit, (indeed, you ought not, unless you have the privilege of replying,) yet be it known to you, one avowed object of the Mixed Communion Baptist, in thus joining affinity with his Pædobaptist neighbors, is to extend and perpetuate his peculiarities; and, by bringing you into contact, to "insinuate his sentiments, and promote his views." *Beware, then, of Mixed Communion churches!*

sumed you can demolish the barrier on your side, without incurring the displeasure of heaven. Pray indulge no undue attachment to what is not written; but sacrifice it for the communion of the godly.' Still they refused; and I said, 'It is now easy to see where the blame lies, for keeping up the bar to communion.' Let us by all means make sacrifices towards promoting general communion; but we must go to our own fields to get victims! We have a great many fields, full of suitable sacrifices, had we a heart to bring them to the horns of the altar—men's-tradition field, human-invention field, &c., &c. Let us catch all the animals feeding in these, and bring them to the great union altar, fixed on the summit of Zion's mount! Let us sacrifice them there, for the interest of the general communion of the godly! My brethren, it is not proper to take the lambs and the bullocks which are the right of another, (Isaiah lxi. 8,) and to kill them to feed the passion for mixed communion. It may appear easy work for us to enter the premises of the Great Lord of the soil, taking his property to sacrifice; but then the groves will be equally honored as the temple, and the union will be promoted at the expense of sacred things."—*Decision of a General Congress*, 12—15.

Let it not be replied, that we are not required to sacrifice the ordinances: we are required to remove it from the position in which it was placed by Jesus Christ.

The external appearance of this bridge is very beautiful, but we suspect the foundations; and at present it does not work so smoothly as we have been given to understand. The ornaments are showy, not solid, and we

M. Thank you, my friend! Then you admit that we do endeavor to extend and perpetuate our sentiments. Certainly, this is a concession I little expected from a Strict Baptist!

S. Nay, my friend; while I give you full credit for sincerity, I have neither affirmed that you would take any pains to disseminate your principles, nor that such an attempt would be attended with success. I have simply reiterated your own avowal, that such is your intention. But you would, or you would not. If you would, (to say nothing just now of the tendency of such a course to produce unpleasant consequences,) it is not enough that the intimation is made to us, as a recommendation of your system; but the Pædobaptists, who might view it as an objection, should be especially apprized of your design, that they may not enter your enclosures ignorant of their danger. If you would not spontaneously introduce your views of this part of the mind of Christ, (which, notwithstanding your intention is, I am inclined to think, the more probable supposition,) then our churches, in which, there exists no temptation to withhold the truth on Christian baptism, would, in my humble opinion, be much better calculated than yours, to "promote the restoration of a divine ordinance to its primitive simplicity and purity;" "an honest solicitude for which (Mr. Hall tells us,) is not only innocent, but meritorious."

M. On the contrary, "of the tendency of mixed communion to promote a more candid inquiry into our principles, it is scarcely possible to doubt.* Whether it would have the effect of rapidly extending the Baptist denomination as such, is less certain. For were that practice universal-

are not able to discover that it has received the sanction of "the Royal Letters Patent." When its admirers produce that important document, and we have "obtained leave" from the Royal Commissioners, to build a bridge, then indeed, we may appreciate it more highly. We must candidly confess, however, that we should feel rather ashamed to petition for a bridge; it would wear so much the appearance of a reflection on the King, who surrounded these ecclesiastical spots with water, with a special design; that it should be passed through, not passed over. Besides, the present law resembles the laws of the Medes and Persians—it "altereth not." And to us it seems perfectly ridiculous, quite unworthy of our Sovereign, to make one law that all his royal subjects should pass through the water, and another law permitting some of them to pass over it! Nothing would be wanting to complete the absurdity, but a third law in favor of the remainder; providing a patent mixed-metal tunnel, through which they might enjoy the privilege of passing under the bed of the river; and when the novelty of that should have subsided, a fourth, commanding the opening of the sluices, and the letting off the water altogether!

Facts speak louder than theory. Let the reader attentively peruse the following practical illustrations, and then judge of the expediency of mixed communion. "The eminent John Bunyan, who zealously advocated the cause of mixed communion, seems to have had no great success in promoting the interests of the Baptists. We hardly ever find an allusion to the ordinance of baptism in his works, except in his controversial pieces, in

ly to prevail, the mixture of Baptists and Pædobaptists in Christian societies, would, probably, ere long, be such that the appellation of Baptist might be found not so properly applicable to churches as to individuals, while some more comprehensive term might possibly be employed to discriminate the views of collective bodies. But what then? Are we contending for names, or for things? If the effect of a more liberal system shall be found to increase the number of those who return to the primitive practice of baptism, and thus follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, he must be possessed of a deplorable imbecility and narrowness of mind, who will lament the disappearance of a name, especially when it is remembered, that whenever just views on the subject shall become universal, the name by which we are at present distinguished, will necessarily cease. An honest solicitude for the restor-

ation of a divine ordinance to its primitive simplicity, and purity, is not merely innocent, but meritorious; but if the ultimate consequence of such an improvement should be to merge the appellation of a party in that which is derived from the Divine Founder of our religion, it is an event which none but a bigot will regret."—*Reasons*, 46, 47. H. 303.

S. But if an honest solicitude to perpetuate the individual practice of baptism be meritorious, it cannot be right in ministers and churches to deviate from the divine injunction, and the universal practice of the first churches, in the reception of members. Is compliance with the divine rule the duty of individuals, and non-compliance the privilege of churches? Allow me again to remind you of our friend, Mr. Hall. You will excuse me—but really, I cannot compliment you as a very apt disciple! You may recollect, perhaps, that he says, "the duty of churches originates in that

which he practically undermines its authority. Nor was the effect of his favorite system conducive to the spread of his opinion as a Baptist; for such was the state of the church with which he was long connected, that on his death they chose a Pædobaptist: and from the year 1688, in which he died, to the year 1788, when Mr. Joshua Symonds died, the ministers who succeeded him were Pædobaptists; except the last, who some years after his settlement with the church, changed his sentiments and became a Baptist. This took place in 1772; but though Mr. Symonds continued at Bedford, it was 'on the conditions that he should not introduce the controversy into the pulpit, nor into conversation, unless it was first introduced by others!' We have also been informed that one instance occurred in 1700, and another in 1724, in which the church refused to grant a dismission to members who desired to unite with two Baptist churches in London, because they were strict communion churches." (*Kinghorn's Defence*, Pref. xv.) The present pastor of the church at Bedford is a very respectable Pædobaptist; and while we cannot but highly esteem his Christian character, we should think he can scarcely repress an occasional smile at the credulity of his eminent predecessor, the apostle of mixed communion. The "pilgrims" in "their progress" from the "House of the Interpreter" to the "House Beautiful," are not now so "orderly," we presume as they should be. Some of them are taken to the "bath in the garden,"—all, probably, who spontaneously desire it; but the Interpreter does not instruct them to "go orderly." He considers a kind of seal on their foreheads before they set out, as at least equivalent to the bath; and has adopted a Roman invention, of sealing the children of pilgrims, and, indeed, of some who are no pilgrims, in that the parents are willing: in fact, he prefers this to the bath! And this is the result of Bunyan's mixed communion!

"Dr. James Foster, who was more than twenty years pastor of the General Baptist church in Barbican, London, and who in his day advocated the cause of mixed communion, left the General Baptists, and accepted the pastoral charge of the Independent church at Pinner's Hall, London. But, though he had pleaded the inexperience of mixed communion as the means of leading men to consider what the Baptists had urged in defence of their sentiments, yet Mr. Grantham Chillingworth informs us, that, in conversation with him upon the point, 'he could not pretend to say, that one single person who was in communion at Pinner's Hall before his going over to them, had since submitted to that institution, (of baptism,) or shewn the least inclination to be baptized.'" —*Kinghorn's Defence*, Pref. 16.

Mr. Giles, in his very interesting *Letters to the Rev. Robert Hall*, [63–65.] presents us with some striking exemplifications of the tendency of both mixed and strict communion. "The following, (he says,) have come under my own observation:

"In a town in the south of our island, a most serious division took place in an Independent congregation. Sixty or more of its members separated from their brethren, attended the Baptist meeting-house, and ex-

pressed their desire to join in communion with the church. The Baptists, from a wish to evince their brotherly affection, and from a confident persuasion that such an act of liberality would not fall to be followed with conviction, at least among some of these mistaken brethren, agreed to alter their terms of communion, and receive them. Some of their members, and some of the neighboring ministers and brethren, remonstrated with them, and assured them that the result would prove to be opposite to what they expected. But these remonstrances were disregarded, and the liberal plan adopted, with a confident persuasion of its success. This mixed fellowship continued for, I believe, a year and a half, or more; but not one of the Pædobaptists could see baptism to be of sufficient importance to submit to it! At last, some Independent minister, from the kindest motives, no doubt, attempted, and really effected, a reconciliation between the remaining members of the church and the brethren that had seceded, the result of which was, that every one of them returned to his own fold, leaving the Baptists without the accession of a single member from them! There is no one but would rejoice in such a reconciliation; but it assuredly proves, that your doctrine of expediency is not so certain in its results as you would have us believe. I think I might venture to affirm from what I have experienced, that, had this church stood firm to its own former system, some of these Pædobaptists would have been induced to examine the subject of baptism, that conviction would have followed and that they would have been baptized. I am acquainted with another church at —. This church for the purpose of receiving a few unbaptized persons, altered its constitution. The consequence was, that as soon as the alteration was made, as many baptized brethren withdrew as unbaptized persons joined. This church has tried your plan for some years; and, strange as it may appear, though it retains these Pædobaptists in communion, it has resolved never to receive another unbaptized person into fellowship. The reason for this extraordinary resolution, given both by the minister and some of its members, was, that they had tried and proved the inexpediency of mixed communion, and on that expediency alone, had resolved in future to prevent it. This, Sir, is another matter-of-fact against the expediency of your theory. The last that I shall mention, and which I had related to me very recently by the pastor of the church, forms the opposite of the two cases already stated. At —, an unhappy division took place in an Independent congregation, which resulted in the ultimate removal of its pastor. Many of this congregation united in worship with the Baptists. The Baptists retained their accustomed terms of strict communion; and several of these Pædobaptists have been baptized, have joined the church, and now rank amongst its most pious, active, and useful members. These cases, Sir, confirm the truth of the adage, 'Honesty is the best policy;' and of the maxim, that 'What is morally wrong, can never be politically right.'

of the individuals of which they consist; so that when we have ascertained the sentiments and principles which ought to actuate the Christian in his private capacity, we possess the standard to which the practice of churches should be uniformly adjusted." [*Reasons*, 39. H. 300.] If, then, individual Christians are under an obligation to obey the commands of Christ, the organization of churches can never have been designed to nullify that obligation. It is no more the duty of individuals, than it is of churches, to "follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth." Do the oracles of God vary? Are they chargeable with duplicity? Do they make one annunciation to the individual inquirer, and another to the community? On the contrary, their testimony and requirements are uniformly the same. That which is required of one is required of all. And to organize churches upon a principle systematically allowing the non-observance of that ordinance which Christ himself commissioned his ministers to require prior to church-fellowship, is inflicting a wound upon him "in the house of his friends." Our Pædobaptist brethren generally, are chargeable with no such inconsistency. They do require, in every member of their churches, what the church believes to be Christian baptism. It is the Mixed Communion Baptist, and until very lately he alone, who maintains, that submission to baptism was "prescribed," as a duty prior to church-fellowship, and yet systematically provides for its non-observance, in the constitution of the church! My friend, all the primitive churches, you must admit, were Baptist churches; and surely they were constituted on principles authorized by the Great Head of the church. And who is possessed of sufficient temerity to impugn that authority? For a Baptist to view with complacency, and pursue with eagerness, not the perpetuity, but the annihilation, as such, of all the Baptist churches in the world, appears to me, an anomaly which no terms can describe, a mystery which no skill can unravel, and a deviation from the Christian commission, the standing law of the Christian church, which no ingenuity, no eloquence, no talents can vindicate. With respect to the candid appellation of "bigot," it is now become so stale and so general, that its sting is extracted, its venom is neutralized. It is a missile thrown with perfect harmlessness by infidels, liberals, and formalists, at saints of every communion: by "Rational Christians," and some of the superior order, at the Calvinist; by the Pædobaptist, at the Baptist; and finally, the weapon with which you have been assailed, you pluck from your bosom, and ungraciously, but with imitable dexterity, fling at your

strict communion brother! What a difficult lesson it seems for even Christians to learn, that a steady adherence to a practice for which scriptural reasons are assigned, is not bigotry! But, my friend, charge us with "imbecility and narrowness of mind," and welcome: the way of truth is a "narrow way," in ritual, no less than in moral observances. Call us "bigots," if you please, or any other opprobrious epithet which human ingenuity can devise, and which the men who are "fierce for moderation" may applaud: but, by all that is sacred, we beseech you not to violate the scriptural constitution of our churches. If, in the organization of our churches, a rigid adherence to the perpetual law of the Christian church is to be stigmatized as bigotry, we glory in the epithet; we will bind it as a diadem on our brow: and descend into the grave exulting that we have been counted worthy of the reproach of Christ.

M. "It were well, if the evil resulting from the practice of strict communion were confined to its effect on other denominations. If I am not much mistaken, it exerts a pernicious influence on our own. Were it consistent with propriety, it would be easy to adduce exceptions: individuals have come within the narrow range of my own observation, whose temperament has been so happy, that they have completely surmounted the natural tendency of their principles, combining the greatest candor towards Pædobaptists, with a conscientious refusal of their communion. Such instances, however, must, in the nature of things, be rare. Generally speaking, the adoption of a narrow and contracted theory, will issue in a narrow and contracted mind. It is too much to expect that a habit of treating all other Christians as aliens from the fold of Christ, and unworthy of a participation of the privileges of his church, can be generally unaccompanied with an asperity of temper, a proneness to doubt the sincerity, to censure the motives, and deprecate the virtues of those whom they are accustomed to treat with so much rigor. Conceiving themselves to be a highly privileged class, as the only legitimate members of his church, they are almost inevitably exposed to think more highly of themselves than they ought to think; and, founding their separation, not on that which distinguishes the followers of Christ from the world, but on a point in which Christians dissent from each other, they are naturally tempted to attach superlative importance to the grounds of difference. The history of the present controversy affords a melancholy confirmation of these remarks; for the few who have ventured to appear on the liberal side of the question have, for

the most part, been assailed by ungenerous insinuations, and odious personalities. Their claim to be considered as Baptists is very reluctantly conceded; and the part they have taken has been imputed to the love of popularity, or to some still more unworthy motive."—*Reasons*, 47—49. *H.* 304.

S. I assure you, my friend, I deprecate as sincerely as you do, all such unhallowed expedients. The weapons of the Christian warfare should not to be carnal. But it surely can be no information that the conduct to which you allude is not the exclusive sin of either party. With honorable exceptions on both sides, individuals of each party have been "verily guilty concerning their brother." Such things ought not to be. Even retaliation, for the purpose of irritating an opponent, rather than of exposing his system, or his manner of defending it, is totally indefensible. The Strict Baptist ought not to render "railing for railing." It is a violation of the law of Christ. But surely it is with peculiar infelicity that they complain, who have set the example and maintained the pre-eminence. My friend, whatever may be the character of our respective systems, candor and bigotry are qualities of the mind, not tendencies of a creed. Whichever system be adopted, yours or ours, *he that is candid will be candid still, and he that is a bigot will be a bigot still.*

M. But "some churches, in their zeal, have lost sight of their own principles, and substituted the doctrine of strict communion as a term of admission, instead of the ordinance of baptism. Others have refused the privilege of occasional communion to such as have been known to sit down with Pædobaptists at the Lord's table."—*Reasons* 49. *H.* 304.

S. Not exactly so, I presume. Even if these churches do make strict communion a term of church-fellowship, it certainly does not follow that they have "lost sight of their own principles." On the contrary, it involves a contradiction to say that they require strict communion "instead of the ordinance of baptism," seeing that the latter is necessarily included in the former. Whether the practice to which you allude be defensible, or not, it is with a remarkably ill grace that you complain—you, my friend, whose deliberate, settled, uniform, strenuous aim, is, to organize churches, whose distinguishing term of admission shall be Mixed Communion! You may not, indeed, be chargeable with "losing sight of your own principles;" but mixed communion churches are chargeable with losing sight of scriptural principles, by substituting mixed communion "as a term of admission, instead of the ordinance of baptism!" Far be it from me, to reiterate

the unkind accusations which some of our liberal opponents have heaped upon us, for retaining baptism as a term of admission; for they are as unjust as they are unkind, and ought to be retracted. But just suppose, for a moment, that they are applicable! Then, my friend, the odium and the obloquy which you have endeavored to attach to strict communion churches, would inevitably attach to your communities! Do we retain the ancient baptist barrier? you remove it from the position in which it originally stood, and erect in its place, a modern mixed communion barrier. Do we close the doors against our unbaptized brethren? you, to receive them, necessarily exclude many of your baptized brethren. Are those Pædobaptists to be pitied, who reside where there is only a Baptist church? alas! what kind-hearted Christian is there, to

"Pity the sorrows of a strict old man,
Whose trembling limbs have borne him to your door!"

Say not, he may wait till your more illustrious guests are served, and that then you will come and attend to him in your out-house! He will never submit to such an indignity! Say not, he might enter your presence-chamber, if he would; the whole amount of that liberty being a permission to enter on your own terms; a privilege, it is presumed, which even the papal hierarchy has never refused! But, my friend, we freely concede to you the right of enacting your own terms, in your own churches, if you believe they are scriptural; and, whatever be our opinion of the terms themselves, we should be ashamed of applying to you a title of the opprobrium which you have endeavored to fasten upon us, for precisely the same conduct. But surely it cannot be commendable to make mixed communion a term of church-fellowship, and criminal to retain baptism as such a term! It is true, there is one particular, and only one, in which the cases are not parallel; the Baptists among you institute that as a term of admission into your churches which they do not believe is essential to church-fellowship! They will commune with us, notwithstanding we are "sinners above all sinners;" but we must consent to mixed communion, if we desire to cross the threshold of their sacred enclosures! Not that we should for a moment complain of this, if our friends believed mixed communion were essential to church-fellowship: in that case they ought to make it a barrier, and if they did not, they would expose themselves to the contempt of every upright mind. But, to make that a term of admission into your churches, which you do not believe is essential to communion in a church ordinance, is surely, a needless, not to say unnatural separation, from

your Baptist brethren, in favor of pious Pædobaptists! You include all, my friend, except infidels, heathens, and pious Strict Baptists! And now, let me ask, what becomes of Mr. Hall's leading position—that “no church has a right to establish terms of communion, which are not terms of salvation?” Is mixed communion a term of salvation? Then why make it a term of admission into your churches? Allow me to inquire, my friend, “whether the Strict Baptist, dying in the possession of his supposed error, is disqualified to join ‘the spirits of just men made perfect;’ to mingle with ‘the general assembly of the church of the first born.’ If this is not affirmed, let mixed communion churches reflect on the enormous impropriety of pretending to render a Christian society an enclosure more sacred, and more difficult of access, than the abode of the Divine majesty; and of investing themselves with the prerogative of repelling from their communion a Kiffin, a Booth, a Fuller, or a Pearce, whom the Lord of glory will welcome to his presence.” If our friend Mr. Hall were consulted, would he not indignantly reply, “Transubstantiation presents nothing more revolting to the dictates of common sense!” [See his reply to Kinghorn, p. 265. H. 271.] So then, after all the clamor about candor and liberality, about non-essentials and minor points, the “conclusion of the matter” is just this: that mixed communion churches are a violation of Mr. Hall's leading position, and a striking exemplification of the identical evils alleged against Baptist churches! Do our churches make that a term of admission, which is not a term of admission into heaven? So do yours! Do our churches make that a term of admission, which is not essential to salvation? So do yours! Nay, you exceed us in strictness; inasmuch as you make that a term of admission into your churches, which you do not consider essential to church-fellowship! And what is the consequence? Why, one of two results is inevitable. Mr. Hall must abandon his leading position, or his mixed communion churches! If he adhere to his leading position, his mixed communion churches are not only “in danger,” but must inevitably fall. If, on the other hand, he cling to his churches, he discards his leading position; and then all the fine arguments he has reared upon this frail fabric, against the constitution of Baptist churches, will immediately vanish! And even then, his churches are in imminent danger! For on what are they founded? On our Lord's commission, and the uniform practice of the first churches? On the contrary, mixed communion is confessedly an inversion of “the natural and prescribed order” of

the divine institutions, and a departure from the example of the apostles, in deference to “new forms of error, and new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth!” Baptism is a scriptural term of church-fellowship; mixed communion is unscriptural. Baptism is of Divine origin; mixed communion, (a collateral branch of pædobaptism,) is of human invention. Surely then, those who make mixed communion a term of admission into their churches, are the very last men in the world who should become “accusers of their brethren,” for retaining baptism as a term of communion! We do not “alter the terms of communion.” Faith and baptism are the original terms of church-fellowship: but faith and mixed communion are an old and a new term; and, like Nebuchadnezzar's image, a mixture of gold and clay. Mr. Hall assures us, [Reply, 255. H. 266,] that “he who alters the terms of communion, changes the fundamental laws of Christ's kingdom. He assumes a legislative power; and ought, in order to justify that conduct, to exhibit his credentials, with a force and splendor of evidence, equal at least to those which attested the divine legation of Moses and the Prophets.” Let the advocates of mixed communion do this, and the controversy will be decided. In the mean time, they surely cannot complain if we steadily adhere to the old terms.

M. My friend, I am weary of disputation. Leaving, therefore, “to those to whom it may be more grateful, the unwellcome office of exposing the infirmities of their brethren, let me close this subject by one more remark. In addition to all the other reasons for retracing our steps, we may, with great propriety, allege the spirit of the times, the genius of the age, distinguished, as it is, beyond all former example, by the union of Christians in the promotion of a common cause, and their merging their minor differences in the cultivation of great principles, and the pursuit of great objects. Instead of confining themselves, each to the defence of his own citadel, they are sallying forth in all directions, in order to make a powerful and combined attack on the kingdom of darkness. The church of Christ, no longer the scene of intestine warfare among the several denominations into which it is cantoned and divided, presents the image of a great empire, composed of distant, but not hostile provinces, prepared to send forth its combatants, at the command of its invisible Sovereign, to invade the dominions of Satan, and subdue the nations of the earth. The weapons of its warfare have already made themselves felt in the East and in the West; and wherever its banner is unfurled, it gathers

around it, without distinction of name or sect, "the called, the chosen, the faithful," who, at the heart-thrilling voice of Him whose vesture is dipped in blood, and who goes forth conquering and to conquer, rush to the field, unmindful of every distinction but that of his friends and foes, and too eager for the combat to ask any other question, than, Who is on the Lord's side? Who?"—*Reasons*, 49, 50. *H.* 305.

S. This is a brilliant picture, my friend; but who, that is generally acquainted with the Christian world, will venture, calmly and deliberately, to pronounce it correct? That there is more show of candor than ever, is undeniable, save and except towards the unfortunate Strict Baptists! It is to be hoped also, that there is more genuine candor among Christians of different denominations. Christian candor, however, does not consist in undervaluing an ordinance of Jesus Christ; but in thinking highly of Christians, notwithstanding their minor differences. The union of Christians of all denominations, at home and abroad, is undoubtedly a most delightful feature of the age: but the glory of this union would be essentially impaired, if it involved the slightest sacrifice of truth and Christian allegiance. Happily, Christians in general are as tenacious of what they believe to be Christian truth, as of Christian love; and whenever love to the brethren shall require the sacrifice of a single Christian duty, it will from that moment cease to be Christian love. But is it not true, my friend, that Christians have learned to view their peculiarities as unimportant. Even Christian missionaries, in the zenith of their philanthropic zeal, are not blind to the difference between love to the brethren "for the truth's sake," and the compromise of what either they or their brethren believe to be Christian truth.* They unite in the evangelization of the world, but they do not, nor can they without a change of sentiments unite in the constitution of their churches. Your picture of the missionary field is perfectly utopian. The various Christian sects, both in the East and West, form their churches, each on its own principles. The Episcopalian does not sacrifice a single iota of his church establishment: the Methodists form their communities on the principles prescribed by their Conference: the Pædobaptist administers

to the children of his converts what he believes to be Christian baptism: while the Baptist, with at least equal propriety, retains his peculiarity. To what purpose, then, but to dazzle and confound, is all this flourish of trumpets and waving of banners, about union and unanimity? Christian union there is; but unanimity is the figment of a glowing imagination. There is as much Christian union at home as there is abroad; and as little unanimity abroad as there is at home. Christians never did, and while they believe their peculiarities are sanctioned by Christ, never will, without so far violating their Christian allegiance, "merge their minor differences in the cultivation of great principles, and the pursuit of great objects." They will rather unite in "the cultivation of great principles and the pursuit of great objects," notwithstanding their "minor differences." Certainly, they will not "confine themselves, each to the defence of his own citadel;" but that each party, when assailed, will defend his own citadel, is as evident as that they unite their forces against the common enemy. They do not abandon "the distinction of name or sect." They are not "unmindful of every distinction but that of friends and foes." They are not "too eager for the combat, to ask any other question than 'Who is on the Lord's side? Who?'" In the formation of their churches they do ask other questions: and their differences are precisely the same, in number and importance, as ever they were. Your glowing representation is a poetic fiction: it fails in every particular but one—their cordial union in the evangelization of the world. But in this union, the Strict Baptist is as ardent to join, as the most liberal of his Christian brethren. My dear friend, let us not impose upon ourselves, and in our eagerness for union, forget that "Christian communion" is not only a union of Christians, but a union in Christian obedience, on Christian principles, from Christian motives, and with the sanction of the Great Head of the Christian church. It is not necessary, either, that you should be of my sentiments, or that I should be of yours, in order to Christian communion. Let us both act as we conceive agreeably to the mind of Christ, each being open to conviction: and if we cannot be of one judgment, "let each be fully persuaded in his own mind." And let both show their "love to the brethren," not by deviating from the Christian commission, in compliance to modern error, however conscientiously that error may be maintained; but by an interchange of every friendly feeling, and friendly intercourse, which involves no sacrifice of what either party believes to be the mind of Christ.

* Take the following as a specimen. At —, a Baptist Missionary station, in the East Indies, a Pædobaptist Missionary, unexpectedly present, was invited to preach. He did so; and after the service, it being ordinance day, he was respectfully reminded that the church considered baptism as a term of communion. He supplied the inference—and what then? Did he turn upon his heel, and raise a dust and a whirlwind about *caste* and bigotry, little punctilions and intolerance? No! He understood the principle, and appreciated the motive. His reply was, "I cannot blame you: I have always thought the contrary practice unjustifiable in Baptists."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

DISTINGUISHED BAPTISTS.

"He being dead, yet speaketh."

WILLIAM WEBBER.

WILLIAM WEBBER was born August 15, 1747, of parents in the middle line of life. His education was but slender, having been sent to school only three years. At sixteen years of age he was put an apprentice to a house-joiner. After the expiration of his apprenticeship, he continued to work at his trade, until God called him to be a workman for him. In October, 1769, was the first time he heard the Baptists preach, when he was awakened to know his danger; and his spirit took no rest from that time, until about six months after, when he obtained a hope of salvation; and was baptized, June, 1770, by Elder John Waller, then just ordained. He had, as was usual about that time, commenced an exhorter, previous to his being baptized.

Few men in Virginia suffered more persecutions than Mr. Webber. He was first seized in Chesterfield county, December 7, 1770, and imprisoned in that county jail until March 7, 1771, just three months. In August, the same year, he was taken off the stage, where he was preaching, in Middlesex county, and put into prison, where he was confined forty-five days, having the bounds part of the time. In both these prisons, he and his fellow-sufferers used to preach through the grates regularly twice a week, to such as would come to hear. Besides these imprisonments, he was often very roughly treated, by the sons of Belial, at different places; all of which, this man of God bore with Christian patience and meekness. Although he was in narrow circumstances, he used, when young, to devote much of his time to preaching; and being much respected and beloved, he was an instrument of doing much good. As he grew older, and his family larger, he found

it necessary to limit his labors chiefly to his own and the adjacent neighborhoods. He was still very successful in turning many to righteousness, and in confirming the souls of his disciples. Mr. Webber was a man of talents, though not in the pulpit; for there he was hardly up to mediocrity. He was a man of sound and correct judgment, well acquainted with mankind, well versed in the Scriptures, well instructed in the principles of the gospel, and ingenious in defending them against error. As a companion he was remarkably agreeable; for he was pleasant and cheerful, yet without levity. His conversation was chiefly on the subject of religion, to which he had a turn for directing the attention of his company, without permitting it to be irksome. In his church, he was greatly beloved by his members, and all who knew him. He was remarkably plain both in his dress and manners. His chief excellency, however, was in Associations and public bodies. He was made moderator of the General Association, as early as the year 1778; and although there were many older ministers than himself, for several years after, yet he seldom attended an Association or General Committee, but he was placed in the chair. His address, either in the chair or out of it, was far from being accomplished. But still he was preferred before men of far more refined powers, on account of his soft, yet manly, affectionate, and unaffected method. It is likely that less affection was never in any man, than in William Webber. You always saw him in his true colors. About the year 1799, he had a long and distressing sickness, which had well nigh brought him to the grave. He did, however, recover; but his constitution was so shaken, that he was never as healthy afterwards. He recovered so far as to go out some small distance from home: but relapsing, he lin-

gered for some months; and on the 29th of February, 1808, he yielded to the king of terrors, but who had lost his terror as to him. In his last illness, he enjoyed great religious consolation, and said to Elder Watkins of Poughkeepsie, a little time before his death, "Brother Watkins, I never had so glorious a manifestation of the love of God in all my life, as I have had since my sickness. Oh! the love of God!"—*Semple*.

PETER WERDEN.

PETER WERDEN was born June 6th, 1728, and ordained to the work of the ministry, at Warwick, Rhode Island, May, 1751, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

When he first began to preach, he was too much of a New Light, and too strongly attached to the doctrine of *salvation by sovereign grace*, to be generally received among the old Baptist churches in Rhode Island, which had been formed partly on the Arminian plan, until the following event opened the door for him:

A criminal, by the name of Carter, was executed at Tower Hill, and the scene of his execution collected abundance of people from all parts of the State. While the criminal stood under the gallows, young Werden felt such a concern for his soul, that he urged his way through the crowd; and being assisted by the sheriff, he gained access to him, and addressed him as follows: "Sir, is your soul prepared for that awful eternity, into which you will launch in a few minutes?" The criminal replied, "I don't know that it is, but I wish you would pray for me." In this prayer, Mr. Werden was so wonderfully assisted in spreading the poor man's cause before the throne of God, that the whole assembly were awfully solemnized, and most of them wet their cheeks with their tears. This opened a great door for his ministrations, both on the main and on the island. He preached at Warwick, Coventry, and many other places, with good success about nineteen years, and then moved, in 1770, into the town of Cheshire, in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, where he lived and administered almost thirty-eight years.

In his first religious exercises, he was led to dig deep into his own heart, where he found such opposition and rebellion, that when he obtained pardon, he attributed it to sovereign grace alone; which sentiment, so interwoven in his soul, he ever proclaimed to a dying world. Nothing appeared to be more disgusting to his mind, than to hear *works and grace* mixed together, as the foundation of a sinner's hope. To hold forth the Lamb of God as piece of a Saviour;

or to consider the self-exertions of a natural man, to be the way into Christ, the true and only way, were extremely displeasing to that soul of his, which delighted so much in proclaiming eternal love, redeeming blood, and matchless grace.

Sound judgment, correct principles, humble demeanor, with solemn sociability, marked all his public improvements, and mingled with all his conversation in smaller circles, or with individuals. In him, young preachers found a father and a friend; distressed churches, a healer of breaches; and tempted souls, a sympathizing guide. From his first settling in Cheshire, until he was seventy years old, he was a father to the Baptist churches in Berkshire county, and its environs, and in some sense, an apostle to them all.

His many painful labors for the salvation of sinners, the peace of the churches, and the purity of the ministry, will never be fully appreciated, until the time when he shall stand before his Judge, and hear the words of his mouth, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

From the sternness of his eyes, and the blush of his face, a stranger would have been led to conclude that he was sovereign and self-willed in his habit of mind; but on acquaintance, the physiognomist would have been agreeably disappointed. He had so much self government, that he has been heard to say, that (except when he had the small pox,) he never found it hard to keep from speaking at any time, if his reason told him it was best to forbear: and no man possessed finer feelings, or treated the characters of others with more delicacy than he did. He had an exalted idea of the inalienable rights of conscience; justly appreciated the civil rights of man, and was assiduous to keep his brethren from the chains of ecclesiastical power.

His preaching was both sentimental and devotional; and his life so far corresponded with the precepts which he taught, that none of his hearers could justly reply, "Physician heal thyself."

He had the happiness of having a number of revivals in the town and congregation where he resided and preached, and a number of ministers were raised up in the church of which he was pastor.

For about ten years before his death, his bodily and mental powers had been on the decline, and he was often heard to rejoice, that others increased though he decreased; but his superannuation was not so great, as to prevent the whole of his usefulness; and his hoary head was a crown of glory unto him.

A number of times he was heard to pray that he might not outlive his usefulness, which was remarkably answered in his case,

for the Lord's-day before he died he preached to the people of his charge.

The disease which closed his mortal life, denied his friends the pleasure of catching the balm of life from his lips in his last moments. He had finished his work before and nothing remained for him to do, but to die.

Let the inhabitants of Cheshire, (said Mr. John Leland, his biographer, and who exhibited the above at the close of the sermon which he preached at his funeral,) reflect a moment on the dealings of God towards them. Within about three years, three ministers belonging to the town, have departed this life. The pious Mason took the lead; the pleasing Covell followed after; and now, (1808,) the arduous Werden, who has been in the ministry a longer term than any Baptist preacher left behind in New-England, has finished his course, in the eightieth year of his age; while Leland alone remains, to raise this monument over their tomb.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

JOHN WILLIAMS was born in the county of Hanover, Virginia, 1747. He was of a very respectable family, and received a tolerable education. In the month of June, 1769, when acting as sheriff of Lunenburg, he was awakened to know and to feel his sin and his danger. He became a convert, and shortly after lifted up his voice to exhort his fellow-men to flee from the wrath to come. He was not baptized until the first Sabbath in February, 1770. He continued to exhort, until some time in the following summer, when he ventured to take a text, and from that time commenced preacher. December, 1772, he was ordained to the ministry, and took the care of Meherrin church. His gifts, at first were far from being auspicious. Many pronounced that he never would be a preacher; so delusory are the first efforts of the mind.

He not only succeeded in becoming a preacher, but in becoming a first rate preacher, at least in the estimation of most of his acquaintances.

He was exceeding fond of reading and writing, and indeed was generally studious; by which means he greatly improved his mind.

When he first commenced preaching, he was zealous, active, and laborious in the ministry; travelling and propagating the gospel in different parts. He may well be numbered among the fathers of Israel. His talent, however, was not employed so much in breaking down the bars of preju-

dice in new and unenlightened places, as in directing and regulating converts when gathered by others. Pleasing, affable, and refined in his manners, his hand was employed to smooth off some of those protuberances left by rougher workmen. In Associations, he was expert with his pen, as well as wise to offer counsel. He acted as clerk to the General Association; and when they divided the association into districts, a unanimous vote of thanks was offered to Mr. W. for his faithful and skilful services in that capacity. He also discharged the duties of clerk to the Roanoke association, until a little time previous to his death. He introduced several excellent regulations both into the General and Roanoke associations, for the government of churches, &c. Few men understood church discipline better, or were more successful in building up large respectable churches, wherever he attended. For many years he acted as pastor to four churches, whom he attended monthly. He was in high estimation both as a man and a minister. Even the enemies of the Baptists would often except Mr. W. from their reproaches. In his temper towards those of other religious persuasions, he was remarkably liberal. Indeed, by some of his acquaintances it is said he was friendly to open communion; but that he was restrained from putting it into practice, by his tenderness for his brethren, most of whom differed with him on this head. This liberality of spirit did not prevent him from maintaining his own principles with great firmness, whenever occasion offered. It was such an occasion as this, which drew forth his reply to Mr. Patilloe's* sermon on infant baptism. He committed his arguments to writing, with an intention of printing them in the form of a pamphlet; but as nothing came out on the other side, and as so much had been already published on that subject, it was not then put to press.

In his preface, he makes the following remark:

"I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated to my countrymen, for a series of years, that I am not overbearing on others, or bigoted to my own principles which are not essential to salvation; but have uniformly endeavored to promote a catholic spirit, with peace and concord in the Israel of God. But nevertheless, I am set for the defence of the gospel; and as such, circumstances often occur, that involuntarily lead me forth to contend for the faith and order of Christ's church."

He was generally upon the best terms with the Presbyterians, who were pretty numerous in his neighborhood.

* A celebrated Presbyterian preacher.

His talents, if not equal to any, were certainly very little inferior to those of the first grade.

His appearance in the pulpit was noble and majestic, yet humble and affectionate. In the beginning of his discourses, he was doctrinal and somewhat methodical, often very deep, even to the astonishment of his hearers. Towards the close, and indeed sometimes throughout his sermon, he was exceedingly animating. His exhortations were often incomparable.

At an early period he became very corpulent. At an association, in the year 1795, he accidentally fell, by the turning of a step, as he was passing out of a door, and became for a year or two a cripple: being under the necessity of going on crutches. Notwithstanding this, he would frequently go in a carriage to meeting, and preach, sitting in a chair in the pulpit. During several of the last years of his life, he was afflicted with a very painful disease. Under his severe suffering, he was not only patient, but when he could have any mitigation of his pain, he was also cheerful. About ten days before his death, he was attacked by a pleurisy; from which, no medicine could give him relief. His work was finished and his Master had called for him. On the 30th day of April, 1795, he fell asleep.

Nothing very remarkable transpired at his death. He was pensive and silent. He told his wife, that to live or die, was to him indifferent: he had committed this to God, who, he knew, would do right. He said he felt some anxiety for his numerous family; but that these, also, he was willing to trust in the hands of a gracious Providence.

January, 1768, he was married to Miss Francis Hughes, of Powhattan county, by whom he had fourteen children; of whom eleven were living at the time of his death; and of these, four professed religion, and were baptized.—*Simple*.

ELIJAH BAKER.

[This biography is taken almost verbatim from *Simple's History of the Virginia Baptists*, as are most of those which follow of the Virginia brethren.]

ELIJAH BAKER was born in 1742, in the county of Lunenburg, of honest and reputable, but not of opulent parents. When grown to the years of maturity, he was much addicted to frolics and sports of all sorts. Going to hear Mr. Jeremiah Walker preach, he became thoroughly convinced of the necessity of vital religion. His

volatile disposition, nevertheless, kept him from seeking for it. However resolved when under preaching, all his resolutions would fail at the sound of a fiddle, or the cordial invitation of his pleasant, but carnal companions. He at last came to the determination to give his old companions one more frolic, and then forsake them forever. This resolution he kept, and was no more to be found among the sons of carnal pleasure. He listened now, not to the music of the violin, but to sublimer music, the faithful preaching of the gospel. Thus, giving up the world, after many previous ineffectual efforts, his convictions soon became extremely sharp and pungent. Sometimes he was so convulsed as not to be able to stand. Heaven ultimately smiled; and Mr. Baker was constrained by the love of God, now shed abroad in his heart, to make a profession of grace, and was baptized, in 1769, by Mr. Samuel Harris. Illiterate as he was, he immediately commenced public speaking. When he first made a profession, he was remarked for being often cast down with doubts respecting the reality of his conversion. This, however, did not hinder him from making great exertions, first as an exhorter and singer, and then as a preacher. Having exhorted about twelve months, his first labors were laid out chiefly in the county of his nativity, and the adjacent ones, where he was happily instrumental in planting and watering several churches. After about three years, he gave up all worldly cares, and devoted his whole time to preaching and other ministerial duties. About 1773, he began to stretch his lines, and to travel more extensively. Coming down into the lower end of Henrico, he in conjunction with one or two others, planted Boar-Swamp church. Then, as his way would be opened, he extended his labors gradually downwards, and was the chief instrument in planting all the churches in the counties of James City, Charles City, York, &c. Then crossing over York river into Gloucester, preached in the lower end of that county with considerable success. There he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Elliot, then a resident of Gloucester, but who had not long before moved from the eastern shore. Mr. Elliot discovering a beauty in religion, felt his heart's desire that his brethren in the flesh might be saved. Accordingly, in the spring of 1776, they set sail, and arrived on the eastern shore of Virginia, on Easter Sunday, and went immediately to church, where an established clergyman was that day to preach and administer the sacrament. After waiting for some time, and finding the minister did not come, Mr. Baker told the people that he would preach for them,

if they would go down to the road. The novelty of the scene excited their attention and the people went. Mr. B. had no other pulpit than the end of a large tree: which having mounted, he began one of the most successful ministerial labors that has fallen to the lot of man in Virginia. Many wondered, some mocked, and a few were seriously wrought upon. He continued his ministrations from house to house, for several days; and when he left them he appointed to return again at Whitsuntide. At his second visit, he was accompanied by his brother Leonard, who was at that time only an exhorter. When they arrived, they were informed that the minister of the parish had appointed to preach against the Baptists, and to prove them to be in error. Mr. Baker and his company went to hear him; but his arguments proved ineffectual, and the people followed Baker. His brother continued with him about a week. They had meetings both day and night. The effects were not remarkable at first, but at every meeting there were good appearances. This encouraged Mr. Baker so much, that he resolved to remain there for some time; his brother left him laboring in the vineyard. His labors were greatly blessed. He became at once almost a resident; for, indeed, filled as he was with increasing solicitude for the prosperity of the gospel, he could not be found elsewhere than at the places where he had evidence God called him. After he married, he settled in Northampton county.

In doing so much good, it fell to Mr. Baker's portion, as it generally happens, to give offence to the enemy of souls and his subordinate agents. They put him into Accomack prison, and kept him there many days. The most atrocious attempt upon this harmless man, was that of seizing him by a lawless power and carrying him on board of a vessel in the adjacent waters, where they left him, having contracted with the Captain to make him work his passage over the sea, and leave him in some of the countries in Europe; alleging that *he was a disturber of the peace*. This took place on Saturday night. He was immediately put to work, and kept at it until late at night. The next day being Lord's day, he asked and obtained leave of the Captain to sing and pray among the crew. The Captain attended, and was convinced that he was a good man. Without delay, he set him on shore.* In the meantime, his friends had dispatched a messenger to the Governor, to obtain au-

thority to prevent his being carried forcibly away. This they obtained; but Mr. B. was discharged before his return. He met with various kinds of persecutions, which only served to confirm his faith, and inflame his zeal in his Redeemer's cause.

Mr. B. was a man of low parentage, small learning, and confined abilities. But with one talent he did more than many do with five. He is said to have planted ten churches, on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake bay. At the last Salisbury association, which he attended when nearly worn out with disease, at the close of the meeting, he addressed the audience in a most melting and powerful manner; then returning to Doctor Lemon's, soon died.

He had declined in health a considerable time before his death; and having a wish to see his brother Leonard, of Halifax, Virginia, to whom he was fondly attached, he wrote him a letter, dated September 21, 1798, of which the following is an extract:

"—— And now, brother, are you struggling through the trials of this life, leaning upon your Beloved? Laboring and waiting for the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall change our vile bodies and fashion them according to his glorious body? Or have you got into a lukewarm state, which I fear has been too prevailing amongst some!

"Dear brother, some of my complaints are such, that I do not expect to continue long in this world. However, I leave that to my Redeemer, who has the power of life and death in his own hands. But in all probability I shall never be able to come out as far as your house again; dear brother, I should be very glad to see you, if you could make it convenient to come over once more, while I live. I will pay all your expenses. And if our dear mother is yet alive, I can send out some relief to her. As to religion, thanks be to God, there is some stir amongst us. I have baptized eight lately."

It seems his brother could not go immediately; but started in a few weeks, and arrived just time enough to see him die: which took place, November 6, 1798.

As he died at Doctor Lemon's, it will be most suitable to quote the Doctor's own words respecting him. "In Mr. Baker, I found the Israelite indeed—the humble Christian—the preacher of the gospel in the simplicity of it, and the triumphant saint in his last moments. In his preaching he was generally plain and experimental, always very express on the doctrine of regeneration; never entering upon the doctrines by which he conceived he should give offence to one or another. In his last illness, I attended his bed-side day

* This story respecting Mr. Baker, I find differently related. Some parts of the narrative, as some have given it, partake considerably of the marvellous; but the above relation is the most simple, and probably the most correct.

and night, for three weeks, and had many most agreeable conversations with him, on the glorious things of the kingdom of Christ. He retained his senses to the last minute, and seemed rather translated, than to suffer pain in his dissolution. Death was to him as familiar in his conversation, as if he talked of an absent friend from whom he expected a visit."

He was twice married. His first wife was Sarah Copeland, a lady of respectable connections, by whom he had one son, now living. She died, and he then married a widow lady on the eastern shore, who had no child by him.

ISAAC BACKUS.

ISAAC BACKUS, A. M.—It is much to be lamented, that he who took such unwearying pains to record the lives of others, has found no one among all his friends to write his own. Mr. Backus was one of the most useful ministers, that has ever appeared among the American Baptists. For about fifty years he was a laborious servant to their churches, and a considerable part of about thirty of the last of them, was devoted to historical pursuits. This excellent man still lives in the memory of thousands of his brethren; but scarcely any biographical sketches of his life have been preserved, except what are found in his own writings. The author of this work never saw him but once, of course he knows but little about him, except from report. He has solicited those, who were well acquainted with this renowned father for many years, to draw a characteristic portrait, which should set in a proper light his distinguished merit. But as no one has been found to pay this tribute of respect, all that can be now done, is to collect a few incidents of his life from his public writings, and his voluminous journals and diaries.

Mr. Backus was born at Norwich, Connecticut, January 9, 1724. His parents were pious and respectable members of the Pædobaptist church in that town, by whom he was brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His mother was a descendant of the family of Winslows, his father sprung from one of the first planters in Norwich. In the *New Light Stir*, in Whitefield's time, some of Mr. Backus' connections united with the Separates, for which they were harassed and persecuted by the ruling party. His mother, when a widow, and some more of his relatives, were cast into prison for adopting religious principles contrary to law. It was in the midst of the *New Light Stir*, that the subject of this memoir was brought to the

knowledge of the truth, in the eighteenth year of his age. He united with a Pædobaptist church in his native town, and began in the ministry in 1746. About two years after, he was ordained pastor of a church in Middleborough of the same persuasion. In this town, he spent sixty years of his useful life. In 1749, he was married to Susanna Mason of Rehoboth, with whom he lived in the greatest harmony about fifty-one years. She, according to his own words, "was the greatest earthly blessing which God ever gave him." As yet, Mr. Backus was a Pædobaptist of the Separate order, and the church of which he was pastor, was of the same character. They experienced blessings from the Lord, but persecutions from men. The publicans of the parish soon began to distress them for the support of their worship. Mr. Backus, among the rest was taxed, seized, and imprisoned a short time, and then released without paying the tax, or coming to any compromise. Disputes respecting baptism were agitated in this church about this time, which were continued a number of years, and some of the members were constrained from time to time to go into the water. In 1751, Mr. B. was himself baptized, with six of his members, by Elder Pierce, of Warwick, Rhode Island. From this period until 1756, this church practised open communion, but in that year those who had become Baptists came out and formed a church upon the gospel plan, and Mr. Backus became its pastor. This was the nineteenth Baptist church in the three States of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Vermont. From this date to the death of this venerable man, was a period of about fifty years. Nothing remarkable seems to have occurred in the discharge of his pastoral duties; but the part which he took in the general welfare of the Baptist churches, furnishes a number of incidents which ought to be recorded.

Mr. Backus early imbibed a settled aversion to civil coercion in religious concerns; he was taught its iniquity both by experience and observation; and few men have exerted themselves more than he in the support of the equal rights of Christians. In 1772, he was chosen an agent for the Baptist churches in Massachusetts, in the room of Mr. Davis, formerly pastor of the second church in Boston, then lately deceased. This agency was merely in civil affairs, and was executed by him, who was entrusted with it, with much ability, and to some effect. Our brethren in this government were then so continually harassed for the support of the established clergy, that they found it necessary to have some one upon the watch to advise on sudden emergencies, and to afford assistance to

those who were in trouble. Their great object was to obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in the land, which the predominant party were determined to prevent. About a year before Mr Backus accepted the agency of the churches, he was requested to write their history, which he accordingly set about, and published his first volume in 1777.

When the disputes came on, which terminated in the Revolutionary War and the Independence of the United States, the Baptists united with the rest of the American people in resisting the arbitrary claims of Great Britain; but it seemed to them unreasonable that they should be called upon to contend for civil liberty, if after it was gained, they should still be exposed to oppression in religious concerns. When, therefore, the first Continental congress met in Philadelphia, the Warren association viewing it as the highest civil resort, agreed to send Mr. Backus as their agent to that convention, "there to follow the best advice he could obtain, to procure some influence from thence in their favor." When he arrived in Philadelphia, the association there appointed a large committee, of whom Dr. Samuel Jones was one, to assist their New England brethren. "But our endeavors," says Dr. Jones, "availed us nothing. One of them told us, that if we meant to effect a change in their measures respecting religion, we might as well attempt to change the course of the sun in the heavens."^{*}

Mr. Backus, failing of success at Philadelphia, on his return met the Baptist committee at Boston, by whose advice a memorial of their grievances was drawn up, and laid before the next congress at Cambridge, near Boston, to which the following answer was returned:

"In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, December 9th, 1774.

"On reading the memorial of the Rev. Isaac Backus agent to the Baptist churches in this government:

"Resolved, That the establishment of civil and religious liberty, to each denomination in the province, is the sincere wish of this congress; but being by no means vested with powers of civil government, whereby they can redress the grievances of any person whatever; they therefore recommend to the Baptist churches, that when a general assembly shall be convened in this colony, they lay the real grievan-

ces of said churches before the same, when and where their petition will most certainly meet with all that attention due to the memorial of a denomination of Christians, so well disposed to the public weal of their country.

"By order of the Congress,
"JOHN HANCOCK, President.

"A true extract from the Minutes,
"JOHN LINCOLN, Secretary."

Such an assembly as is here mentioned, convened at Watertown, July, 1775, to which our brethren presented another memorial, in which they said, "Our real grievances are, that we, as well as our fathers, have from time to time been taxed on religious accounts where we were not represented; and when we have sued for our rights, our causes have been tried by interested judges. That the representatives in former assemblies, as well as the present, were elected by virtue only of civil and worldly qualifications, is a truth so evident, that we presume it need not be proved to this assembly; and for a civil legislature to impose religious taxes, is, we conceive, a power which their constituents never had to give, and is, therefore, going entirely out of their jurisdiction. Under the legal dispensation, where God himself prescribed the exact proportion of what the people were to give, yet none but persons of the worst characters ever attempted to take it *by force*. How daring then must it be for any to do it for Christ's ministers, who says, *Thy kingdom is not of this world!* We beseech this honorable assembly to take these matters into their wise and serious consideration before Him who has said, 'With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.' Is not all America now appealing to Heaven, against the injustice of being taxed where we are not represented, and against being judged by men, who are interested in getting away our money? And will Heaven approve of your doing the same thing to your fellow-servants! No, surely. We have no desire of representing this government as the worst of any who have imposed religious taxes; we fully believe the contrary. Yet as we are persuaded that an entire freedom from being taxed by civil rulers to religious worship, is not a mere favor, from any man or men in the world, but a right and property granted us by God, who commands us to *stand fast in it*, we have not only the same reason to refuse the acknowledgment of such a taxing power here, as America has the above said power, but also, according to our present light, we should wrong our consciences in allowing that power to men, which we believe belongs only to God."

^{*} Century Sermon, &c. p. 14. Whether this strong expression was made seriously by a Massachusetts member, or ironically by one from some other State, I am not sure. But it is certain from Mr. Backus' account, that the Massachusetts delegates were peculiarly insensible to the complaints of the oppressed Baptists.

This memorial was read in the assembly, and after laying a week on the table, was read again, debated upon, and referred to a committee, who reported favorably. A bill was finally brought in, in favor of the petitions, read once, and a time set for its second reading; but their other business crowded in, and nothing more was done about it. In this manner have the Baptists been shuffled out of their rights. After this, they made a number of attempts to get some security for their freedom from religious oppression, but none was ever formally given them. They had many fair promises, which were never fulfilled; and when the State Constitution was formed, the Bill of Rights was made to look one way, but priests and constables have gone another. The first article of the Bill of Rights declares "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights," &c. The second declares, "No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his *person, liberty, or estate*, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience," &c.

But notwithstanding all these declarations, many have been molested and restrained in their persons, liberties, and estates, on religious accounts.

These things we have thought proper to insert in Mr. Backus' biography. He was undoubtedly the draughtsman of some of the memorials of his brethren, and he was certainly the able and undaunted expositor of them all. His whole soul was engaged in the prosecution of his agency; inso-much that he became the champion of non-conformity in England, and was, on that account, much vilified and abused by the established party.

When he waited on the congress at Philadelphia, he was accused of attempting to break the union of the colonies. The newspapers abounded with pieces against him, some of which he answered, and others he treated as beneath his notice. In one, he was threatened with a halter and the gallows; but he had been too long inured to the war, to be terrified by such impotent threats.

In 1789, Mr. Backus took a journey into Virginia and North Carolina, in which he was gone about six months, preached a hundred and twenty-six sermons, and travelled by land and water going and coming over three thousand miles. This journey was undertaken in consequence of a request from the southern brethren, for some one of the ministers of the Warren association to come and assist them, in the great field of labor which was then opened before them.

This distinguished man finished his

earthly course with great composure, November 20, 1806, in the eighty-third year of his age, and sixtieth of his ministry. He had been laid by from his public labors a few months previous to his death, by a paralytic stroke which deprived him of his speech and the use of his limbs. But his reason was continued to the last; and in his expiring moments, he manifested an entire resignation to the will of Heaven. He left behind him a number of children, all of whom are respectable members of society. He never received much from his people; but by the blessing of Providence, he had accumulated an estate of considerable value.

It is presumed that but few Baptists of the present day are sufficiently sensible how much they are indebted to the labors of this departed champion of their cause.

"As a preacher, he was evangelical and plain. His discourses, though not ornamented with the rhetoric of language, were richly stored with scripture truth." His historical works contain a vast fund of materials of the utmost importance towards a history of our denomination, which must have sunk into oblivion, had it not been for his unwearied care.

The following description, &c., was furnished by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin.

Mr. Backus' personal appearance was very grave and venerable. He was not far from six feet in stature, and in the latter part of life considerably corpulent. He was naturally modest and diffident: which probably led him into a habit, which he continued to the day of his death, of shutting his eyes, when conversing or preaching on important subjects. His voice was clear and distinct, but rather sharp than pleasant. In both praying and preaching, he often appeared to be favored with such a degree of divine unction, as to render it manifest to all that God was with him. Few men have more uniformly lived and acted up to their profession than Mr. Backus. It may truly said of him, that *he was a burning and shining light*; and, though dead, he left behind him the good name which is better than precious ointment.

ROBERT CARTER.

ROBERT CARTER, Esq., once a member of the Virginia Executive Council, and on that account, commonly called Counsellor Carter, was baptized by Mr. Lunsford, shortly after he began to preach in these parts. He was one of the richest men in the state of Virginia, having, as many say, seven or eight hundred negroes, besides immense bodies of land, &c. But being a

man naturally of an unstable disposition, and falling in with certain Armenian writings, he fully embraced their doctrines. Had he stopped here, he might still have continued in the Baptist society, though not so happy as before. But, alas! there are so many wrong roads in religious pursuits, that when a man once gets wrong, it is impossible to foresee where he will stop. From the Armenian errors, Mr. Carter fell into the chimerical whims of Swedenborg. When he first heard of the books of that singular author, he made very light of them; but upon reading them, having a mind naturally fond of specious novelty, he fully embraced the whole of that absurd system, and was, of course, excluded from the Baptists. He was now as zealous for the New Jerusalem church, as he had been formerly for the Baptists. He moved to Baltimore, in order to find a preacher and a society of his own sentiments, and expended large sums of money to have Swedenborg's writings republished. He continued orderly in moral conduct, and died a few years since, after having lived to a considerable age.

JAMES CHILES.

JAMES CHILES appears to have been a Virginian. Before he embraced religion, having a sturdy set of limbs and a resolute spirit, he often employed them in bruising his countrymen's faces. Gambling was also with him a favorite employment. But God, who is rich in mercy, plucked him as a brand from the burning. He gave evidence to his friends that his heart was changed, but from his oddities he was never converted. He was a member of the first Separate Baptist church north of James river. He was always wrapped up in visions, and pretended to be taught of God how any matter was to eventuate. It happened, however, with him, as with the Trojan prophetess, that if he had the gift of prophecy, his cotemporaries had not the gift of faith. But notwithstanding all his imperfections, his success as a preacher was great. He was the first instrument of planting the gospel upon Blue Run. He also broke the way into Albemarle, where many were converted by his means. In various other places, God set seals to his ministry. After a few years, he moved to South Carolina, where he planted a large church. He retained his notions about visions to his last. Report says, that after meeting with misfortunes, and being reduced in property and health, he went to the house of a woman, and told her that his God said, he must die there

that day. She said, "I hope not Mr. Chiles." "Yes," said he, "my God says so; but, however, I will return a while, and consult my God again!" He retired for the consultation, and returning said, "Yes, madam, my God says, I must die to-day." The woman again expressed doubts. She said, "You look too well, Mr. Chiles, to die so soon." He said, "I will try my God once more." After retiring for some time in prayer, he came back and said, "It is fixed; the decree is irrevocable; to-day I must die in your house." Having so said, he stretched himself on the bed, and yielded up the ghost.

LEMUEL COVEL.

LEMUEL COVEL was, it is believed, a native of the state of New York; he was sent out into the ministry by the church in Providence, Saratoga county, thirty or forty miles above Albany. He commenced his ministerial labors under great disadvantages, being both poor and illiterate; and most of his life was spent under the pressure of poverty and worldly embarrassments. But notwithstanding he was obliged to labor almost constantly for his support, such were the astonishing powers of his mind, that he became one of the most distinguished preachers in the Baptist connection. His talents were far above mediocrity, his voice was clear and majestic, and his address was manly and engaging.

The doctrine of salvation by the cross, was the grand theme on which he dwelt with peculiar pleasure; and his preaching was of the most solid, perspicuous, and interesting kind. He lived the religion he professed, and exemplified by his conduct, the rules he laid down for others. As an itinerant preacher, his zeal and success was equalled by few; and perhaps exceeded by none among the American preachers. Missionary concerns lay near his heart; and in every thing pertaining to them, he seems to have been a kindred spirit to the famous Pearce of Birmingham.

He travelled much among the churches in New York and New England, and had often explored new and destitute regions. A little while before his death, the church in Cheshire, with which John Leland* is connected, had settled him as their pastor, had assumed the debts in which misfortunes had involved him, and his prospects for comfort and usefulness were never greater. As he was much inclined to

* This eminent servant of Christ died, at North Adams, Mass., aged eighty-six years.

travel, the church had settled him under the expectation, that he would be with them but a part of the time, and the Missionary Society of Boston most gladly afforded him their patronage what time he wished to itinerate. Dark and mysterious was that Providence, which cut off, in the meridian of life, and in the midst of usefulness, this worthy man. His constitution, naturally slender, had been much impaired by frequent attacks of disease, and by his too extensive labors of various kinds; and while travelling as a missionary in Upper Canada, in October, 1806, he, after a short illness; finished his earthly course. Elders Elkanah Holmes and David Irish were, at that time, engaged in the same field of missionary labors; the last of whom, thus describes the mournful event of Mr. Covel's death.

"At this meeting, (that is, at Charlotteville,) I heard that my dear brother Covel was dangerously ill. I therefore concluded to leave them, and go and see him, and then return again. The attention appeared so great in many places, that I could not believe it to be my duty to leave them yet. Accordingly, on Wednesday I set out, accompanied by two brethren. We were at this time sixty miles from the place where brother Covel was sick. We rode until we came within about twenty miles when we heard that he was dead and buried! Oh, how my poor heart felt! I was left among strangers almost three hundred miles from home, and one of the most dear and intimate friends I ever had, taken away in such an unexpected time! But the Judge of all the earth has, and will do right.

"Brother Covel had done his work, and went off in the triumphs of faith. We came to the place the next morning, and found Elder Holmes preaching his funeral sermon, and a solemn time it was. After sermon, we attended to settling brother Covel's business, and the next day set out to return to Townsend, where we arrived the day following, and found the church met together; and when we informed them of the death of brother Covel, the whole assembly appeared to be most deeply affected. It appears that this church was the fruit of his labors in his former visits. When he was with them last year, he assisted in their constitution. I think I may truly say, that there has never been a preacher in these parts more highly and universally esteemed than he was; and a greater and more universal lamentation I never heard in any place for any man, than in Upper Canada for him.

"But alas! he is gone. May God grant that, like Samson, he may slay more at his

death than he has done in all his life. Some of the church in Townsend, in their lamentation, would break their silence and cry out, "O, my father in the gospel!" "O, that blessed minister of Christ, who was used as God's instrument to open my eyes—shall I never see him again in this world!" We then joined and sang the third hymn of the second book of Dr. Watts, and concluded the opportunity in prayer to Almighty God, that he would sanctify this dispensation to the good of many precious souls."

Mr. Covel left a widow and five children to mourn his loss.

ELIJAH CRAIG.

ELIJAH CRAIG was one of the first converts to the Baptist preaching in Virginia. When Mr. Samuel Harris came and preached an experience of grace in Pittsylvania, he found his heart could testify to the truth of it, having some time previously experienced a change, which he had not viewed as conversion, but only the encouragement of Heaven to go on seeking. He was now so strengthened, that in conjunction with certain young converts in his neighborhood, who were of the Regular Baptists, he undertook to exhort, &c., and to hold little meetings in the neighborhood. His tobacco-house was their chapel. Being most of them laboring men, they used to labor all day, and hold meetings almost every night, at each other's houses, and on Sundays at the above mentioned tobacco-house. By these little prayer and exhortation meetings, great numbers were awakened and several converted.

Mr. Craig was one of the constituents of the Upper Spottsylvania church: he was also one of those who were afterwards dismissed from it, to form the church on Blue Run, over which he was soon afterwards ordained pastor. He was certainly a great blessing to Blue Run church: for under his care they flourished. He was accounted a preacher of considerable talents for that day; which, united to his zeal, honored him with the attention of his persecutors. They sent the sheriff and posse after him when at his plough. He was taken and carried before the magistrates of Culpepper. They, without hearing arguments, *pro or con*, ordered him to jail. At court, he with others, was arraigned. One of the lawyers told the court, they had better discharge them; for that oppressing them, would rather advance than retard them. He said, they were like a bed of camomile; the more they were trod, the more they

would spread. The court thought otherwise, and were determined to imprison them. Some of the court were of opinion, that they ought to be confined in a close dungeon; but the majority were for giving them the bounds. After staying there one month, preaching to all who came, he gave bond for good behavior and came out. He was also confined in Orange jail at another time.

He was a preacher of usefulness for many years after he commenced; but finally falling too much into land speculations, his ministry was greatly hindered. In 1786, he moved to Kentucky, where, continuing his land speculations, that bewildering pursuit, which has ruined the reputation and usefulness of so many in Kentucky and elsewhere, he became obnoxious to the church, and was excommunicated in 1791. How long he stayed out, is not known. He was, however, restored; and continued in the church until the year 1808, when he died.

He was naturally of a censorious temper; and always seemed better pleased to find out the faults, than the virtues of mankind. This, however, so long as he was warm in religion, was checked by a superior principle; but after he declined in his religious exercises, and became a land speculator, he could seldom be pleased. As good a proof as any that can be named, of this peevish temper, may be gathered from two pamphlets, his only writings that have ever been published. In the one he undertook to prove that stationed preachers or pastors of churches, are precluded by scriptures, from receiving any compensation for their services. In this pamphlet, he takes so many opportunities to condemn preachers for being money-seekers, that it would seem the main design of the publication was, to indulge a fault-finding temper. His other pamphlet was a personal philippic against Jacob Creath, on account of some private dispute between Creath and a Mr. Lewis; the former the pastor, and the latter one of the principle members of the Town-Fork church, in the neighborhood of Lexington. Without saying any thing about the merits of the case, or the provocation given by Mr. Creath, candor compels us to say, that no provocation can justify the style of this pamphlet. It is written with a pen dipped in poison. The Baptists are a free people; and every one in these matters, says and does that which seemeth right in his own eyes; but it is to be hoped, that the present, nor any other generation, will ever witness another publication, written in the style and temper of the above pamphlet; and that, too, by one Baptist preacher against another.

MORGAN EDWARDS.

MORGAN EDWARDS, A. M.—The following biographical sketch of this truly eminent man, and distinguished promoter of the Baptist cause in America, was drawn by Dr. William Rogers of Philadelphia, in a sermon preached at his funeral, and by him communicated to Dr. Rippon of London, who published it in the twelfth number of his Annual Register, from which it is now extracted. The sermon, which for some cause was not printed, was preached in the first Baptist church in Philadelphia, February 22, 1794, on 2 Cor. vi. 8. *By honor or dishonor; by evil report and good report; as deceivers and yet true.* The Doctor, after a general and pertinent illustration of his text, thus proceeds: My highly esteemed friend and father, the Rev. Mr. Morgan Edwards, requested, as you have already been informed, that these words should be preached from, as soon as convenient after his disease. I presume he found them descriptive of what he met with in the course of his ministry.

"*Honor*, Mr. Edwards certainly had, both in Europe and America. The college and academy of Philadelphia, at a very early period, honored him as a man of learning, and a popular preacher, with a diploma, constituting him *Master of Arts*; this was followed by a degree *ad eundem* in the year 1769, from the college of Rhode Island, being the first commencement in that institution. In this seminary he held a *Fellowship*, and filled it with reputation, till he voluntarily resigned it in 1789; age and distance having rendered him incapable of attending the meetings of the Corporation any longer.

"He also met with *dishonor*; but he complained not much of this, as it was occasioned by his strong attachment to the Royal Family of Great Britain, in the beginning of the American war, which fixed upon him the name of a *Tory*: this I should have omitted mentioning, had not the deceased enjoined it upon me. For any person to be so marked out in those days, was enough to bring on political opposition and destruction of property; all of which took place with respect to Mr. Edwards, though he never harbored the thought of doing the least injury to the United States, by abetting the cause of our enemies.

"A *good report* our brother also had. The numerous letters brought with him across the Atlantic, from the Rev. Dr. John Gill and others, reported handsome things of him; and so did, in return, the letters that went from America to the then parent country.

"*Evil reports* also fell to his share; but most of these were false reports, and therefore he gave credit for them as a species of persecution. And even the title of *deceitful* did not escape him. Often has he been told that he was an Armenian, though he professed to be a Calvinist; that he was a Universalist in disguise, &c. Yet he was true to his principles. These may be seen in our confession of faith, agreeing with that re-published by the Baptist churches assembled at London, in the year 1689. He seldom meddled with the five polemical points; but when he did, he always avoided abusive language. The charge of Universalism brought against him was not altogether groundless; for though he was not a Universalist himself, he professed a great regard for many who were, and he would sometimes take their part against violent opposers, in order to inculcate moderation.

"Mr. Edwards was born in Trevethin parish, Monmouthshire, in the principality of Wales, on May 9th, 1722, old style; and had his grammar learning in the same parish, at a village called Trosnat; afterwards he was placed in the Baptist seminary at Bristol in Old England, at the time the president's chair was filled by the Rev. Mr. Foskett. He entered on the ministry, in the sixteenth year of his age. After he had finished his academical studies, he went to Boston in Lincolnshire, where he continued seven years, preaching the gospel to a small congregation in that town. From Boston, he removed to Cork, in Ireland, where he was ordained, June 1, 1757, and resided nine years. From Cork, he returned to Great Britain, and preached about twelve months at Rye, in Sussex. While at Rye, the Rev. Dr. Gill,* and other London ministers, in pursuance of letters they received from this church, (Philadelphia,) urged him to pay you a visit. He complied, took his passage for America, arrived here May 23, 1761, and shortly afterwards became your pastor. He had the oversight of this church for many years; voluntarily resigned his office, when he found the cause, so near and dear to his heart, sinking under his hands; but continued preaching to the people, till they obtained another minister, the person who now addresses you, in the procuring of whom he was not inactive.

"After this, Mr. Edwards purchased a

* It is said, that the church in Philadelphia, sent to Dr. Gill of London, to assist them in obtaining a pastor; but that they required so many accomplishments to be united in him, that the Doctor wrote them back, that he did not know as he could find a man in England who would answer their description; informing them, at the same time, that Mr. Morgan Edwards, who was then preaching at Rye in the county of Sussex, came the nearest of any one who could be obtained.

plantation in Newark, New-Castle county, state of Delaware, and moved thither with his family in the year 1772; he continued preaching the word of life and salvation in a number of vacant churches, till the American war. He then desisted, and remained silent, till after the termination of our revolutionary troubles, and a consequent reconciliation with this church. He then occasionally read lectures in divinity in this city and other parts of Pennsylvania, also in New Jersey, Delaware and New England; but for very particular and affecting reasons* could never be prevailed upon to resume the sacred character of a minister.

"Our worthy friend departed this life, at Pencader, New-Castle county, Delaware state, on Wednesday, the 28th of January, 1795, in the seventy-third year of his age; and was buried agreeably to his own desire, in the aisle of this meeting-house, with his first wife and their children; her maiden name was Mary Nunn, originally of Cork, in Ireland, by whom he had several children, all of whom are dead, excepting two sons, William and Joshua; the first, if alive, is a military officer in the British service; the other is now present with us, paying this last public tribute of filial affection to the memory of a fond and pious parent. Mr. Edwards' second wife was a Mrs. Singleton, of the state of Delaware, who is also dead, by whom he had no issue.

"Several of Mr. Edwards' pieces have appeared in print, viz: 1. A Farewell Discourse, delivered at the Baptist meeting-house in Rye, February, 8, 1761, on Acts xx. 25, 26. 'And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more; wherefore, I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of

* The delicate circumstances in which Dr. Rogers was placed, at the time he delivered his discourse, was probably the reason why he was not more explicit on the subject here referred to. It is said that Mr. Edwards, in the midst of his troubles, was guilty, in a few instances, at least, of using intemperately an antidote, too often resorted to in time of trouble. And as he had always maintained the sentiment, that it was improper for a minister of the gospel, after what he called a *capitot* fall, ever again to resume his ministerial office, he, for the remainder of his days carried his belief into practical operation. It is painful to have occasion to relate an affair, so much against the reputation of a man so good and great as Mr. Edwards, his slips and mistakes notwithstanding; but it is hoped the Baptists generally will profit by the unpleasant story; and that those ministers, (and some it must be acknowledged there are,) who are so unhappy as to be left to similar falls, would imitate his example, instead of crowding themselves forward, with their bespattered garments, to the grief of their brethren, and to the injury of the cause which they endeavor to promote. A preacher whose reputation is sullied, either by women or wine, (his greatest foes) is like a broken looking glass, which may be mended, it is true, so as to do its former service, but it will always be a broken thing.

all men.' This passed through two editions, 8vo. 2. A Sermon preached in the college of Philadelphia, at the ordination of the Rev. Samuel Jones, (now D. D.) with a narrative of the manner in which the ordination was conducted, 8vo. 3. The Customs of Primitive churches, or a set of Propositions relative to the Name, Materials, Constitution, Powers, Officers, Ordinances, &c., of a church; to which are added, their proofs from scripture, and historical narratives of the manner in which most of them have been reduced to practice, 4to. This book was intended for the Philadelphia association, in hopes they would have improved upon the plan, so that their joint productions might have introduced a full and unexceptionable treatise of church discipline. 4. A New-Year's Gift; a sermon preached in this house, January 1, 1770, from these words, 'This year thou shalt die,' which passed through four editions. What gave rise* to this discourse will probably be recollected for many years to come. 5. Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, both British and German, distinguished into First-day, Keithian, Seventh-day, Tunker, and Rogerene Baptists, 12mo. 1792. The motto of both volumes is, *Lo! a people that dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* 6. A Treatise on the Millennium. 7. A Treatise on the New Heaven and New Earth: this was re-printed in London. 8. *Res Sacra*, a Translation from the Latin. The subject of this piece is an enumeration of all the acts of public worship, which the New Testament styles *offerings* and *sacrifices*; among which, giving money for religious uses is one; and therefore, according to Mr. Edwards' opinion, is to be done in the places of public worship, and with equal devotion.

"Besides what he gave to his intimate friends as tokens of personal regard, he has left behind him forty-two volumes of sermons, twelve sermons to a volume, all written in large print hand; also about a dozen volumes in quarto, on special subjects, in some of which he was respondent, and therefore they may not contain his own real sentiments. These, with many other things, unite to show that he was no idler.

"He used to recommend it to ministers to write their sermons at large, but not to read them in the pulpit; if he did, he advised the preacher to write a large fair hand, and make himself so much master of his subject, that a glance might take in a whole page. Being a good classic, and a man of refinement, he was vexed with such discourses from the pulpit as deserved no attention, and much more to hear barbarisms; because, as he used to say, 'They were arguments either of vanity or indolence, or both; for an American, with an English grammar in his hand, a learned friend at his elbow, and close application for six months, might make himself master of his mother tongue.'

"The Baptist churches are much indebted to Mr. Edwards. They will long remember the time and talents he devoted to their best interests both in Europe and America. Very far was he from a selfish person. When the arrears of his salary, as pastor of this church, amounted to upwards of three hundred and seventy-two pounds, and he was put in possession of a house by the church, till the principal and interest should be paid, he resigned the house, and relinquished a great part of the debt, lest the church should be distressed.

"The college of Rhode Island is also greatly beholden to him for his vigorous exertions at home and abroad, in raising

"It has often been said, that when great men err, they err egregiously. So did Mr. Edwards in the instance to which his biographer here refers. Led by a mere foolish impulse, and not by scripture, the good man persuaded himself, that he should die on a certain day, and accordingly, preached his own funeral sermon; but the event did not answer to the prediction; he could not die for his life." Wisdom was learnt from folly, and many said, we have the scripture to walk by; a more sure word than voices, new revelations and impulses, to which we do well to take heed, as to a light that shineth in a dark place. This was a teaching lesson. The late excellent Mr. George Whitefield, was, in his earliest days, under a similar delusion. His wife was with child; he conjectured she would bring forth a son; she did—they called his name John; in all this there was no harm; but Mr. Whitefield believed that the child was not only to be continued to him, but to be a preacher of the everlasting gospel. "Satan was permitted," says he, "to give me some wrong impressions, whereby, as I now find, I misapplied several texts of scripture!" About a week after the birth of the child, his father baptized him in the tabernacle. Thousands went away big with hopes, that the child would be employed in the ministry, and Mr. Whitefield as much so as any of them; but little John died when he was about four months old, without

being great in the sight of the Lord, as his father had promised himself. This mistake was over-ruled in mercy, and the great and good man himself, thus concludes the narrative of this affair, (Letter 547th, vol. 2d of his works:) "I hope what has happened before his birth, and since at his death, has taught me such lessons, as, if duly improved, may render his mistaken parent more sober minded, more experienced in Satan's devices, and consequently more useful, in his future labors, to the church of God." How proper, that ministers and Christians should learn from these instances, to avoid all enthusiastic impulses, and be concerned to put God's meaning on God's word!"—*Rippon's Register*.

I find that some of Mr. Edwards' friends are unwilling to admit that he intended the discourse above mentioned for his funeral sermon. But I have been assured by one of his most confidential friends, that the story is literally true; and that he did actually request one of the senior ministers in the Philadelphia association, to preach a sermon at his interment. Although Mr. Edwards lived twenty-five years after this event, yet he did actually die, at the time in a figurative sense. And it is reported of him, that he said to a friend, some time after this unpleasant affair happened, that he was mistaken in his impulses: for he thought it was the man, and not the minister, that should die.

money for that institution, and for his particular activity in procuring its charter. This he deemed the greatest service he ever did for the honor of the Baptist name. As one of its first sons, I cheerfully make this public testimony of his laudable and well timed zeal.

"In the first volume of his Materials, he proposed a plan for uniting all the Baptists on the continent in one body politic, by having the association of Philadelphia (the centre) incorporated by charter, and by taking one delegate out of each association into the corporation; but finding this impracticable at that time, he visited the churches from New Hampshire to Georgia, gathering materials towards the history of the whole. Permit me to add, that this plan of union, as yet, has not succeeded.

"Mr. Edwards was the moving cause of having the minutes of the Philadelphia association printed, which he could not bring to bear for some years; and therefore, at his own expense, he printed tables, exhibiting the original and annual state of the associating churches.

"There was nothing uncommon in Mr. Edwards' person; but he possessed an original genius. By his travels in England, Ireland, and America, commixing with all sorts of people, and by close application to reading, he had obtained a remarkable ease of behavior in company, and was furnished with something pleasant or informing to say on all occasions. His Greek Testament was his favorite companion, of which he was a complete master; his Hebrew Bible next, but he was not so well versed in the Hebrew as in the Greek language; however, he knew so much of both as authorized him to say, as often as he did, that the Greek and Hebrew are the two eyes of a minister, and the translations are but commentaries; because they vary in sense as commentators do. He preferred the ancient British version to any he had read; observing that the idioms of the Welsh fitted those of the Hebrew and Greek, like hand and glove.

"Our aged and respectable friend is gone the way of all the earth; but he lived to a good old age and with the utmost composure closed his eyes on all the things of time. Though he has gone, this is not gone with him; it remains with us, that the Baptist interest was ever uppermost with him, and that he labored more to promote it than to promote his own; and this he did, because he believed it to be the interest of Christ above any in Christendom. His becoming a Baptist was the effect of previous examination and conviction, having been brought up in the Episcopal church, for which church he retained a particular regard during his whole life."

BENJAMIN FOSTER.

BENJAMIN FOSTER, D. D., late pastor of the first Baptist church in the city of New York, descended from respectable parents of the Congregational church, and was born at Danvers, in the county of Essex, Massachusetts, June 12, 1750.

Agreeably to the custom of his native state, he received the early part of his education at the town school; and as he evinced, from his tender years, a remarkably devout and pious disposition, his parents devoted his whole time to academical pursuits in that seminary, in order to fit him for the university, where they intended to fix him, as soon as his age would admit of his removal from under their immediate care. At the age of eighteen, he was placed at Yale college, in Connecticut, at that time under the direction of the learned and pious President Dagget, where he soon distinguished himself, no less by his religious and exemplary life, than by his assiduity and success in classical literature.

About this time, several tracts relative to the proper subjects of baptism, and also to the scriptural mode of administering that divine ordinance having made their appearance, the matter was considerably agitated in college, and fixed upon as a proper subject for discussion. Mr. F. was appointed to defend infant sprinkling. To prepare himself for the dispute, he used the utmost exertion: he endeavored to view the question in every light in which he could possibly place it: he carefully searched the holy scriptures, and examined the history of the church from the times of the apostles. The result however, was very different from what had been expected: for when the day appointed for discussion had arrived, he was so far from being prepared to defend infant sprinkling, that, to the great astonishment of the officers of the college, he avowed himself a decided convert to the doctrine, that only those who profess faith in Christ are the subjects, and that immersion only is the mode of Christian baptism; and of which he continued, ever after, a steady, zealous and powerful advocate.

His mind was impressed with serious concern at an early period, but he had nearly arrived at manhood before he obtained a satisfactory evidence that he had passed from death unto life. While a youth his temptations to blasphemy, were often so strong, that, as he related to some pious friends, he has laid fast hold of his lips, to prevent himself from sinning against his Creator.

He graduated about the year 1772, soon after which he was baptized, and joined

the church in Boston, of which Samuel Stillman, D. D., was pastor, under whose fostering care he applied himself to the study of divinity, and took upon himself the charge of the Baptist church in Leicester, Massachusetts, over which he was the same year regularly ordained as pastor. During his residence in that place, he published a tract entitled "The Washing of Regeneration, or the Divine Rite of Immersion," in answer to a treatise on the subject of baptism, written by the Rev. Mr. Fish. And soon after he published his "Primitive Baptism defended, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. John Cleaveland;" in both of which he discovered considerable erudition, great depth of argument, and much Christian charity. After having continued at Leicester for several years, his connection with that church was dissolved, and he preached a short time in his native town of Danvers; but as neither Danvers nor Leicester afforded him the use of such books as were necessary for a person of his studious turn, he accepted of an invitation to take upon him the pastoral care of a church in Newport, Rhode Island, where he soon had the satisfaction to find, that his sphere of usefulness was considerably enlarged, and his means of study greatly improved. On an invitation from the first Baptist church in New York, he paid them a visit in 1783, and after having preached there for a short time, received an unanimous call to settle amongst them as their pastor. Upon his return to Newport, he consulted with his church, who, though highly pleased with the eminent services of their learned and faithful teacher, were unwilling to throw any obstacle in the way, which might impede his removal to a place, where his ministerial labors might be still more extensively useful. He therefore accepted the call to New York; and having taken upon him the pastoral charge of that church in the autumn of the same year, continued in that station till the time of his death.

In September 1795, the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by the college of Rhode Island, in consequence of a learned publication of his, entitled, "A Dissertation on the seventy weeks of Daniel, the particular and exact fulfilment of which prophecy is considered and proved."

From the time Dr. Foster set out as a gospel minister, he was uniformly assiduous in the discharge of all the duties of his office; nor did his zeal in the service of his master abate, as he advanced in life; for during his last twelve or fourteen years, it was his constant practice to preach from four to six sermons every week. But the yellow fever, which committed so great havoc in New York, during the autumn of

1798, put a period to the usefulness of this worthy man. This dreadful malady had begun to prevail, and several of his friends had sunk under its malignity. In their last illness, Dr. Foster was frequent in his visits, when he prayed with them and administered the soothing consolations of religion. As he was one of those whom no appearance of danger could intimidate from persevering in what he considered to be the path of duty, he was not unwilling to visit those scenes of affliction, from which, at that time, many of the best of men shrunk back with terror. He was however, seized with the disorder, and after an illness of a very few days, expired, August 26, 1798, to the great and almost irreparable loss of his church, aged forty-nine years.

Dr. Foster, as a scholar, particularly in the Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean languages, has left few superiors. As a divine, he was strictly Calvinistic, and full of the doctrine of salvation by free grace. As a preacher, he was indefatigable. In private life, he was innocent as a child, and harmless as a dove, fulfilling all the duties of life with the greatest punctuality. The following inscription on a handsome marble over his grave, in the Baptist burying ground in New York, written by an eminent Presbyterian clergyman of that city, is an eulogium justly due to his memory: "As a scholar and divine, he excelled; as a preacher he was eminent; as a Christian he shone conspicuously; in his piety he was fervent; the church was comforted by his life, and it now laments his death."

Dr. Foster was twice married, and in both instances was blest with a pious and excellent companion. His first wife, who was Elizabeth Green, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Green, of Leicester, died August 19, 1793; and his second was Martha, daughter of Mr. James Bingham of New York, whom he survived but a very short time. She died July 27, 1798.

JOSEPH COOK.

JOSEPH COOK.—Mr. Cook was born of pious parents in the city of Bath, Somersetshire, England, and called by divine grace in the early part of his life, under the ministry of the late celebrated and much esteemed Rev. George Whitefield, at the chapel of the late Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, at Bath. Mr. Whitefield was exceedingly kind to him, and often took him out with him in his carriage, to converse with him about divine things. As he very soon gave clear evidence, not only of a sound conversion, but also that

he had ministerial gifts, Lady Huntingdon, who had a great regard for him, which continued to her dying day, sent him in the nineteenth year of his age, to her college at Treveca, in Brecknockshire, South Wales. Here he applied himself closely to his studies, and made considerable improvement. He was much esteemed by his tutors and fellow-students, being of a good obliging temper; but what most endeared him was his lively, spiritual turn of mind, and his readiness to help and comfort any who were in trouble. His very first excursions in the villages, to exercise his gifts, the Lord owned, so that he preached with acceptance and success.

In September, 1771, Lady Huntingdon received a sensible anonymous letter, requesting her to send a minister to Margate, in the isle of Thanet, describing it as a licentious place, particularly at the watering season. She made known the contents of it to one of her senior students, Mr. William Aldridge and gave him the liberty of choosing any student he pleased in the college to accompany and assist him in this important work. He fixed upon Mr. Cook, who cordially approved of the design. Preparations, therefore, were made for the journey, and after taking an affectionate leave of all the college, attended with many hearty prayers for their safety and prosperity, they proceeded to the place of action. Being utterly unknown to any person at Margate, they began to preach out of doors. Many attended, and not in vain. Several were savingly wrought upon, and turned from the error of their ways, while old professors were stirred up, who seemed to have settled upon their lees; and now these itinerants preached not only at Margate, but at many other places in the isle of Thanet.

About this time, many persons in Dover, not satisfied with Mr. Wesley's ministers and doctrine, having left his meeting, and assembled in a private room for exhortation and prayer, sent a very pressing invitation to Messrs. Aldridge and Cook, which they accepted. The former preached at Dover for the first time, in the market-place, on a Sabbath-day, but met with great opposition. A Presbyterian meeting-house, which had been shut up for a considerable time, was therefore procured by the persons who had given them the invitation, in which Mr. Aldridge and his colleague ever afterwards preached, while they continued at Dover. It was now agreed on by all parties, that Messrs. Aldridge and Cook should supply Margate and Dover constantly, and change every week: accordingly Mr. Cook came to Dover, and preached on the next Tuesday evening. His first text was Heb. ii. 3, "How shall we escape, if we neglect

so great salvation." Many attended, and were much struck at the sight of such a youth, who delivered his discourse extempore, which was a new thing to most of them. This sermon, was, he believes, peculiarly blessed to Mr. Atwood, now one of the Baptist ministers, at Falkstone, in Kent, so that he was obliged to say, "Here is a man that has told me all things that ever I did: surely he is a servant of Christ." Mr. Cook continued to supply Dover in his turn, for some time, and was remarkably useful in winning souls to Christ. Mr. Cook and Mr. Aldridge preached occasionally at Deal; and at Falkstone their word was signally blessed to many, several of whom afterwards joined the Baptist interest, and one of them became a deacon in Mr. Atwood's church.

Two years after, the students were called in from all parts of the country to the college in Wales, to form a mission for North America, as very pleasing and encouraging letters had been received by Lady Huntingdon, desiring her to send faithful and zealous ministers thither. She therefore willingly entered into the plan, laying the whole of it before the students, with her earnest request that they would take the same into mature consideration, and especially make it a matter of prayer; and that then, those who saw their way clear to go, would declare it. At length, Mr. Cook, with others, freely offered themselves for this service, came up to London, and related their views of this work before many thousands in the tabernacle, Moorfields, and elsewhere; an account of which was printed. After taking a very affecting farewell, they embarked for America, with the Rev. Mr. Percy, who afterwards returned, and had a meeting-house, at Woolwich in Kent.

However, the ship was detained in the Downs by a contrary wind. Mr. Cook, being so near, wished to see his friends at Dover once more. He went therefore unexpectedly, and preached a lecture, which was remarkably owned. Several of his fellow-students also went the next Sabbath to Dover to preach. A fair and brisk gale sprung up in the night; the ship sailed, and they were all left behind. Two of them remained in England, Mr. Henry Mead, a minister now belonging to the establishment, in London, and Mr. William White, since deceased. Mr. Cook with the rest, were yet determined on the voyage, and prosecuted the plan. On their arrival in America, as they had all preached in England, and considered themselves authorized to do so upon their general plan, they travelled about the country, and preached with much acceptance among serious Christians of every denomination,

but particularly among the Baptists, whom he found in a lively state of religion at that time. Though these students, were commonly considered as belonging to the Episcopal church, then the established religion of the southern colonies, and seemed fond to keep up this idea among the populace, yet they generally appeared pleased with the company and conversation of the Baptists; and the most of them gave it to be understood, that they had received convictions respecting the justice and propriety of the Baptists' distinguishing sentiments, which, by one or two of the students, was represented to have arisen from the introduction of a young man of Baptist principles into the Countess' seminary at Wales, whose arguments had made so great an impression on the minds of the students, that her ladyship thought proper to discard him. Mr. Cook, however, kept himself considerably reserved, and more at a distance from the Baptist churches than the rest. Messrs. Hill and Cosson, after fully professing Baptist sentiments, in their conversation among the Baptists, joined the Presbyterians. Mr. Roberts, who had professed the same in a letter to one of the Baptist ministers, united himself with a respectable congregation of Independents in Georgia; and, on some misunderstanding arising, left off preaching, took a commission in the army, rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and died. Mr. Lewis Richards for a while suppressed his convictions, and engaged in a parish, as a candidate for the rectorship, but some time after united himself to the Baptist church at the High Hills of Santee, was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Furman, and is now a pastor of the Baptist church in Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Cook had obtained the office of a parish, but on his marriage with a young lady, Miss Elizabeth Bulline, of Baptist parents, then dead, at the village of Dorchester, about eighteen miles from Charleston, he determined to settle there, and preach to a mixed people; in respect of religious profession, a great part of them were, and are Episcopalians; a number, the posterity of a Baptist church, which has become extinct, that once flourished under the ministry of the Rev. Isaac Chalker, a pious and eminent divine; and the remains of an Independent congregation, removed to Georgia, the same mentioned above, to which Mr. Roberts had united. With the latter, Mr. Cook formed his closest connection, preaching ordinarily in the place of worship belonging to them. The dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies was now become very serious; the sword was drawn; blood had begun to deluge the field of battle, and a general

concern for religious as well as civil liberty, possessed the breasts of the Americans. A temporary form of government, agreed on by South Carolina, while a reconciliation to Great Britain on equitable principles was hoped for, had continued the partial establishment, and legal support of the church of England. This convinced the Dissenters of the necessity of uniting and making vigorous exertions for obtaining the *equal* enjoyment of all the privileges proper to a free people. For they now saw, that the Episcopalians, who generally possessed the most conspicuous stations, with their usual appendages of wealth and influence, while they declaimed against the unconstitutional claims of Great Britain, and were very fond of receiving the assistance of their dissenting brethren in the national struggle, were determined to secure to themselves every exclusive and partial advantage in their power.

An invitation was now given to ministers and churches of various denominations, but principally to the Baptists, among whom the business originated, to meet at the High Hills of Santee, at the seat of the Baptist church there, which is nearly the centre of the state, to consult their general interests. To this meeting, which was held early in 1776, came Mr. Cook, with two other of the young gentlemen mentioned above, and continued there to the next Sabbath, after the business was concluded, which being the season for the administration of the Lord's supper in that church, divine worship was publicly attended on the two preceding days. On Saturday, Mr. Cook had an invitation to preach; and a little before service began, he took aside Mr. Hart, the minister of the Baptist church at Charleston, who had staid to assist at the solemnity, and Mr. Furman, the pastor of the church at Santee, who was then very young in the ministry, and has since succeeded Mr. Hart in Charleston, requesting their advice on a matter under which his mind labored. They were informed by him, that he had, for a considerable time, felt strong convictions respecting the propriety of believers' baptism, and its necessity in order to a universal obedience of Christ, in a becoming manner. That he had endeavored to silence his conscience, and avoid the means of conviction, during a great part of the time; but that of late he had felt such guilt and shame in reflecting on his past conduct, as compelled him to a serious consideration of the subject, with a full determination of heart to do whatever appeared to be the will of God; and that the result of this investigation was the most satisfactory evidence in favor of what he had so long thought to be his duty. This, with the forcible application

to his mind, of Annanias' address to Paul, "And now, why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord," made him anxious to comply with his duty without delay, especially as a favorable opportunity then offered. "I have only to add, gentlemen," concluded he, "that I should be glad of your advice, whether to embrace the ordinance immediately, or defer it to be administered among the people where I live; and if I submit to it immediately, seeing my sentiments and intention have been hitherto unknown to the public, whether it would be proper to make Annanias' address to St. Paul, just now mentioned, and from which I have felt so much conviction, the subject of the discourse I am about to deliver, and just in the light I now behold it, as it applies to myself? This, I confess, is the dictate of my own mind, and I would not wish to act unadvisedly."

The ministers were both of opinion, that it would be best not to delay the administration, and that it was proper he should follow the dictate of his own mind respecting the subject and method of preaching proposed. He preached accordingly, to the surprise and conviction of many, and was the next day baptized by the pastor of that church, the Rev. Mr. Furman, after satisfying the church respecting his acquaintance with experimental religion; and on farther consideration, having enjoyed his visits before, and being fully satisfied with his ministerial qualifications, they began to contemplate his ordination. He was accordingly ordained a few days after by Mr. Hart and Mr. Furman. A vacancy having taken place in the church of Euhaw, by the death of an excellent divine, the Rev. Francis Pelot, Mr. Cook soon received a call to take the pastoral care of it, which he accepted, and preached there without interruption for some time; but the invasion of the state taking place, and his exposed situation, near the sea-coast, having already subjected him to losses and distress, he removed to an interior part of the country, where he continued to the conclusion of the war, but suffered anew in the ravages of the state by the troops under Lord Cornwallis and other commanders; so that when he returned to the Euhaw, on the commencement of the peace, he was reduced to a state of poverty. Previous to his leaving Euhaw, he had lost his first wife, and married a second; some circumstances attending this marriage, gave displeasure to a number of his friends, and himself acknowledged he was chargeable with imprudence in the transaction, for which he was sorry.

Hitherto nothing very considerable had

appeared in Mr. Cook's ministry in America, towards promoting the kingdom of Christ; but on his return to his church, having passed through some humbling scenes, and entered more fully into the gospel spirit, he labored with much success. The church had been greatly reduced before he took charge of it, and at his return was almost become extinct; yet it pleased God, by his ministry to add a pleasing number to it in a few years. The account of additions, by baptism, presented to the association, for the five last years of his life, was seventy-eight; many of these are persons of real worth and respectability.

In the September of 1790, he wrote a letter to Mr. Rippon, of London, in which he gave a pleasing account of the believing Negro church at Savannah, and then added, "My sphere of action is great; having two congregations to regard, at a considerable distance from each other, exclusive of this where I reside; as, also, friendly visits to pay to sister churches, and societies of other denominations, who are destitute of ministers, frequently riding under a scorching sun, with a fever, twenty miles in a morning, and then preach afterwards. Our brethren in England, have scarcely any idea of what hardships we struggle with, who travel to propagate the gospel. I have been in a very poor state of health for two months, but it has not prevented an attention to the duties of my station. O, what a blessing is health! We cannot be too thankful for it."

This good man had now almost finished his course. The circumstances of his dissolution may be collected from a letter, written by one of his dear friends of which the following is an extract:

"TO THE REV. MR. RIPPON, LONDON.

"Euhaw, South Carolina, October 4, 1790.

"REV. SIR: I could have wished a more agreeable event than the present had been the occasion of my address to you; but when I consider I am fulfilling the promise made to the Rev. Mr. Cook, of this place, now with God, it seems to afford a kind of melancholy pleasure. About ten weeks before his decease, he returned in the middle of a sultry day, from preaching to a congregation, about twenty miles from hence, complaining of feverish symptoms, with a dry cough, a tightness of the breast, and great lassitude; notwithstanding which, he relaxed not his labors. In this state he continued, until two weeks before his exit, when he delivered his last sermon from Eph. i. 6. 'To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.' He was then so weak, that I feared he would not be able

to proceed, but he was greatly supported and much engaged. He reminded the congregation of the truths he had taught, assured them he felt acquitted of the blood of all men, having fully declared the counsel of God in his ministry. He pathetically addressed himself to his hearers of every age, rank and station, confident, as he told them, that this was to be the last sermon they were ever to hear from him; and then concluded with a solemn farewell. The succeeding Sabbath he was to have preached on St. Helena island.

"On Thursday following, the symptoms began to be so alarming, that I feared he would not continue long. He desired me to read to him the 324th hymn in your Selection, entitled, *The Christian remembering all the way the Lord has led him*. Some time after, he assured me, he died in the firm belief of the doctrines he had preached, and requested I would write to his friends in England. He sent for Mr. Bealer, an amiable man, and deacon of his church, since dead, and consulted with him about the interests of his church, particularly about obtaining a successor to the pastoral office; and as the following Sabbath was sacramental season, when he was assured the ordinance would be administered by his brethren in the ministry, who were to be present on the occasion, he said, 'Next Sabbath, when you are feasting below, I shall be at the banquet above.' He fixed upon the place of his interment, and requested that the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Furman should preach his funeral sermon from 2d Tim. i. 12. 'For I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.' From this time he inclined to be silent, and seemed engaged in secret prayer. On Friday, he was rather easier; and on Saturday morning, he joined in prayer with the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Holcombe, of Philadelphia, who came to assist at an ordination. About noon he grew worse. Dr. Mosse, one of the members of his church, who attended him in the last stages of his illness, writes thus, in a letter to a friend, concerning the last day of Mr. Cook's life; 'Mr. Cook appeared to me to have a heart fully resigned to the will of God: some time before his death, he told me, that his whole hope of eternal redemption was built on the sure foundation-stone, Jesus Christ; but I do not feel, said he, that great comfort and joy I have often experienced, and which I felt twelve or fourteen days ago, as noted in my diary.'"

Visible tokens of dissolution inducing a friend to ask if he should pray with him; he gave assent, and, at the conclusion audibly said Amen; after which, he spoke no

more intelligibly, but continued struggling with the last enemy till half past three, Lord's day morning, Sept. 26, 1790, when he was released from all his labors, leaving a disconsolate widow under great affliction; an only child, a son by his first wife, about fifteen years of age, in whom all his earthly hopes seem to centre, as he possessed a love of religion, with a thirst for learning,* and a church, almost every member of which looked to him as a common father in Christ. His remains were interred the same evening, immediately after the administration of the sacrament, when a very tender and animated exhortation, to an audience dissolved in tears, was delivered at the grave, by Dr. Holcombe, who succeeded him in the charge of the church. The funeral sermon, by Dr. Furman, was not delivered for a considerable time after, owing partly to the distance of eighty miles, and partly to several unavoidable hindrances. Mrs. Cook survived her husband but a few weeks, being taken off by a short and severe illness. Mr. Cook was of middle stature, and slender make, but had acquired a degree of corpulency a few years before his death. His mental powers were good, and had received improvement by an acquaintance with the liberal arts and sciences, though his education had not been completed. His conversation was free and engaging. As a preacher, he was zealous, orthodox, and experimental. He spoke with animation and much fervor: though his talent lay so much in the persuasive, that at the end of his sermon he frequently left the audience in tears. He was taken from his labors at a time when his character had arisen to considerable eminence, and a spacious field of usefulness was opening all around him, and at a time when he was greatly endeared to his people. He was a little in advance of forty years at the time of his death.

DANIEL FRISTOE.

DANIEL FRISTOE was born at Chappawmsick, Stafford county, Virginia, December 7, 1739. He was bred an Episcopalian, but embraced the Baptist sentiments soon after they began to prevail in Virginia and was baptized by his spiritual father, David Thomas. When young, he received a liberal English education, and though fond of fashionable amusements, was not addicted to the grosser vices of the times.

* This son, Joseph B. Cook, was afterwards educated at Providence college, R. I., and is now a respectable minister in South Carolina.

His conversion was brought about on this wise. When about twenty-three years of age, his curiosity led him to go to a considerable distance to hear a Baptist preacher, whose name is not known. While at the meeting, his horse strayed away, which obliged him to tarry all night at the place. In the course of the evening, many came in, who had lately been converted, and who, by entering freely into religious conversation, brought strange things to his ears, and awakened his attention to eternal things. He returned home with much seriousness and solicitude, and after laboring awhile under great distress of mind, was brought into the liberty of the gospel. He now began exhorting, but was soon called by his brethren to the ministry. His course was short but rapid, and the success which attended his labors, appears to have been unusually great. About the year 1774, he was sent as a messenger from the Ketockton to the Philadelphia association. Here he caught the small-pox, and after a short tour of preaching in New Jersey, returned to Philadelphia, and began his journey homeward, but was laid by at Marcus Hook, a small town, a few miles below the city, where he died in the thirty-fifth year of his age. His remains were carried back to Philadelphia, and buried in the Baptist ground.

The following extract from Mr. Fristoe's journal, which has been preserved by Mr. Edwards, contains the most interesting account of his ministry, which I have been able to obtain; for his biography has been almost neglected.

"Saturday, June 15, 1771. This day I began to act as an ordained minister, and never before saw such manifest appearances of God's working and the devil's raging at one time and in one place. My first business was to examine candidates for baptism, who related what God did for their souls in such a manner as to affect many present; then the opposers grew very troublesome, particularly one James Naylor, who, after raging and railing for a while, fell down and began to tumble and beat the ground with both ends, like a fish when it drops off the hook on dry land, cursing and blaspheming God all the while; at last a gentleman offered ten shillings to any that would bind him and take him out of the place; which was soon earned by some stout fellows who stood by. Sixteen persons were adjudged fit subjects for baptism. The next day being Sunday, about two thousand people came together; many more offered for baptism, thirteen of whom were judged worthy. As we stood by the water, the people were weeping and crying in a most extraordinary manner; and others cursing and swearing, and acting

like men possessed. In the midst of this, a tree tumbled down, being overloaded with people, who Zaccheus-like, had climbed up to see baptism administered; the coming down of that tree occasioned the adjacent trees to fall also, being loaded in the same manner; but none was hurt. When the ordinance was administered, and I had laid hands on the parties baptized, we sang those charming words of Dr. Watts, 'Come we who love the Lord,' &c. The multitude sang and wept and smiled in tears, holding up their hands and countenances towards heaven, in such a manner as I had not seen before. In going home, I turned to look at the people, who remained by the water side, and saw some screaming on the ground, some wringing their hands, some in ecstasies of joy some praying, others cursing and swearing, and exceedingly outrageous. *We have seen strange things to-day.*"

OLIVER HART.

[The following biographical sketches of that excellent man who is the subject of them, have been selected from two funeral sermons, which were preached soon after his decease; the one by Dr. Richard Furman, his successor in the pastoral care of the Baptist church, in Charleston, (S. C.) and the other by Dr. William Rogers, of Philadelphia. Some assistance in the compilation has been derived from the History of the Charleston association by Mr. Wood Furman.]

OLIVER HART, A. M., was born of reputable parents, in Warminster township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, July 5, 1723. His attention to religion, and conversion to God, were at an early period of his life; for he made a public profession of religion at Southampton, Pennsylvania, and was received a member of the church in that place in 1741, in the eighteenth year of his age; having been previously baptized by the Rev. Mr. Jenkin Jones. At that time, the power of religion was greatly displayed in various parts of this continent, under the ministry of those eminent servants of Christ, the Rev. George Whitefield, of the Episcopal church, the Tenants, Edwards, and their associates of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches; and of the Rev. Abel Morgan, and others of the Baptist church. Several of these, Mr. Hart, at this time, used to hear; and since professed to have received much benefit from their preaching, particularly from Mr. Whitefield's.

Five years after making his public pro-

fession of religion, on the 20th of December, 1746, he was licensed to preach by the church with which he first united: and on the 18th of October, 1749, was ordained to the great work of the gospel ministry.

The call for ministers in the southern states being great at that time, and the church at Charleston, (S. C.,) being destitute, he was induced immediately after his ordination, to set out for that city, where he arrived early in December, on the very day the famous Mr. Chanler, pastor of the church at Ashley River, then the only ordained minister of the Baptist denomination in that part of the country, and who had preached part of his time for the church in Charleston, as a supply was buried. The Charleston church, in her destitute situation, had made applications, both to Europe and the northern states, for a suitable minister; and one who had been described as such was actually expected: but the unexpected coming of Mr. Hart was considered as directed by a special Providence; and so great was the satisfaction of the church, on hearing him, that he was immediately invited to take the pastoral charge of them; with which he was accordingly invested on the 17th of February following.

For thirty years from this period, he executed the office of pastor of that church, as a faithful evangelic minister of Christ, passing through a variety of scenes both of joy and depression: but exhibiting at all times, an uprightness and dignity, both of temper and conduct, becoming his religious and sacred character. His life was exemplary, and his usefulness conspicuous. But on the approach of the British fleet and army, to which Charleston was surrendered in 1780, being justly apprehensive of the consequences which resulted from the siege, and desiring to preserve his political liberty, with which he found his religious intimately connected, he retired to the northern states. There the attention of the Baptist church at Hopewell, in the state of New Jersey, was soon attracted towards him, and in consequence of a pressing invitation from them, he became their pastor, on the 16th of December, the same year, and served them in that capacity, the last fifteen years of his valuable life.

For some years towards the latter part of his life, the infirmities of age, and several severe attacks of different diseases, had greatly reduced his bodily strength, and disqualified him for the constant performance of public duties; and on the 31st December, 1795, in the seventy-third year of his age, he surrendered his soul into the hands of his God, and Redeemer.

"To those of you, my dear hearers,

(says Dr. Furman, in his funeral sermon,) who enjoyed the honor and happiness of an acquaintance with the venerable deceased, an account of his character is unnecessary; it shone conspicuously in your view. But to the younger part of my audience, and to those friends who have come lately among us, it may afford useful information.

"In his person he was somewhat tall, well proportioned, and of a graceful appearance; and of an active, vigorous constitution, before it had been impaired by close application to his studies, and by his abundant labors; his countenance was open and manly; his voice clear, harmonious and commanding; the powers of his mind were strong and capacious, and enriched by a fund of useful knowledge; his taste was elegant and refined. Though he had not enjoyed the advantages of a collegiate education, nor indeed much assistance from any personal instruction, such was his application, that by private study he obtained a considerable acquaintance with classical learning, and explored the fields of science; so that in the year 1769, the college of Rhode Island, in honor to his literary merit, conferred on him the degree of master in the liberal arts.

"But as a Christian and divine, his character was most conspicuous; no person who heard his pious, experimental discourses, or his affectionate fervent addresses to God in prayer; who beheld the zeal and constancy he manifested in the public exercises of religion, or the disinterestedness, humility, benevolence, charity, devotion, and equanimity of temper he discovered on all occasions in the private walks of life, could for a moment doubt of his being not only truly, but eminently religious. He possessed in a large measure the moral and social virtues, and had a mind formed for friendship. In all his relative connections, as husband, father, brother, master, he acted with the greatest propriety, and was endeared to those who were connected with him in the tender ties.

"From a part of his diary now in my possession, it appears that he took more than ordinary pains to walk humbly and faithfully with God: to live under impressions of the love of Christ; to walk in the light of the divine presence, and to improve all his time and opportunities to the noblest purposes of religion and virtue.

"In his religious principles he was a fixed Calvinist, and a consistent liberal Baptist. The doctrines of *free, efficacious grace*, were precious to him; Christ Jesus, and him crucified, in the perfection of his righteousness, the merit of his death, the prevalence of his intercession, and efficacy of his grace, was the foundation of his

hope, the source of his joy, and the delightful theme of his preaching.

"His sermons were peculiarly serious, containing a happy assemblage of doctrinal and practical truths, set in an engaging light, and enforced with convincing arguments. For the discussion of doctrinal truths, he was more especially eminent, to which also he was prepared, by an intimate acquaintance with the sacred scriptures, and an extensive reading of the most valuable, both of ancient and modern authors. His eloquence, at least in the middle stages of life, was not of the most popular kind, but perspicuous, manly, and flowing; such as afforded pleasure to persons of true taste, and edification to the serious hearer.

"With these various qualifications for usefulness he possessed an ardent desire to be as useful as possible; which cannot be better represented than in his own words, as recorded in the diary before referred to, and which comprehends a part of his life, when the power of divine grace was eminently displayed in this church. The article here selected was written just before that work of grace began, and exemplifies in him the pious Christian, as well as the faithful divine.

"Monday, Aug. 5, 1754. I do this morning feel myself oppressed under a sense of my barrenness. Alas! what do I for God? I am indeed employed in his vineyard: but I fear to little purpose. I feel the want of the life and power of religion in my own heart: this causes such a langor in all my duties to God—this makes me so poor an improver of time. Alas! I am frequently on my bed to my shame, when I ought to be on my knees. Sometimes the sun appears in the horizon, and begins his daily course, before I have paid my tribute of praise to God; and perhaps, while I am indulging myself in inactive slumbers. Oh, wretched stupidity! Oh, that, for time to come, I may become more active for God! I would resolve, before thee O God, and in thy name and strength, to devote myself more unreservedly to thy service than I have hitherto done: I would resolve to be a better improver of my time, than I have heretofore been: to rise earlier in the morning; to be sooner with thee in secret devotion; and oh, that I may be more devout therein! I would be more engaged in my studies. Grant, O Lord, that I may improve more by them! And when I go abroad, enable me better to improve my visits, that I may always leave a savor of divine things behind me. When I go to thy house to speak for thee, may I always go full fraught with things divine, and be enabled faithfully and feelingly to dispense the word of life. I would begin and end

every day with thee. Teach me to study thy glory in all I do. And wilt thou be with me also in the night watches. Teach me to meditate of thee on my bed. May my sleep be sanctified to me, that I may thereby be fitted to thy service, nor ever desire more than answers to this important end. Thus teach me to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom."

"These virtuous resolutions and pious breathings of soul, were seconded by becoming exertions, both of a public and private nature, in his own congregation; and by correspondent labors in churches abroad: nor were they without success. Many owned him as their father in the gospel; among these are two distinguished and useful ministers, who survive him, and shine as diffusive lights in the church.* These were not only awakened under his preaching, but introduced also by him into a course of study, for the ministry.

"The formation of a society in this city, to assist pious young men in obtaining education for the public services of the church, and which has been of use to several, originated with him; and he was a prime mover in that plan for the association of churches, by which so many of our churches are very happily united at the present day. To him also, in conjunction with his beloved and amiable friends, now I trust with God, Rev. Francis Pelot, and Mr. David Williams, is that valuable work of utility, the System of Church Discipline, to be ascribed. His printed sermons have contributed to the general interests of religion, and his extensive regular correspondence, has been the means of conveying rational pleasure and religious improvement to many.

"To all which may be added, his usefulness as a citizen of America. Prompt in his judgment, ardent in his love of liberty, and rationally jealous for the rights of his country; he took an early and decided part in those measures, which led our patriots to successful opposition against the encroachments of arbitrary power; and brought us to possess all the blessings of our happy independence. Yet he did not mix politics with the gospel, nor desert the duties of his station to pursue them; but attending to each in its proper place, he gave weight to his political sentiments, by the propriety and uprightness of his conduct; and the influence of it was felt by many.

"But this amiable and excellent man has now finished his course, and is gone to

* Rev. Dr. Stillman, of Boston, whose praise is in all the churches; and Rev. Mr. Boisford, among ourselves. To these may be added a third, Mr. Ewin, who succeeds Mr. Hart, as pastor of the church at Hopewell, April 5th, 1796.

render an account of his stewardship to his Lord and Master, to whom he knew he was accountable for his various gifts and graces, and whom to serve and honor was his delightful employ. On such an occasion we are ready to exclaim with Elisha, when he beheld the ascending prophet. 'My father! my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' Our beloved friend is removed from the world; and all those among whom he had once went preaching the gospel of Christ shall, in the flesh, see his face no more. May Heaven support his pious, weeping widow, so greatly bereaved, and may indulgent Providence and grace provide for the youth who is left as the son of his old age!"

The following account of Mr. Hart's last illness and death is found in a note in Dr. Rogers' funeral sermon.

"For many months previous to his death, he repeatedly said, that he viewed himself as a dying man. A few days after he was taken with his last illness, and while he was able to walk about the room, he called for his Will, gave it to a friend, and desired him to get his remains conveyed to Southampton, the family burying-place. It was with such difficulty at this time that he drew his breath, and the agony he was in, was so great, that he said, he should not think it strange if he should go into convulsions. The struggle for breath broke a vessel, and he spat a quantity of blood; yet not a murmur or undue complaint! He would frequently lift up his hands and say, 'Poor mortal man!' A friend once replied, 'This mortal shall put on immortality'—he answered, 'Yes, yes!' He would often say, 'I want, I want!' Being asked what he wanted? 'I want the will of the Lord to be done!' The Rev. Mr. Van Horne called to see him, he asked him if he felt comfortable: he replied, 'God is an all-sufficient Saviour!'

"A person, who at one time was sitting by, observing his great bodily distress, said, 'How happy for Mr. Hart, that he has but one work to do!' Dying was meant. He immediately replied, 'Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth!'

"Dec. 29. He called for all around him, to help him praise the Lord, for what he had done for his soul. Being told he would soon join the company of saints and angels, he replied, 'Enough, enough!'

"Dec. 30. His cough and spitting of blood increased, and every breath was accompanied with a groan. When he died, he just put his head a little back, closed his eyes as if he were going into a sleep, and expired!"

Mr. Hart was twice married. His first wife was Miss Sarah Brees, by whom he

had eight children, all of whom were dead except two, in 1796, and these members of the church in Charleston, (S. C.) His second wife was Mrs. Anna Grimball of South Carolina, by whom he had two sons; the first died young; the other, whose name is William Rogers,* is living in South Carolina.

Several sermons and other compositions of Mr. Hart's have appeared in print, viz: Dancing Exploded; A Funeral Discourse, occasioned by the death of the Rev. William Tennant; The Christian Temple; A Circular Letter on Christ's Mediatorial Character; America's Remembrancer; and A Gospel Church Portrayed. Besides these, he has left in manuscript many valuable discourses on public and common occasions, exclusive of other writings.

For a time during his ministry in Charleston, Mr. Hart suffered a distressing trial, in consequence of an attempt to supplant him in the pastoral office, and place in his room Mr. Bedgegood, who was then his assistant, and possessed popular talents, though not free from blemishes of character. His conscientious opposition was by some attributed to envy; and on the failure of the plan, several of the wealthier members withdrew.

Mr. Hart was zealous and active in the cause of American Independence. In 1775, he was appointed by the Council of Safety, which then exercised the Executive authority in South Carolina, to travel in conjunction with Hon. William H. Drayton and Rev. William Tennant, into the interior of the state, and conciliate the inhabitants to the measures of congress, by removing their prejudices, and giving them a just view of their political interests. It was believed that the influence of Mr. Hart, exerted on this occasion, was the means of preventing bloodshed, when the tories first embodied.

DUTTON LANE.

DUTTON LANE was born November 7, 1732, near Baltimore, in Maryland. At what time he became a resident of Virginia, is not known; but he was baptized by Shubael Stearns, in 1758. He was ordained to the ministry, and, probably, to the care of Dan River church, October 22, 1764, having commenced public speaking immediately after he was baptized. Mr. Lane was not a man of much learning; but having a strong constitution, a commanding voice, and fervent spirit, he did great things in his Master's service.

* Named after Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia.

Unenlightened as the Virginians were, at that time, it was not to be expected that he would be allowed to go in peace. His own father was among the first to set his face against the Baptists generally, and against his son Dutton in particular. He once pursued him with an instrument of death to kill him. It fell out, however, that he was himself slain by the sword of the Spirit, from which he soon after revived with a hope of eternal life, and was baptized by that very son whom he would have slain.

Mr. Lane was once preaching at a place called Meherrin, in Lunenburg county, where a Mr. Joseph Williams, a magistrate, charged him before the whole congregation, not to come there to preach again. Mr. Lane mildly replied, that as there were many other places where he could preach without interruption, he did not know that he should come there again shortly. After wishing peace to the rest of the company, he gravely addressed Mr. Williams, and said, "Little Sir, as you now think it, my impressions tell me, that you will become a Baptist, a warm espouser of that cause, which you now persecute." This prediction came to pass: for in about twelve years, Williams embraced religion, was baptized, and became a zealous member and useful deacon in the church that was afterwards formed at that place.

Once he was preaching against drunkenness, and exposing the vileness and danger of the practice, when one John Giles stood up, saying angrily, "I know who you mean," and with a blasphemous oath declared, "I'll demolish you." But this self-condemned sot was prevented from doing any harm.

One William Cocker had conceived such malignity against the Baptists, that he was accustomed to say, that he would rather go to hell than heaven, if going to heaven required him to be a Baptist. But falling in accidentally where Mr. Lane preached, he was struck down with deep conviction; from which, being delivered by converting grace, he became a pious Baptist.

Mr. Lane continued preaching till his death; but the latter part of his life was somewhat obscured by his adopting and maintaining certain strange opinions. By diving into subjects not revealed, and rather neglecting those which were obvious and plain, he was much less thought of. He lived and died a pious man, however, in the estimation of those who knew him well.

JAMES MANNING.

JAMES MANNING, D. D., was, in his day,
Vol. 1.—Jj.

one of the brightest ornaments of the Baptist denomination in America. His biography has never been recorded to any considerable extent, and indeed his stationary employment furnished not many incidents for a diffusive narrative. For what few things have been written of this illustrious man, we are indebted mostly to the pen of Judge Howel, of Providence, and the following sketches, drawn by this eminent statesman, are found in Rippon's Register.

"Mr. Manning was born in New Jersey, and educated at Nassau Hall. Soon after he left college, he was called to the work of the ministry, by the Baptist church at Scotch Plains, near Elizabethtown.

"After making tours to each extreme of the United States, (then colonies,) and preaching to different destitute churches in sundry places, he removed with his family to Warren in Rhode Island, preached to the church there, and opened a Latin school. In the year 1765, he obtained a charter of incorporation for Rhode Island college, of which he was chosen President. And when the college was removed to Providence, in 1770, he of course removed with it; and besides the duties of his presidency, he preached stately to the Baptist church in this town until a few years before his death. In his youth, he was remarkable for his dexterity in athletic exercises, for the symmetry of his body and gracefulness of his person. His countenance was stately and majestic, full of dignity, goodness and gravity; and the temper of his mind was a counterpart of it. He was formed for enterprise, his address was pleasing, his manners enchanting, his voice harmonious, and his eloquence irresistible.

"Having deeply imbibed the spirit of truth himself, as a preacher of the gospel, he was faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God. He studied plainness of speech, and to be useful more than to be celebrated. The good order, learning and respectability of the Baptist churches, in the eastern states, are much owing to his assiduous attention to their welfare. The credit of his name, and his personal influence among them, perhaps have never been exceeded by any other character.

"Of the college he must be considered as the founder. He presided with the singular advantage of a superior personal appearance, added to all his shining talents for governing and instructing youth. From the first beginning of his Latin school at Warren, through many discouragements, he, by constant care and labor, raised this seat of learning to notice, to credit, and to respectability in the United States. Perhaps the history of no other college will disclose a more rapid progress, or greater

maturity than this, during the twenty-five years of his presidency. Although he seemed consigned to a sedentary life, yet he was capable of more active scenes. He paid much attention to the government of his country, and was honored by Rhode Island with a seat in the old congress. In state affairs, he discovered an uncommon sagacity, and might have made a figure as a politician.

"In classical learning he was fully competent to the business of his station. He devoted less time than some others to the more abstruse sciences; but nature seemed to have furnished him so completely, that little remained for art to accomplish. The resources of his genius were great. In conversation he was at all times pleasant and entertaining. He had as many friends as acquaintance, and took no less pains to serve his friends than acquire them."

The following additional observations on Dr. Manning's character, are found in the sermon of Dr. Maxcy, his successor to the presidential office, delivered in the Baptist meeting-house the Lord's day after his interment.

"The loss of this worthy man will be felt by the community at large. He moved in an extensive sphere. He was equally known in the religious, the political, and literary world. As his connections were extensive and important, his loss must be proportionably great. As a man, he was kind, humane, and benevolent. As he was sociable, as he was communicative, he seemed rather designed for the theatre of action, than for the shades of retirement. Nature had given him distinguished abilities. His life was a scene of anxious labors for the benefit of others. His pious and fervent zeal in preaching the gospel of Christ, evinced his love to his God and to his fellow men. His eloquence was forcible and spontaneous. To every one who heard him, under the peculiar circumstances in which he appeared in this place, it was evident that the resources of his mind were exceedingly great. The amiableness of his disposition was recommended by a dignified and majestic appearance. His address was manly, familiar, and engaging. His manners were easy without negligence, and polite without affectation. In the college over which he presided, his government was mild and peaceful, conducted by that persuasive authority, which secures obedience while it conciliates esteem. As he lived much beloved, he died much lamented. Well may we say that 'a great man is fallen.'"

Dr. Manning married in his youth Margaret Stites, the daughter of John Stites, Esq., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and

sister of the wife of Mr. John Gano. He had no children.

RICHARD MAJOR.

RICHARD MAJOR was born near Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1722. He was bred a Presbyterian, but embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in 1764, and had the ordinance administered to him by Rev. Isaac Steele. He removed to Virginia in 1766, and two years after was ordained as the pastor of the church called Little River, in Loudon county, which was constituted at the same time.

He was not a man of much learning, but his vigorous mind rose above all obstructions. Being well taught in the school of Christ, and devoting himself to the study of the scripture, he became a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. He was remarked by all who knew him, for his indefatigable labors in the ministry, and he succeeded beyond many of much greater talents. He is said to have planted, from first to last, six or eight churches. For several years after he commenced preaching he met with great opposition, mostly from individuals.

In Fauquier county, the officer, with a warrant from Capt. Scott, attempted to take him, but providentially failed. At Bullrun there were warrants against him; and a mob, with clubs, rose to assist the execution of them: but here again they failed of their design, chiefly by means of the Davis's, usually called the *giants*; those stout brothers had been prevailed on to oppose him; but after they had heard him preach, they became well affected towards him, and threatened to chastise any that should disturb him. In Fauquier, the mob were very outrageous, but did no mischief, though his friends feared they would have pulled him to pieces.

A certain man whose wife had been baptized by Mr. Major, determined to kill him on sight, and went to meeting for that purpose. He sat down in hearing, intending to catch at some obnoxious expression, which might fall from the preacher, and under that pretence to attack him. But God produced a different result; for the man instead of executing his design, became so convicted that he could not keep his seat; and was afterwards baptized by the man he intended to murder. Another actually attacked him with a club in a violent manner. Mr. Major being remarkable for great presence of mind, turned to him in a solemn manner and said, "Satan, I command thee to come out of the man." His club immediately began to fall, and

the lion became as quiet as a lamb. These are a few of the many occurrences of this kind, that took place in the long life of this valuable man.

The way that Mr. Major's gifts were noticed was, in his reading printed sermons at private meetings. The people were so affected, that they procured the sermons for their own reading, but were soon convinced that he had read what was not in the book.

So much was he esteemed in the latter part of his life, that he had serious apprehensions, that he must be too much at ease for a gospel minister; or in other words, it seemed as if the expression, "Wo be unto you when all men speak well of you," applied to this case. In the midst of these thoughts, he accidentally heard a man lay to his charge one of the most abominable crimes. At first he felt irritated; but recollecting his previous reflections, he was soon reconciled. Towards the close of his long and useful life, he was much afflicted with the gravel, of which disease he died when he was about eighty years old.

DANIEL MARSHALL.

DANIEL MARSHALL.—The following account of this eminent servant of God, was drawn by his worthy son, Rev. Abraham Marshall, who succeeded his father in the pastoral station at Kioka. It was first published in the Georgia Analytical Repository, and afterwards in the History of the Virginia Baptists. It is now transcribed, and presented to the reader in its original epistolary form.

"In giving a biographical sketch of my honored father, we must look back to the distance of almost a century. His birth was in the year of our Lord 1706, in Windsor, a town in Connecticut. He was religiously educated by respectable and pious parents, and being hopefully converted at about twenty years of age, joined the then standing order of Presbyterians, in his native place. The natural ardor of his mind soon kindled into the fire of holy zeal, and raised him so high in the esteem of his brethren, that they called him to the office of a deacon. In the exemplary discharge of his duty in this capacity, he continued near twenty years. During this time, in easy circumstances, he married and lost a wife, by whom he had a son named after himself, Daniel, who is still a useful member of society.

"At the age of thirty-eight years, our worthy parent was one of the thousands in New England, who heard that son of thunder, the Rev. George Whitefield, and

caught his seraphic fire. Firmly believing in the near approach of the latter-day glory, when the Jews with the fulness of the Gentiles, shall hail their Redeemer, and bow to his gentle sceptre, a number of worthy characters ran to and fro through the eastern states, warmly exhorting to the prompt adoption of every measure tending to hasten that blissful period. Others sold, gave away, or left their possessions, as the powerful impulse of the moment determined, and without scrip or purse, rushed up to the head of the Susquehanna, to convert the heathens, and settled in a town called Onnaquaggy, among the Mohawk Indians. One, and not the least sanguine of these pious missionaries, was my venerable father. Great must have been his faith, great his zeal, when, without the least prospect of a temporal reward, with a much-beloved wife, and three children, he exchanged his commodious buildings, for a miserable hut; his fruitful fields and loaded orchards, for barren deserts; the luxuries of a well furnished table, for coarse and scanty fare; and numerous civil friends, for rude savages! He had the happiness, however, to teach and exhort, for eighteen months in this place, with considerable success. A number of the Indians were, in some degree, impressed with eternal concerns, and several became cordially obedient to the gospel. But just as the seeds of heavenly truth, sown with tears in this unpromising soil, began to appear in their first-fruits, the breaking out of war among the savage tribes occasioned his reluctant removal to Conegocheague, in Pennsylvania. After a short residence in this settlement, he removed to a place near Winchester, in Virginia.

"Here he became acquainted with a Baptist church, belonging to the Philadelphia association; and as the result of a close, impartial examination of their faith and order, he and my dear mother were baptized, in the forty-eighth year of his life. He was now called, as a licensed preacher, to the unrestrained exercise of his gifts; and though they were by no means above mediocrity, he was instrumental in awakening attention, in many of his hearers, to the interests of their souls.

"Under the influence of an anxious desire to be extensively useful, he proceeded from Virginia to Hughwarry, in North Carolina, where his faithful and incessant labors proved the happy means of arousing and converting numbers. Being so evidently and eminently useful as an itinerant preacher, he continued his peregrination to Abbot's Creek, in the same state, where he was the instrument in planting a church, of which he was ordained pastor,

in the fifty-second year of his age, by his brothers-in-law, the Rev. Messrs. Henry Leadbetter, and Shubael Stearns. Soon after receiving this honor, my reverend father, in one of his evangelical jounries into Virginia, had the singular happiness to baptize Col. Samuel Harris, with whom he afterwards made several tours, and preached, and planted the gospel in several places, as far as James river. It was but a few years after his ordination, before, induced by appearances of increasing usefulness, he took an affectionate leave of his beloved charge, and settled on Beaver creek, in South Carolina.

"In this place, likewise, a large church was raised under his ministry, and, till brought to a good degree of maturity in divine things, was an object of his tender and unremitted care and solicitude. At the direction of Divine Providence, as he conceived, and as subsequent events have proved, his next removal was to Horse creek, about fifteen miles north of Augusta.

"The fruits of his labors in this place remain in a respectable church, some of whose sons, raised up under his care, have successfully diffused the light of divine truth through various benighted regions. From Horse creek my aged father made his first visits to this state. On the second or third of these, while in prayer, he was seized in the presence of his audience, for preaching in the parish of *St. Paul*, and made to give security for his appearance in Augusta, the Monday following, to answer to this charge. Accordingly he stood a trial, and, after his meekness and patience was sufficiently exercised, was ordered to come no more as a preacher into Georgia. In the words of an apostle similarly circumstanced, he replied, 'Whether it be right to obey God or man, judge ye.' Consistently with this just and spirited reply, he pursued his successful course, and on the first of January, 1771, came with his family, and took up his final earthly residence at the Kioka. The following Spring the church here was formed, and is famous for having furnished materials for several other churches. For this purpose many common members have been dismissed, and several ministers have been ordained. Among these are the Rev. Messrs. Sanders Walker, Samuel Newton, Loveless Savage, Alexander Scott, and the writer of this article. Through God's blessing on the ministry of her indefatigable founder and pastor, this church continued to lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes, breaking forth on the right hand and on the left, till our beloved country was unhappily involved in the horrors of war. No scenes, however, from the commencement to the termination of hostilities,

were so gloomy and alarming as to deter my father from discharging the duties of his station. Neither reproaches nor threatenings could excite in him the least appearance of timidity, or any thing inconsistent with Christian and ministerial heroism.

"As a friend to the American cause, he was once made a prisoner and put under a strong guard; but obtaining leave of the officers, he commenced and supported so heavy a charge of exhortation and prayer, that, like Daniel of old, while his enemies stood amazed and confounded, he was safely and honorably delivered from this den of lions.

"Even the infirmities of old age, and the evident approach of the king of terrors, were not sufficient to shake his faith and hope, nor, in the least perceivable degree, to abate his zeal.

"A few months previous to his disease, rising in his pulpit, which he had frequently besprinkled with his tears, and from which he had often descended to weep over a careless auditory, he said, 'I address you, my dear hearers, with a diffidence which arises from a failure of memory, and a general weakness of body and mind, common to my years; but I recollect, he that holds out to the end shall be saved, and am resolved to finish my course in the cause of God.' Accordingly he attended public worship regularly, even through his lingering mortal illness, till the last Sabbath but one before his dissolution. In his family he invariably performed his usual round of holy duties, till the morning preceding his happy change. Fully apprised of this as at hand, and perfectly in his senses, he expressed distinctly and emphatically, his steady and increasing confidence of future bliss.

"The following taken by me, in the presence of a few deeply affected friends and relations, are his last words:

"Dear brethren and sisters, I am just gone. This night I probably shall expire: but I have nothing to fear. I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. God has always shewn me that he is my God, that I am his son, and that an eternal weight of glory is mine."

"The venerable partner of his cares, (and I may add, faithful assistant in all his labors,) sitting bedewed with tears by his side, he proceeded, 'Go on, my dear wife, to serve the Lord. Hold out to the end. Eternal glory is before us.'

"After a silence of some minutes, he called me and said, 'My breath is almost gone! I have been praying that I may go home to-night. I had great happiness in

our worship this morning, particularly in singing, which will make a part of my exercise in a blessed eternity."

"Now gently closing his eyes, he cheerfully gave up his soul to God, with whom, I doubt not, he walks, 'high in salvation, and the climes of bliss.' This solemn event took place at the dawn of the second day of November, 1784, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. A suitable discourse to his memory was delivered by the late Rev. Charles Bussey."

The name of Mr. Marshall's first wife does not appear from the papers respecting him. His second was Martha Stearns, sister of the famous Shubael Stearns. By his first wife he had Daniel, by his second, Abraham, John, Zaccheus, Levi, Moses, Solomon, and Joseph; and daughters, Eunice and Mary. These children are all yet living in Georgia, at no great distance from the place in which their venerable father finished his earthly course. They all possessed a competency of worldly things, and a number of them are members of the Kioka and other churches.

Mr. Marshall after all his sacrifices for the cross of Christ, was always blessed by a bountiful Providence with a sufficiency of the meat that perisheth, and left behind him an estate of considerable value. His son Abraham inhabits the mansion, from which he was removed to the house not made with hands.

ELIAKIM MARSHALL.

ELIAKIM MARSHALL was a nephew of Daniel, and a native of Connecticut; but the time or place of his birth I have not learnt. He was converted under the ministry of Mr. Whitefield, in the New Light Stir, and remained a Pædobaptist minister about thirty years. He became a Baptist in 1786, and died at Windsor, near Hartford, 1791. He was through life esteemed a preacher of piety and talents. He was also often a member of the Connecticut legislature. As he became a Baptist but about five years before his death, he was not much known among the denomination; but on account of some circumstances which attended his conviction of Baptist sentiments, his biography appears worthy of being recorded. While Abraham Marshall, of Georgia, was on his way to visit New England, in 1786, at Philadelphia he fell in with Mr. Winchester, of whom he inquired respecting his relatives in Connecticut. He informed him what he knew; and among other things observed, that Eliakim Marshall, of Windsor, was a man of a sound judgment, a retentive memory,

and a tender conscience. "Well," replied Abraham, "if this be his character, I shall expect to baptize him before I return; for if he has a sound judgment, he will understand my arguments in favor of believers' baptism, and against that of infants; if he has a strong memory he will retain them; and if he has a tender conscience, they will have an influence on his mind." With a firm persuasion that he should lead his relative into the water, he prosecuted his journey into Connecticut. It appears from the history of the Kioka church, that this Abraham Marshall was only three years old when his father went from Connecticut, among the Mohawk Indians. He was of course unknown to any of his relatives here; but he was received among them cordially, and treated with respect, and he made Eliakim's house his home. He kept in mind what Mr. Winchester had told him of his cousin; but he resolved that he would not be forward to introduce the subject of baptism, nor press him too hard at first. Eliakim frequently expressed a desire to hear what his new relation, as he called him, had to say in defence of the opinions in which they differed; but Abraham waived the matter for a time. At length, from slight skirmishes, they, by mutual consent, entered with all their strength into the baptismal controversy, in which Eliakim had been a man of war from his youth, and now manifested a strong assurance of victory. He began with *Abraham's Covenant*, and mustered all the arguments usually brought in defence of Pædobaptism. Abraham, on the other hand, opposed his whole system, as destitute of scripture proof, and adduced his reasons for his different belief. At the first onset, this old Pædobaptist divine, as he afterwards acknowledged to a friend, had but two arguments left for the support of his system; and continuing to lose ground, while striving with himself to regain it, in the next attack he was completely defeated, and in a short time after confessed his conscience could not be easy till he was baptized. But a trouble arose on account of his wife, who was much opposed to this change in his sentiments. He mentioned this circumstance to Abraham, and requested his advice. He replied that his youth did not qualify him to prescribe duty to a man of his years; "but," said he, "I will mention two passages of scripture, which my father frequently made use of in difficult cases, which are these 'I conferred not with flesh and blood. What thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.'"

The tender conscience of this aged convert urged him to duty; and, according to Abraham's expectation, he was baptized by him the day before he left the place,

A large concourse of people, supposed to be two or three thousand, collected to witness the administration of the solemn rite. The venerable candidate addressed them in the most melting manner: "I was awakened," said he, "under the preaching of Whitefield, about forty years ago, at which time my mind was solemnly impressed with this sentiment, *God is wisdom*; he, therefore, knows all my thoughts, and all I do. I was in the next place impressed with this sentence, *God is holiness*; and must, therefore, hate all in me, which his wisdom sees is wrong. I was in the third place impressed with this solemn thought, *God is power*; this struck me like thunder, and brought me to the ground." So saying, he burst into tears, and in a moment the tears were flowing from a thousand eyes. "After laboring a few days," continued he, "under these weighty impressions, the soothing declaration, *God is love*, relieved my distress, removed my fears, and filled me with unspeakable joy." He expatiated largely on the interesting event of his conversion, and the most solemn attention pervaded the great assembly.

SILAS MERCER.

SILAS MERCER was born near Currituck bay, North Carolina, February, 1745. His mother died while he was an infant; his father was a zealous member of the church of England and carefully instructed him in the catechism, rites, and traditions of that communion. From early years young Silas was religiously inclined; but it was not till after he arrived at manhood, that he was brought to the knowledge of salvation through a divine Redeemer. He was for a long time embarrassed and bewildered with that legal system, which he had been taught in his mother church, and so deeply rooted were the prejudices of his education, that it took him long to learn that salvation is not of works. But he at length gained clear and consistent views of the gospel plan, and was through his long ministry, a distinguished and powerful defender of the doctrine of free, and unmerited grace.

Until after his conversion, Mr. Mercer was most violently opposed to Dissenters in general, and to the Baptists in particular. He would on no account hear one preach, and endeavored to dissuade all others from attending their meetings. He most firmly believed what his father and parson had taught him, that they were all a set of deceivers; that their errors were dangerous if not damnable, and that to

hear one preach would be a crime of peculiar enormity. He knew, however, but little about them, only that they had been separated from the Church, and ought therefore to be opposed and avoided. For these reasons he continued a violent opposer to them, and zealously to defend the Church. But his ingenious mind could not long be restrained by the shackles of tradition, without examining things for himself; he therefore began a course of inquiries, which gradually undermined his traditional creed, and led on to the Baptist ground. He first resolved to follow strictly the Rubric of the church, both in doctrine and discipline; and finding it enjoined immersion, unless the weakness of the child required a milder mode, he had two of his children dipped. The first, a son, in a barrel of water at the priest's house; and the other, a daughter, in a tub, which had been prepared for the purpose at the church. The son was named Jesse, who is now a worthy minister in Georgia; he was baptized again, on a profession of his faith, and is of course an *Ana-Baptist*. Mr. Mercer was also struck with the neglect of discipline in the church; he saw with pain that persons grossly immoral in many respects were admitted to their communion, and became convinced that things ought not so to be. Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio* started him from the Armenian system, and set him on a train of reflections, which issued in a thorough conviction of the doctrine of the gospel. He labored to reform the church: but finding the building was too far gone to be repaired, he receded from it with reluctant steps, and became a Baptist when he was about thirty years of age, and continued from that time to the end of his life an ornament to their cause, and a skilful defender of their distinguishing tenets.

Few men, perhaps, have had more severe conflicts in renouncing the prejudices of education, than Mr. Mercer. His kind but bigoted father threw in his way obstacles, which he could not at first surmount, the church priest, and the whole Episcopal fraternity around him, used the most assiduous endeavors to prevent him from going among the heretical Baptists. The first minister of the denomination he ever heard preach, was a Mr. Thomas, at that time a successful preacher in North Carolina. It was with much reluctance, and with many fearful apprehensions of the dangerous consequences, that he was induced to attend the meeting. But in spite of all his prejudices, the preacher drew his attention, and led him to think he was not such a dangerous deceiver as he had always before supposed.

This was on Monday. The next Lord's

day the priest being absent, and his father being clerk, performed as usual the duties of his office. As yet, none of the family knew that Silas had been to the Baptist meeting. After the service of the day was over, a person asked him in the hearing of his father, how he liked the Baptist preacher? He was much confused, and knew not what to answer: but his conscience obliged him to express some degree of approbation. At which the old gentleman burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Silas, you are ruined!" and out he went, hastily home. Silas, alarmed, took hastily after him, to soothe his grief, and appease his resentment. The offending father and offending son were so deeply affected with the trifling affair, that they forgot their wives, and left them to go home alone.

The charm was now broken; and from this period Mr. M. began to entertain more favorable views of the people he had hitherto so much censured and despised. Not long after this, he removed to Georgia, and settled in what is now Wilks county, where about 1775, he was baptized by Mr. Alexander Scott, united with the church at Kioka, by which he was almost immediately approbated to preach. At the commencement of the American war, he fled for shelter to Halifax county, in his native state, where he continued about six years, all of which time he was incessantly engaged in preaching as an itinerant in different places around; and it is found by his journal, that, take the whole six years together, he preached oftener than once a day; that is, more than two thousand sermons in the time. At the close of the war, he returned to his former residence in Georgia, where he continued to the end of his days.

In this state he labored abundantly with good effect, and was the means of planting a number of churches in different parts of the country. He was justly esteemed one of the most exemplary and useful ministers in the southern states. His learning was not great, but having a desire that his young brethren might obtain greater advantages than he had enjoyed, he had set up a school at his house, procured an able teacher, and was in a promising way to promote the interests of learning in the churches around him; but in the midst of his benevolent plans and distinguished usefulness, he was, after a short illness removed from the scene of his employments, in 1796, in the fifty-second year of his age.

The following portrait of Mr. Mercer's character, is found in Mr. Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists, page 82. "Mr. Mercer, both in countenance and manners, had considerably the appearance of sternness: and to feel quite free in his company,

it was necessary to be well acquainted with him. He seldom talked on any other subject excepting religion; and when in company with young preachers, or those who might question his doctrine or his opinions, his remarks chiefly turned upon polemical points. He was indefatigable in striving to maintain his opinions; and for this purpose would hear any and all the objections that could be raised and would then labor assiduously to remove them. His arguments, however, neither in private nor public, were ever dressed with oratorical ornaments. He spoke and acted like one who felt himself surrounded by the impregnable bulwarks of truth, and therefore did not wish to parley."*

He was more distinguished as a preacher than writer; but he devoted considerable time to study, and the following pieces were the productions of his leisure hours:

1st. Tyranny Exposed, and True Liberty Discovered, in a 12mo. pamphlet of sixty-eight pages, the design of which was to show the rise, reign and downfall of Antichrist.

2d. The Supposition of the Divine Right of Infants to Baptism, from their formerly having a Right to Circumcision. Confuted, being a Letter to a Friend. This piece was not printed.

3d. The History of Baptism, carried to some extent, but left unfinished.

4th. Two Letters on Election, left unpublished.

JOSHUA MORSE.

JOSHUA MORSE was, in his day, a very eminent preacher among the Baptists in New England. He was born in South Kingston, Rhode Island, April 10, 1726. His grandfather came from the west of England to Rhode Island, in the early part of the settlement of the colony, and served as a chaplain in the first war in which this country was engaged against the French. The son, from whom the subject of this memoir descended, whose name does not appear, was not a professor of religion, but was by education a Baptist, as his father was of that persuasion. Young Joshua, at the age of sixteen, in the time of the New Light Stir, was awakened to religious concern. When the zealous New Lights began to make a noise in the neighborhood, he, with others, was ready to reproach and despise them; but the very first meeting he attended, his mind was arrested. When he first entered it, he saw them so zealous-

* Mr. Mercer is here described as he appeared in Virginia, in 1791, in company with Jeremiah Walker, in the time of a great controversy respecting doctrinal points.

ly affected, that he hesitated not to say that they were all deluded; but he came away under fearful apprehensions of being made miserable forever. Soon after he was made to rejoice in the truth, he became a zealous exhorter, and at the age of eighteen commenced his ministerial labors, which he continued with much reputation and success for upwards of fifty years.

The early, and indeed the greatest part of his ministry, was spent in Connecticut. He first began preaching in Stonnington, where he was much opposed, abused and persecuted, by a set of bigoted gentry who declared that his preaching was not *according to law*. At that time, every man who opened his doors for a Dissenter to preach, was liable to be fined *five* pounds, the preacher was subjected to a fine of *ten* shillings, and every hearer to *five*. The first time Mr. Morse preached at Stonnington, he was apprehended, carried before a magistrate, sentenced to pay the ten shillings, or be whipped ten lashes at the public whipping post. The fine he could not pay, and of course the lashes he was preparing to receive. He was taken to the post by the order of the magistrate, but the constable instead of inflicting the lashes, plead the cause of the innocent sufferer, remonstrated against the wickedness of the law, the cruelty of the court, and utterly refused performing the barbarous duty which had been assigned him. After spending some time in this awkward position, the constable tendered the magistrate from his own pocket the fine which had been exacted. The magistrate, probably ashamed of his conduct, offered it to Mr. Morse, and bid him receive it, and go peaceably away. But as he would pay no money, so he would receive none, and his persecutors finding him rather unmanageable, went off and left him to take his own course. For a number of years after this, he was often opposed, sometimes by law, but more frequently by mobs.

His preaching was attended with much success, and that encouraged him and enraged his opposers. In one of his meetings, one of the reverend gentlemen of the town came in just as he was beginning his sermon, put his hand on his mouth, and then bid a brother, whom he had brought with him, to strike him. At another time a man came in while he was preaching, and struck him with such violence on his temple, that it brought him to the floor; when he arose, he looked on his persecutor, and with emotions of pity, said, "If you die a natural death, the Lord hath not spoken by me." This man, not long after, went to sea, fell from the vessel and was drowned. At another meeting he was

knocked down while in prayer; he was then seized by the hair, dragged out of the house down high steps to the ground, and so deeply bruised in his head and face, that he carried some of the scars to his grave.

These are a few of the sufferings of this eminent man of God in the early part of his ministry. He was also frequently threatened by mobs, who did not carry their persecuting designs into execution. After preaching once at Stonnington, he was informed that a gang was out of doors, who, like Paul's persecutors, had sworn that they would kill him when he came out. His wife, who, it appears, was with him, and his friends entreated him not to go out; but having another appointment some distance off, he resolved to fulfil it, and said to his friends, "What mean ye to weep and break my heart?" &c. As soon as he was out of the door, he lifted up his hands and began to pray for his persecutors; they, confounded by this new mode of warfare, immediately dropped their clubs; some begged his pardon, and the rest fled away.

But in the midst of all these persecutions, his labors were attended with great success; many were awakened by his means, and some churches in Rhode Island and Connecticut rose under his ministry. About 1750, he was ordained to the care of a church in the north parish of New London, now called Montville. Two or three years after he moved to Fishkill in the state of New York, where he remained about two years, when, by the earnest entreaties of the church which he had left, he came back to live among them. Here he preached principally till 1779, when he removed to Sandisfield, Massachusetts, where a church rose under his labors, which he continued to serve as pastor, until within about a month of his death, which happened July, 1795, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and fifty-third of his ministry. He had been some time laboring under a disease, which he expected would end in his dissolution. About four weeks before he died, he called his church together, and gave them his last advice and benediction. He had composed a hymn to be sung at his funeral, and he now made choice of a passage to be preached from on this occasion, which was, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." The sermon was preached by Elder Rufus Babcock, then of Colebrook.

Mr. Morse was early acquainted with Mr. Whitefield, and caught much of the zeal, of that famous itinerant. His preaching was solemn and instructive, and the

rules which he laid down for others, he practised himself. He was singularly grave and devout, insomuch, that it is said by those who were long acquainted with him, that he was never known to laugh. He often entered so feelingly into his discourses, as to weep almost from beginning to end. He was well instructed in the doctrine of the cross; and his knowledge of the scriptures was exceeded by few. His memory was retentive, his voice peculiarly commanding and impressive, and his preaching, if not eloquent, was pathetic and persuasive.

He was honored in every relation he sustained, and his usefulness as a minister of the word was exceeded by few in his day. He was above the middle stature, of a robust constitution, and well fitted for the labors and hardships which itinerant preachers of his time were obliged to endure. Being honored of God as the instrument of turning many to righteousness, and always bearing about with him the marks of the Lord Jesus, he was much beloved throughout an extensive circle when living, and his name is still mentioned with peculiar marks of respect, by many of the ancient saints, who enjoyed his acquaintance.

Mr. Morse married, when about twenty-four years of age, Susannah, the eldest daughter of Mr. Joseph Babcock, of Westerly, Rhode Island, by whom he had many children. Seven of them are yet living, and his youngest son, Ashael is pastor of the church in Suffield, Connecticut. From his narrative of the life of his venerable father, the substance of this sketch has been extracted. His widow survived him about fifteen years, and died lately in the eightieth year of her age.

JOSEPH REESE.

JOSEPH REESE was born at Duck Creek, in Kent county, then in the province of Pennsylvania, but now in the state of Delaware. He was removed to South Carolina in 1745, when but nine years of age, and during his youthful days was very gay and fond of pleasure. His conversion, therefore, which took place in 1760, under the ministry of Rev. Philip Mulky, was remarkable, and drew much attention. Mr. Reese was baptized soon after his conversion by Mr. Mulky, and commenced preaching soon after his baptism. His ordination, however, for some reason, was deferred until 1768, when it was performed by Messrs. Oliver Hart, and Evan Pugh. He was at the same time installed pastor of the church at the Congoree, with which

he stood in that relation, except a few years during the revolutionary war, till his death, which took place March 5, 1795, when he was aged sixty-three years.

The church at the High Hills of Santee was gathered under his ministry, in 1770: at which time and place a great attention to religion was excited by his preaching, among a numerous people, who had been till then very careless, and unacquainted with vital religion.

He was very infirm about ten years before his death; and during the last two of them, one of the most afflicted of men. But during the whole he exhibited a sublime example of faith, patience, and resignation to the will of God; of concern for the divine glory, for the interests of the church at large, of that with which he was connected in particular, and for the salvation of individuals with whom he was connected or conversant. When public worship was supported at the place of worship nearest to him, about three miles distant, he was several times carried there on his bed, lying down during the service; and if he found himself able, which he sometimes did, would sit up at the conclusion of the worship, and address a few words to the congregation in the style of conversation and advice, by which they were generally melted into tears. His last attendance at the church was about twelve months before his death; at which time, in great pain and weakness, he administered the Lord's supper. God was pleased, in the midst of all his affliction, to afford him the consolations of grace, and he died in much assurance of his interest in the Redeemer, whom he loved.

Mr. Reese was a man of good understanding and warm affections. His piety, it is believed, was never called in question. He had but little education, though he made improvements after he began to preach: but he had a large fund of evangelical and experimental knowledge. His natural eloquence, and command of the passions of his hearers were extraordinary. He was both a Boanerges, and a son of consolation. His voice and his countenance are said to have affected his hearers like an enchantment. In the early part of his ministry he met with much opposition, but with surprising success.

One William Reese was exceedingly mad against him, as he was preaching at the High Hills of Santee, swearing and threatening what he would do to him; but before the service of the day was over, this same opposer was observed to tremble, and look about him as if he was meditating to run away, but did not do so; presently he swooned; when he came to himself and appearing in a shivering condition, a com-

panion of his said, "Will, you are cold, will you go to the fire?" He replied, "I am going to the fire! the fire of hell! O Lord, save me!" His distress was great for a considerable time, during which he made a public acknowledgment of his wicked conduct and persecuting intentions.

At another time, when he was preaching at Congaree, one Robert Liass made towards him, with a hickory club, saying, "that he would wear it out on the bawling dog's back." But he was hindered from his purpose, and persuaded to be quiet. Soon after, he was observed to be affected, but said nothing. "It was not long, however, before he sent for Mr. Reese in the night, and said, "I am damned! I am going to hell!" Mr. Reese said, "Perhaps not, perhaps not." Liass replied hastily, "Is there a peradventure? thank God for that! Had I a certainty of it, I would endure a thousand deaths! I would rot piece by piece, and be a thousand years rotting, if it would secure me from going to hell!"

Whether these men, who were so remarkably convicted, were ever converted, we are not informed.

Mr. Reese was a warm friend to his country in the revolutionary war, and represented the district in which he lived, in the state legislature, when the first constitution was formed for South Carolina.

SHUBAEL STEARNS.

SHABUEL STEARNS.—The outlines of Mr. Stearns' biography may be looked for in the History of the Separate Baptists, with whom he appears to have been intimately connected, and as much has already been said of this eminent man of God, it will be unnecessary to say much here respecting him.

Mr. Stearns was a man of small stature, but of good natural parts and sound judgment. Of learning he had but a little share, yet he was pretty well acquainted with books. His voice was musical and strong, which he managed in such a manner, as one while, to make soft impressions on the heart, and fetch tears from the eyes in a mechanical way; and anon, to shake the very nerves, and throw the animal system into tumults and perturbations. All the Separate Baptists copied after him in tones of voice and actions of body; and some few exceeded him. His character was indisputably good, both as a man, a Christian, and a preacher. In his eyes was something very penetrating, which seemed to have a meaning in every glance. Many stories have been told respecting the

enchancements of his eyes and voice, but the two following examples we give, with the more confidence, because the subjects of them, viz: Tidence Lane and Elnathan Davis, were men of sense and reputation, and afterwards became distinguished ministers of the Baptist society.

"When the fame of Mr. Stearns' preaching (said Mr. Lane,) had reached the Yaddin, where I lived, I felt a curiosity to go and hear him. Upon my arrival, I saw a venerable old man sitting under a peach-tree with a book in his hand, and the people gathering about him. He fixed his eyes upon me immediately, which made me feel in such a manner as I never had felt before. I turned to quit the place, but could not proceed far. I walked about sometimes catching his eyes as I walked. My uneasiness increased and became intolerable. I went up to him, thinking that a salutation and shaking of hands would relieve me; but it happened otherwise. I began to think that he had an evil eye, and ought to be shunned; but shunning him I could no more effect, than a bird can shun the rattle-snake, when it fixes his eyes upon it. When he began to preach, my perturbations increased, so that nature could no longer support them, and I sunk to the ground."

Mr. Lane afterwards became a very useful Baptist minister, and was one of the first of the denomination, who removed to Tennessee, where he administered until his death, with reputation and success.

"Elnathan Davis had heard that John Steward was to be baptized such a day by Mr. Stearns. Now this Steward being a very large man, and Stearns of small stature, he concluded there would be some diversion if not drowning; therefore he gathered about eight or ten of his companions in wickedness, and went to the spot. Mr. Stearns came and began to preach. Elnathan went to hear him, while his companions stood at a distance. He was no sooner among the crowd, than he perceived some of the people tremble, as if in a fit of the ague; he felt and examined them, in order to find if it were not a dissimulation; meanwhile one man leaned on his shoulder, weeping bitterly: Elnathan perceiving he had wet his new white coat pushed him off, and ran to his companions, who were sitting on a log at a distance. When he came, one said, 'Well, Elnathan, what do you think now of these — people?' affixing to them a profane and reproachful epithet. He replied, 'There is a trembling and crying spirit among them: but whether it be the Spirit of God or the devil, I don't know; if it be the devil, the devil go with them, for I will never more venture myself there.' He stood awhile in that

resolution; but the enchantment of Stearns' voice drew him to the crowd once more. He had not been long there before the trembling seized him also; he attempted to withdraw; but his strength failing, and his understanding being confounded, he with many others sunk to the ground. When he came to himself, he found nothing in him but dread and anxiety, bordering on horror. He continued in his situation some days, and then found relief in Christ. Immediately he began to preach conversion work, raw as he was, and scanty as his knowledge must have been."

Mr. Davis was born in Baltimore county, Maryland, 1736; was bred a Seventh-day Baptist; went to Slow River, in North Carolina, in 1755: was baptized by Shubael Stearns at Sandy Creek, and ordained by Samuel Harris, in 1764; continued in North Carolina until 1798, when he removed to South Carolina, and settled in the bounds of the Saluda association.

Mr. Stearns died November 20, 1771, at Sandy Creek, and was buried near his meeting-house.—*Edwards*.

GARDNER THURSTON.

GARDNER THURSTON was the son of Edward and Elizabeth Thurston, and was born in Newport, Rhode Island, November 14, 1721. When he was but a small lad, some of his relatives in the country obtained him to tarry with them for a season, where the aged and religious were highly pleased to learn that their little visitant had such a taste for devotion, that he was known to exhort his young associates to remember their Creator, and implore his aid whenever they formed any plan for enjoyment, and wished to be successful. To press his exhortations powerfully upon their hearts, and satisfy his conscience, he was seen in their little circles praying to God. The pious kept these things in their minds, believing it highly probable, Infinite Wisdom had designed him to be an instrument of great good among mankind.

After he returned to Newport, and had been some time under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Whitman, and his colleague, Rev. Nicholas Eyers, he wrote them the following letter:

"DEARLY BELOVED FATHERS IN CHRIST, —Through the wonderful mercy of God, I am brought to see myself in a lost condition, and his word and my conscience testify, that in such a state of nature, I am a child of wrath.

"Sirs, I consider that the gospel requires a positive change in all who will be admit-

ted into the kingdom of God; and that this change is new forming the heart, and subjecting the whole man to the service of Christ: that he may be translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son. Knowing my own inability to deliver myself, I find that I cannot do any thing pleasing to God of myself; I cannot come to that true and saving faith in Jesus Christ, with which remission of sins is connected; neither can I make satisfaction for the least of my transgressions: therefore, O Sirs, I desire to depend wholly and alone upon the free grace of God in Jesus Christ, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption," &c.

Soon after he wrote to these ministers, who were over him in the Lord, he obtained peace in believing, and joy in the Holy Ghost: but did not make a public profession of his faith in God, till April 4, 1741. When this day came, his mind was covered with darkness, and filled with distressing fears, that he rested short of the Rock of Ages, as the foundation of his hope: and that he should inevitably be a hypocrite if he joined the church. In this trying period of his life, he endeavored to make God his refuge, and prayed for the light of his countenance, that he might be led understandingly to know and to do his will. The time arrived in which he was to be examined as a candidate for baptism. But his fears concerning himself still continued, and multiplied to such an host against him, that when he came to the meeting-house door, he dared not enter, but turned and walked into a small burying-ground, and sat down upon a rock. The place, by the kind hand of God upon him, was made like the resting-place which Jacob found, as he journeyed from Beersheba to Padanaram. About sixty years afterward, walking in the same burying-ground, Mr. Thurston stopped, and putting his staff upon the rock, said, "There I sat down, overwhelmed with distress, while the church were waiting for me to come in, to give them an account of the dealings of God with my soul. Soon after I sat down I was enabled, through rich grace, to give up myself, and all I had, into the hands of my blessed Jesus, who immediately dispelled the darkness which covered me, removed my distress, filled me with peace and consolation, and gave me strength to declare what he had done for my soul."

He was received by the church, and baptized by their pastor, the Rev. Nicholas Eyers, and enjoyed great peace of mind, and establishment in the doctrine of Christ.

He was highly esteemed by the church, as a pious and promising youth and took

an active part in their conference meetings, till God was pleased to call him to declare more publicly the glad tidings of salvation.

The church were so well satisfied with his account of the operation of the divine spirit upon his mind, and his leading views of the great truths of the Christian system, that after hearing him a number of times, they gave him approbation to preach in 1748, and requested him to be an assistant to their pastor, Rev. Nicholas Eyers.

He from this time preached generally once on the Lord's-day, and one lecture every week. His desire for information, especially in divinity, was great, which he had an opportunity to gratify above many; for Mr. Eyers, with whom he was most intimately connected, was a man of talents and learning.

Mr. Eyers, died suddenly, February 15, 1759, having preached part of the Lord's-day before; and Mr. Thurston was, by the church, invited to succeed him; and was accordingly ordained to the pastoral office on the 29th of April following.

As he was born and educated with the people with whom he had now engaged to serve, he was not ignorant of their expectations from him as their pastor. He therefore determined to give himself wholly to the all important work of preaching the glorious gospel of Christ, and to finish his course with joy. Consequently he left his former business, which was lucrative, closed his accounts, and entered into the vineyard of the Lord with all his heart; pleading the sweet promise which flowed from the Saviour's lips, "Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

Mr. Thurston was endowed with an excellent disposition, and possessed a good natural constitution, with a quick and brilliant imagination. He was mild, studious and amiable in his family; lively and engaging in the society of his friends; tender, solemn and devotional among the sons and daughters of affliction; easy and graceful in his public movements; his voice was strong and melodious, and his heart all alive in the great and arduous work of the ministry of reconciliation.

He generally wrote the heads of his sermons, the quotations from scripture, and some of the most interesting ideas which he thought necessary for the clear illustration of the subject. These he commonly committed to memory, and but seldom had his notes before him in public.

Mr. Thurston being possessed of pleasing pulpit talents, and giving himself wholly to the work of the ministry, his hearers became so numerous that his meeting-house was enlarged twice, till it was seventy-five by fifty feet, and was well filled as long as he was able to preach. He

was favored with repeated revivals of religion among his people. Though these revivals were small in comparison with what many experience in the present day, yet his success was not measured by the duration of his ministry; for many who joined the church a number of years after he was dead, dated their awakenings, and some the beginning of their hope in the Saviour's merits, under his preaching. A number of ministers own him as an instrument in the Lord's hands of their awakening, comfort, and establishment in the faith of God's elect.

Mr. Thurston was well acquainted with afflictions and bereavements; for he lived to see all his near relations buried, except one daughter; and having passed through many temptations as a Christian and minister, he was well qualified for both sympathy and advice.

In 1792, he wrote as follows:

"Newport, (R. I.) 24th March, 1792.

"DEAR MADAM,—I have heard that you have not enjoyed so good health of late as usual, on account of the loss of one of your eyes; and that you desire me to write to you on this subject.

"The loss of the sight of one eye is very great, and it is a mercy you have one left. These bodily eyes must soon fail, be closed, and we be in the land of darkness, where we shall not need them. But, dear madam, there is another eye which the Lord can give to all who love him supremely; I mean the eye of faith. By this Abraham saw Christ's day and was glad; by this Job saw his Redeemer, and Moses saw him who is invisible. By this, we now behold the once suffering, bleeding Lamb of God, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; yes, by this eye we can look within the veil, and see Christ seated on the right hand of God, and ever living to make intercession for all who come unto God by him. By this eye we can look through the pearly gates of the New Jerusalem, and view the spirits of the just made perfect, joined with the blessed angels in celebrating the praises of their God and King.

"O, transporting sight! Methinks, madam, you are now ready to cry, Lord, evermore give me this sight! He will give it to every one who comes unto him and asks for it. Yes, my dear friend, I have something more to say; that we shall see the dear Lord with these bodily eyes, though useless in the grave. He will change these vile bodies, with all their members, and fashion them like his own glorious body. Then hope will cease in fruition, and faith in vision. Then those eyes which have been so long closed and useless, shall be opened

again and made useful. With mine eyes shall I behold him, and not another for me. Then shall we see the Saviour, and converse with him, as one friend converseth with another. We shall see him and be entirely conformed to his image, and be ever with the Lord. Think, dear friend, what a glorious sight this will be, which can never wax old or dim. The inhabitants of the New Jerusalem shall no more say they are sick. There will be no more pain; sorrow and sighing shall forever flee away.

"The dear Lord grant you, and every branch of your family, this portion.

"I remain your sincere friend,

"GARDNER THURSTON."

To a young minister under some trials.

"I rejoice in the grace of God bestowed upon you, I pray God to give you the wisdom of the serpent, and the harmlessness of the dove. A good cause, a good conscience, a steady and uniform conduct, will put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. I cannot give you better advice than Paul gave to Timothy. Read again and again his second epistle, second chapter. I sympathise with you in your trials; but be assured God will be with you in six and seven troubles. I know that your mind must be differently exercised; and Satan will not be wanting on his part to take every advantage to hurt your usefulness; and there are some who will unite with him, and watch for your halting.

"I believe that God, who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, will support and defend you. Be upon your guard to cut off occasion from those who seek occasion to speak disrespectfully of you. Endeavor always to exhibit a gospel temper. If they curse, do you bless; for the servant of the Lord must not strive, but in meekness instruct those who oppose themselves. You must not think your afflictions strange; they are what your Master and many of his servants met with before. You are only filling up your measure of that which was behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for the body's sake, which is the church. O blessed privilege, to partake with Christ in his afflictions! Be not discouraged, for the power of the enemy is limited like the great deep; hitherto it may come and no farther. For the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder shall he restrain.

"Concerning polemic performances, I will just observe, that I have formerly read many, and after all, I find the Bible to be the best book to discover what truth is, and to establish us in the truth. In this book we find a glorious display of God's justice

in the righteous condemnation of the wicked; and a glorious display of divine grace in the salvation of his people. Even from the foundation to the top-stone, it is all grace, grace, free grace."

In 1784, a little after the death of his wife, he thus addressed one of his correspondents:

"I embrace the present opportunity to inform you, that I enjoy a better state of health than I have for some years past. I have abundant reason to bless God, who has been the guide of my youth, and through life; for that support afforded me in the late trying dispensation which I have passed through. He has, indeed, been a present help in time of trouble. How unsuitable would it be for us, to have all our evils and trying changes in view at once! Therefore let us admire the words of Jesus, 'Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.'

"O, may I ever lean on my helper, God. I am indeed passing through the furnace of affliction, and drinking the bitter cup of the same; but it is the cup which my heavenly Father gives me, and it is mixed with mercy. It is all right; for I am sure that Infinite Goodness orders all things for them who love him. O why should such an unprofitable servant as I am be spared? What are the designs of Providence? Surely the Lord has something for me to do in his house, else I should have been cut down. I am firm in the opinion, that God will not take away his ministers before their work is done. If there be one more sinner to be converted by their ministry, one more saint to be comforted, they will be continued. I hope I shall be willing to wait all the days of my appointed time, till my change come; then through rich grace, be like a shock of corn fully ripe, coming in, in its season. And why should a minister or a Christian wish to stay one moment longer out of heaven than he can be useful?"

Mr. Thurston was not able to preach for about three years before his death; yet he was able to attend meeting for the most part of that time, and to visit his flock, and to speak comfortably unto God's people. He appeared to be all the time on the wing for heaven; in fine, we can say with propriety, that his conversation was in heaven. A number of ministers and Christian friends visited him, in the course of about eighteen months before his death, and it was their uniform opinion, that they never saw any one so unconditionally given up to live on the promises of God, as he was; and who would talk so familiarly and constantly about death—being with Jesus—

knowing the saints in heaven—and the unutterable felicity which would overwhelm the whole ransomed family of God, in the resurrection morning.

Mr. Thurston was remarkably fond of meditating and conversing upon the triumphs of the Christian over death and the grave; and the perfection of our nature, and the extensiveness of our knowledge, when we come to dwell with Christ in heaven. "O," said he, "when I come into the glorious presence of my Lord, I shall see and know those servants and children of my heavenly Father with whom I took sweet counsel while upon earth. Yes, I shall know them as quick and with as much certainty as Peter knew Moses and Elias, when they descended from heaven to Mount Tabor to converse with Christ. I am not afraid to die; for my Lord Jesus is with me, and I shall fear no evil. I know whom I have believed, and am sure that he will keep that, which I have committed unto him. What is that? it is my all, for I have been enabled to give myself into his hands; therefore I am not troubled about his property, for he knows how to keep it."

One morning, just after he had recovered from a fainting fit, he said to a friend, with a smile upon his countenance, "I did not think of seeing your face again in the flesh, one hour past; for I expected to have been with Jesus in heaven before this moment. Yet I do not wish you to think, that my Lord will tarry too long. His understanding is infinite; he is unchangeable. I have lived to a good old age, and have seen the salvation of the Lord. I long to see my Saviour in glory. He will come quickly. For me to die is gain. The death of the righteous is called only a sleep. Them who sleep in Jesus shall God bring with him; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. We shall then be like him, for we shall see him as he is. He will change our vile bodies, and make them like unto his most glorious body. Then shall I be satisfied." &c.

A little after this, he was more unwell, and his speech failed him so much, that he was never afterwards able to speak intelligibly. But a serene and smiling countenance and expressive gestures, showed that he retained his reason, and that he was calm and joyful in the approach of death; and after remaining in this situation a few days, he fell asleep in Jesus, on the 23d of May, 1802, in the eighty-first year of his age. A suitable discourse was delivered at his interment by Mr. Gano of Providence.

These sketches have been extracted from a Memoir written by Mr. Joshua Bradley, who succeeded this venerable father in the pastoral office.

JEREMIAH WALKER.

JEREMIAH WALKER was born in Bute county, North Carolina, about the year 1747. He possessed rare and singular talents. When but a small boy, although descended from rather obscure parentage, and having very little education, he was remarkably fond of reading and improving his mind. He was also noticed as a boy of very moral and virtuous habits. When quite young he embraced vital religion, and being baptized, soon began to preach. The few Baptist preachers that were then in the ministry were very illiterate. Mr. Walker of course had very little opportunity of improving his small stock of literature, from their conversation; but the invincible energies of his genius towered above every obstruction. He quickly shone forth with so much splendor as to make it questionable, whether the obscurity of his education, as well as the unlearnedness of his society, did not, by leaving his mind unshackled from scholastic dogmas, and from critical strictures, rather advance than impede his real greatness.

After preaching in his native neighborhood, and in Pittsylvania county, Virginia, for some few years, he was induced by the new church called Nottoway, formed in Amelia county, Virginia, (now Nottoway,) to move down and take the pastoral charge of them. This took place in 1769. Here he became very conspicuous, and disseminated his evangelical principles far and near. He was almost incessantly engaged in preaching the gospel. In a few years, aided by others, particularly certain young preachers of his own raising, he planted between twenty and thirty churches south of James river. In these were also a number of gifted characters, who afterwards became distinguished preachers. All of whom were either brought to the knowledge of the truth through his ministry, or nurtured under his fostering hand, after were they were brought.

All who knew him about this time, coincide in ascribing to him every thing desirable in a minister of the gospel. In talents, as a preacher, he was equalled by few of any denomination. His voice was melodious, his looks very affectionate, his manner was impressive and winning, his reasoning was clear and conclusive, his figures were elegant, well chosen, and strictly applicable; all of which advantages were heightened by the most unaffected simplicity. In private conversation, he was uncommonly entertaining and instructing to all, but especially to young preachers. Affable to all sorts of people, he was beloved and admired as far as he was known. Besides

this, he was considered by all his acquaintances exemplarily, pious, and, no doubt, was so at that time. No spot nor wrinkle was found in his character.

So distinguished a man among the despised Baptists, could not long escape the notice of their opponents. When persecution began to arise, the enemies of the cross soon cast their eyes on Jeremiah Walker. Him they viewed as the champion. "If we can but silence him," said they, "the whole host beside will hide themselves in dens and caverns." Accordingly he was arrested in Chesterfield county, by virtue of a warrant from a magistrate, and, after examination was committed to jail. His patience, humility, and uniform prudence and piety, while in prison, acquired for him the esteem of all, whose prejudices would allow them to think favorably of a Baptist. He kept a journal or diary, when confined, in which are some of his most pious and sensible reflections.

When Mr. Walker came out of jail, he stood, if possible, in higher estimation than he had done before. Wherever he went to preach, he was attended by a large concourse; and from his preaching the most beneficial consequences were constantly produced.

Here, alas! we would willingly drop the pencil, and leave the picture with these bright colorings; but our wishes cannot be indulged; candor compels us to forego the desire. Like the inspired historians, we must not only exhibit the goodness and greatness of God's people, but their foibles and their follies too. They told of David's rise; they told of his downfall likewise. No maxim is more surely established by experience and observation, than this—High delights are fraught with great dangers. God hath set adversity over against prosperity. And whenever a man in any character rises to distinguished eminence, he may look for some downfall, unless he watch his steps with a commensurate vigilance.

Mr. Walker had arrived to a degree of distinction far above his associates. In whatever direction he might travel, he was hailed by many as a father in the gospel. Caressed by his friends, admired by all, even by his enemies; invited to the society of the great; very influential, and indeed all-powerful in associations and other places among the Baptists; still young and inexperienced; it will not appear strange to an experienced mind, that this man, thus standing on a pinnacle, should tilt over.

"Oh, popular applause, what heart of man
Is proof against thy sweet seducing charms!
The wisest and the best feel urgent need
Of all their caution, in thy gentlest gales,
But, swell'd into a gust, who then, alas!
With all his canvases set, and, inexperienced,
And therefore heedless, can withstand thy power!"

In every good there will be some evil. The plain, familiar, affectionate manners of the Baptists in those days, under suitable restrictions, were surely favorable to vital piety. This habit, however, among the unsuspicious and incautious, exposed them to snares, into which too many fall. It would have been happy for Mr. Walker, if he had observed somewhat more of etiquette, especially among females. Their fondness for his company, under the pretence of religious affection, was often nothing more than carnal love in disguise. He was ultimately entrapped. In the year 1774, he attempted a criminal intrigue with a young woman, for which he was excluded; but soon again restored, on account of his apparently deep contrition. His deportment after this was so correct for some years, that he had almost regained his former standing. But, lamentable to relate, about the year 1784, or 1785, he fell into a similar transgression, in which things were carried much farther than the first. He was immediately excluded from fellowship. He sunk down to the utmost contempt. His name sounded with infamy far and near. The friends of religion were abashed beyond expression; while their enemies triumphed, as if the Baptists had sunk never to rise again. In no great while after this wretched event, he moved to Georgia; from whence, in the year 1788, he visited Virginia; professed to be again restored to divine favor, and petitioned the church from which he had been excluded, to reinstate him into membership. After some impediments were removed, he was received as a member, and also permitted to resume his ministry.

The sequel of his life is almost a continual struggle against the prejudices of both church and world. The sword never departed from his house. After his restoration, his morals were correct; for in truth, except the above sin, no other seems to have been capable of producing a momentary temptation to his mind.

He became an Armenian after his downfall, and thereby excited among the Georgia Baptists no small degree of contention. Finally, however, they split. Mr. Walker, with a small party, formed a distinct society, called General Baptists.

In 1791, he travelled into Virginia, and attended the association holden by the Middle District, at Cedar Creek, in Lunenburg county. From thence, he went to the general committee,* in Goochland; and then went through various parts of the state, leaving his pamphlets and his verbal arguments in favor of Armenianism, with-

* See an account of the General Committee in Virginia.

ersoever he went. In this journey Mr. Walker, those who associated with him, found him still the same pleasant, sensible, instructing, genteel character, that he had formerly been.

Alas, alas! that so splendid a garment should be so spotted.

In his last illness, he endured, with remarkable fortitude and Christian resignation, the most excruciating and acute sufferings. He died September 20th, 1792. Rev. Abraham Marshall preached his funeral sermon from Zechariah, xi. 2. "Howl, fir-tree; for the cedar is fallen."

Mr. Walker married Miss Jane Graves, in North Carolina, when very young. They lived together in great harmony for many years. After he went to Georgia, she died, and he married a widow-lady, with whom also he lived in the strictest harmony; for, his slips notwithstanding, he was exceedingly affectionate and kind in his family.

Mr. Walker had a principal hand in drafting for the Baptists their petitions and remonstrances to the Virginia assembly; he also took an active and successful part in supporting them in the House, where he gained the applause of the candid members, as a man of sense and address.

He published a number of pamphlets, mostly on controversial subjects; the most distinguished of which was the one entitled, "The Four-fold Foundation of Calvinism, Examined and Shaken."

SAUNDERS WALKER.

SAUNDERS WALKER was for many years one of the most useful ministers in the upper regions of Georgia. He was born March 17, 1740, in Prince William county, Virginia, and was a brother of Jeremiah Walker, whose history has just been related; and although his abilities were not equal to his brother's, yet he, different from him, maintained through life a character fair and unimpeachable. He was a singular instance of the transforming influence of the grace of God. Before his conversion he was of a turbulent, unmanageable temper, and much addicted to the vices naturally attendant on such a disposition. But the Divine Spirit not only changed his heart, but his nature too; so that he was ever after distinguished for the meekness and gravity of his deportment: the meek Saunders Walker, was a proverbial expression among all who knew him. He began to preach in South Carolina, in 1767, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and for thirty-eight years continued a faithful and successful minister of the cross of Christ.

VOL. I.—OO.

About four years after he began his ministerial course, he moved to Bute county, North Carolina, to a place notorious for wickedness and ignorance of religion. But it pleased his Master to be with him here, and in a short time a considerable church arose under his ministry. In 1782, he removed to Georgia, where he spent the remainder of his days. Here he became a companion in gospel labors with Daniel Marshall, and they were for a time the only ordained ministers in the upper part of the state. The country was both new and in an uncultivated state, both in a natural and a religious point of view. At this time also disputes ran high between the Whigs and Tories, from which many evils resulted. Mr. Walker not only became the laborious preacher of the gospel, but the successful mediator between contending parties, was the means of preventing many evils amongst them, and of procuring much good for those who were in trouble and want.

After spending a life of distinguished usefulness, he finished his course with joy, in 1805, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

The above account of Mr. Walker was furnished by Mr. Jesse Mercer, of Georgia. —*Benedict.*

JOHN WALLER.

JOHN WALLER, born December 23d, 1741, in Spottsylvania county, was a descendant of the honorable Wallers in England. At a very early period, he manifested a great talent for satirical wit. This determined his uncle, who had the direction of his education, to bring him up for the law. He was put to a grammar school, and made encouraging advancement in the dead languages. His uncle's death, and his father's narrow resources, added to his own unbridled inclinations to vice, prevented him from finishing even his classical education. He now began indeed to study, not the laws of the land, but those of the gaming-table. Letting himself loose to every species of wickedness and profanity, he quickly acquired for himself the infamous appellation of *Swearing Jack Waller*, by which he was distinguished from others of the same name. So far did he indulge his mischievous temper, that he once had three warrants served on him at the same time, on account of one uproar. It was frequently remarked by the common people, "that there could be no deviltry among the people, unless swearing Jack was at the head of it." He was sometimes called the devil's adjutant to muster his troops, To these may be added his fury against

the Baptists. He was one of the grand jury who presented Louis Craig for preaching. This happily terminated in his good.

Mr. Craig watched the dismission of the grand jury, and found means to secure their attention, while he addressed them in the following language: "I thank you, gentlemen of the grand jury, for the honor you have done me. While I was wicked and injurious, you took no notice of me; but since I have altered my course of life, and endeavored to reform my neighbors, you concern yourselves much about me. I forgive my persecuting enemies, and shall take joyfully the spoiling of my goods." When Mr. Waller heard him speak in that manner, and observed the meekness of his spirit, he was convinced that Craig was possessed of something that he had never seen in the man before. He thought within himself, that he should be happy if he could be of the same religion with Mr. Craig. From this time he began to attend their meetings, and was found of the Holy Spirit. The commandment came, and he died. He saw and felt himself a sinner. He now, for the first time, except in blaspheming, began to call upon the name of the Lord. His convictions were deep and pungent. He ate no pleasant bread, and drank no pleasant water, for seven or eight months, during which time he was almost in despair. He relates his exercises in the following words:

"I had long felt the greatest abhorrence of myself, and began almost to despair of the mercies of God. However, I determined in my own soul, never to rest from seeking until it pleased God to show mercy, or cut me off. Under these impressions I was at a certain place, sitting under preaching. On a sudden, a man exclaimed that he had found grace, and began to praise God. No mortal can describe the horror with which I was seized at that instant. I began to conclude damnation was certain. Leaving the meeting, I hastened to a neighboring wood, and dropped on my knees before God, to beg for mercy. In an instant I felt my heart melt, and a sweet application of the Redeemer's love to my poor soul. The calm was great, but short."

From this time he felt some increase of strength; yet at some times he felt the enemy break in upon him like a flood, and he would be almost ready to give up his hope. But the application of these words, gave him great comfort. "Who is among you that feareth the Lord; that walketh in darkness and hath no light; let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." Isaiah, i. 10. And again, "By this we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren."

By the time Messrs. Harris and Read came on their second tour into this region, Mr. Waller felt sufficiently confident to become a candidate for baptism; and going up into Orange county, was there baptized by Mr. Read, some time in the year 1767. Baptism was to him, as it has been to thousands, a sanctified ordinance. His soul received a great accession of strength and comfort. Christ was revealed to him. Having contracted debts by dissipation, he sold property to pay them. He conferred not with flesh and blood; but began to preach that men ought every where to repent. It was not long before his labors became effectual, at least, one way. That arch enemy of souls whom he had served so faithfully before, now began to roar in hideous peals against him, and succeeded in raising a powerful opposition against him.

At length it was thought proper to constitute a church in Mr. Waller's neighborhood; who making choice of him as pastor, he was ordained to the work of the ministry, June 20th, 1770. He now began to lengthen his cords. Bending his course downwards, he baptized William Webber, who afterwards became a distinguished preacher among the Virginia Baptists, being the first he did baptize. October, 1760, accompanied by J. Burris, he travelled down as far as Middlesex, where his ministry was attended with great success, and where also he met with violent opposition. From this time a train of prosperous events followed his evangelical exertions. Wherever he went, he was attended by a divine power, turning many to righteousness. His name sounded far and wide. By the ungodly, he was considered as a bold, inexorable fanatic, that would do much mischief unless restrained. The Baptists and their adherents looked upon him as set for the defence of their cause, and with much confidence rallied around him as their leader. His persecutions and imprisonments, in Caroline, in Middlesex, in Essex, and other counties, have been already related.

In this bright and burning way, Waller continued until 1775 or 1776, when he formed an acquaintance with one Williams, a preacher of some talents, apparent piety, and in Mr. Wesley's connection, consequently an Armenian; this man, by his conversation and books, so wrought upon Mr. Waller's mind, as to bring him over to believe the Armenian system. Knowing this to be contrary to the opinions of his brethren, he resolved to make a bold effort to preach and argue his principles at the next association, and thereby convince his brethren; or, failing in this, to submit to be cut off from them. Accordingly, he took

his text, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. "When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." In this exordium he stated, that when young and inexperienced in religion, he had fallen in with the Calvinistic plan; but that, becoming more expert in doctrine, or, in the language of his text, when he became a man, he put away these childish notions. He then went lengthily into the argument. For want of truth, or for want of talents, he made few if any converts to his opinions, and of course, had to confront the whole host of preachers and members now assembled. Mr. Waller, foreseeing his fate, took the shorter course. Instead of awaiting a fair trial, he proclaimed himself an Independent Baptist preacher. This step was probably resorted to by Waller, under an expectation that his popularity was so great, that he should be able to bring over many of the churches to his party. Be it as it may, he immediately commenced his operations on an extensive plan. On his return from the association, he used his utmost endeavor to form a strong party. He preached from house to house; spread his wings over a large field of ministerial labor; ordained lay elders in every neighborhood, to prevent inroads; and also several helps in the ministry. He also established what he called camp-meetings, in which they continued together several days, under certain written regulations, which were in substance, as follow:

1st. No female, on any account whatever, shall be permitted to appear in the camp, until an hour after sun-rise in the morning, nor stay there later than an hour before sun-set, at night.

2d. The persons in the camp shall depend for sustenance, during the camp-meeting, on the friendly hospitality of the neighborhood.

3d. Any person in camp, waking at any period of the night, may pray or sing, without disturbing the slumbers of others.

The novelty of these meetings, excited the attention of the people in such a manner, that great multitudes crowded after him.

By these means, his party gained ground daily. Few men possessed greater talents for heading a party of this description, than Mr. Waller. The only thing in which he was deficient, was, that he could not be happy while separated from his brethren.

He used to say that in the midst of apparent prosperity and the caresses of his friends, he still yearned after the people of God, from whom he had withdrawn. Some years after his restoration, he said to a young preacher who was dissatisfied, and

talked of dissenting, "If you could have a distant view of my sufferings and leanness of soul, while a dissenter from my brethren, you would never again indulge such a thought." He was again fully reinstated in connection with his brethren, in 1787; when a full union between Separates, Regulars, and Independents, was accomplished.

A very great revival commenced under Mr. Waller's ministry, in 1787. This continued for several years; and spread through all his places of preaching. In this revival he was greatly engaged, and baptized from first to last many hundreds, and his church in a short time increased to about fifteen hundred members. Early in this revival, Mr. A. Waller, son of his brother Benjamin, was brought in; and in some few years began to preach. Mr. Waller immediately recognized him as his successor, and declared that he believed his work in that part of the earth was finished. Accordingly, November, 6th, 1793, after taking the most affectionate leave of all the churches, he moved his family to Abbeville district, in the state of South Carolina. This removal was said to have arisen partly from economical considerations, and partly from a strong desire on his own, and on the part of his wife, to live near a beloved daughter, who had some time previously married Rev. Abraham Marshall, of Georgia. Perhaps there might be other causes. His labors in his new residence were also blessed, but not to a great extent. He remained however, faithful in the cause, until his death, which took place, July 4th, 1802.

His death was, as might be hoped and expected, truly glorious. His eldest son describes it in the following words:

"His conflict with death, as it respected bodily affliction, was truly hard; but his soul appeared to be happy indeed! Never did I witness such resignation and Christian fortitude before! He was reduced to a perfect skeleton; and, in several places the skin was rubbed off his bones. His pains appeared to be excruciating, but no murmur was heard from his lips. On the contrary, he would often say, 'I have a good Master, who does not give me one stroke too hard, or one too many.'

"The last sermon he preached, was on the death of a young man. The text from which he preached, was, Zechariah ii. 4. 'Run, speak to this young man.' He addressed himself chiefly to the youth, in feeble but animated strains, observing, that he counted upon its being the last sermon he should ever preach; and fervently prayed, that, Sampson like, he might slay more at his death, than he had done in his life. He continued speaking until his strength

failed him; and with reeling steps he advanced to a bed, where he thought he would have expired. From thence he was removed home in a carriage for the last time. He said, as to his soul, he was under no concern; as he had given it to Jesus long since; and he was under no doubt but what his Master would provide a mansion for it. Just before his departure he summoned all his family around him, black and white, and told them he was anxious to be gone and to be present with Christ; and then warned them to walk in the fear of God, cordially shook hands with all, and soon after, with a pleasant countenance, breathed his last, and fell asleep in Jesus. I looked on the corpse with these words fresh in my mind,

"O lovely appearance of death."

Thus this great man of God conquered the last enemy and ascended to that rest, that remaineth for the people of God. He died in the sixty-second year of his age; having been a minister of God's word for about thirty-five years; having in that time lain in four different jails, for the space of

one hundred and thirteen days in all, besides buffetings, stripes, reproaches, &c. Nor was his labor in vain in the Lord. While in Virginia, he baptized more than two thousand persons; assisted in the ordination of twenty-seven ministers; and helped to constitute eighteen churches. For many years, he had the ministerial care of five churches, to whom he preached steadily.

As a preacher, his talents in the pulpit were not above mediocrity; but he was certainly a man of very strong mind. His talents for art and intrigue were equalled by few. This he exercised sometimes, as it was thought, beyond the innocence of the dove. He was, perhaps, too emulous to carry his favorite points, especially in associations; yet it must be owned, that such influence as he acquired in this way, he always endeavored to turn to the glory of God.

He had married to Miss E. Curtis, previous to his becoming religious. By her he had a number of children, some of whom the old man had the happiness to see profess the same faith with himself.

THE END.

PÆDOBAPTISM EXAMINED,

ON THE
PRINCIPLES, CONCESSIONS, AND REASONINGS
OF THE
MOST LEARNED PÆDOBAPTISTS.

By ABRAHAM BOOTH.

"As certain also of your own poets have said."—*Paul*.

"This testimony of theirs, to me, is worth a thousand others; seeing it comes from such as, in my opinion, are evidently interested to speak quite otherwise."—*Daille*.

"How happy it is to do with people that will talk *pro* and *con*! By this means you furnish me with all I wanted; which was to make you confute yourselves."—*Pascal*.

PREFACE.

HAVING observed, for a course of years, that many of the most learned and eminent Pædobaptists, when theological subjects are under discussion, frequently argue on such principles, admit of such facts, interpret various texts of scripture in such a manner, and make such concessions, as are greatly in favor of the Baptists; I extracted a number of passages from their publications, and made many references to others, which I thought might be fairly pleaded against infant sprinkling.* On reviewing these quotations and *memoranda*, I concluded, merely for my own private use, to employ some leisure hours in transcribing and arranging them, under different heads of the Pædobaptist controversy.

When I had made a considerable progress in the work of transcription and arrangement, Mr. Henry's Treatise on Baptism fell into my hands.† Prepossessed of a high regard for the character of that worthy author, I perused the treatise with care. Not convinced, however, by any

thing contained in it, that the sprinkling of infants is an appointment of Christ; and being fully persuaded that Mr. Henry had employed his learning and zeal in defence of an unscriptural ceremony; I determined to prosecute the subject with greater application, and to publish the result of my inquiries and thoughts concerning it. Such was the occasion of this publication.

The method of arguing here adopted, is far from being either novel or unfair: it has been used by the spirit of infallibility against Pagans;* by Christians against the Jews;† by the Reformed against Roman Catholics; and by Protestant Dissenters against our English Conformists.‡ It

"Some reflections, however, which he casts on their [the Baptists] mode of baptism (which, perhaps, the editor might as well have omitted,) are scarcely consistent with that candor and liberality which might have been expected from the author, and which, had he been now living, he would probably have discovered." Monthly Review, for April, 1784, p. 313. My reader may see in what an illiberal manner Mr. Henry has reflected on the baptismal immersion, and some animadversions upon it, vol. i. chap. iv. reflect. vii. p. 231, this edition.

* Acts xvii. 23; Titus i. 12.

† So Witsius, for instance, in his *Judæus Christianizans*, pp. 276–402; and Hoornbeekius, *Contra Judæos*, l. ii. c. i.; l. iv. c. ii.

‡ A remarkable instance of this kind, is mentioned by Mr. Peirce, who having informed us, that Bp. Hoadly and Mr. Ollyfe wrote against Dr. Calamy, in defence of their own conformity, adds: "It happened, as is very usual with our adversaries, that these two defended conformity upon different principles. Dr. Calamy, therefore, in his answer, set their arguments one against another, and so handsomely defended our cause, that the Dissenters looked upon themselves obliged, not only to the doctor for his defence, but to his antagonists, who gave him the occasion of writing." *Vindict. of Dissent.* part i. p. 282.

* N. B. As the terms *infant sprinkling*, wherever they occur in this Treatise, are used merely by way of distinction, and not of contempt; so the expressions, *Pædo-baptism*, and *infant baptism*, are used in compliance with general custom; not because the author thinks an infant is *baptized*, on whom water has been solemnly poured or sprinkled.

† The Monthly Reviewers, after pronouncing this "the most popular defence of infant baptism and of the mode of sprinkling that hath appeared," very justly add:

is, in a particular manner, employed and pursued by the author of Popery confuted by Papists; a book, indeed, which I had not seen, till the far greater part of these pages was composed. The following words of that anonymous writer may be justly applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the present subject. "I will call the church of Rome for a witness to our cause; and if she do not plainly confess the antiquity of our tenets, and the novelty of her own; if she herself do not proclaim the universality of our faith; if she do not confess that we are both in the more certain and safe way in the Protestant church, I will neither refuse the name"* of an Anabaptist, nor any part of that censure which is due to such a character.

Though I do not approve of every sentiment contained in the following quotations produced on behalf of the Baptists, yet, as the generality of those Pædobaptists, from whose writings the extracts were made, must be considered as persons of learning and eminence in the several communions to which they belonged; and as no small number of them were famous professors in Protestant universities, their declarations, in the *argumentum ad hominem*, cannot but have the utmost weight. Nor can their testimonies, concerning the signification of Greek terms, or the practice of the church in former ages, be hastily rejected, without incurring the imputation of gross ignorance, of enormous pride, or of shameful precipitancy. Considering the quotations adduced, and the characters of those writers from whom they were taken, it is presumed, that the leading ideas of another paragraph, in Popery confuted by Papists, may be here applied. "If these witnesses had been ignorant and unlearned men, or excommunicate persons in their own church, there might be some plea why their testimonies should not be admitted. But when the points in question are articles of their own creed; when they are witnessed by popes, by councils, by cardinals, by bishops, by learned doctors and schoolmen in their own church, on our behalf, and against their own tenets; I see no cause why I should not demand judgment in defence of our church, and trial of our cause. It is the law of God and man, 'I will judge thee out of thine own mouth.'† Thus also Mr. Claude, when confuting the Roman Catholics; "I will make their authors that are not suspected by them to speak, whose passages I will faithfully translate, which they may see in the originals if they will take the pains."‡ To

which I may add the following words of another Pædobaptist, which are considered by him as a kind of axiom. "The confessions of enemies, and circumstances favorable to any body of men, collected from the writings of their adversaries, are deserving of particular regard."* *Testimonium Adversarii contra se Validissimum.*

The reader will find, that our auxiliaries in this dispute are both numerous and respectable; for while a multitude of Pædobaptists reluctantly concede this, that, and the other, in support of immersion upon a profession of faith, those who may be justly esteemed impartial judges of the evidence produced on both sides of this debate, very cheerfully award the cause to us. Yes, those disinterested Friends, the people called Quakers, without so much as one exception occurring to observation, pour in their attestations on our behalf, and treat infant sprinkling as a merely human invention.

Though I am not conscious of having misrepresented the meaning of any Pædobaptist, whose testimony is produced, yet, as the quotations are very numerous, and as many of them are translated from the Latin, it is possible that mistakes may be discovered, by those readers who accurately compare my quotations with the writers from whom they were taken. Such mistakes, it is hoped, however, will be found comparatively few, and of trifling importance. I am persuaded, therefore, that the judicious and candid will impute them to inadvertency, or ignorance, rather than a disingenuous intention.

A learned foreigner has justly observed, that while all Christians deservedly acknowledge the Bible as a divine revelation, it has fallen out, that every one desires to find in that sacred volume whatever in his own imagination seems divine; and that men are so wonderfully happy in this respect, as hardly ever to complain of being disappointed, or of having lost their labor, in searching the sacred records for what they wanted; but all, in the language of self-gratulation, repeat the old *ὕψικα* of Archimedes, *I have found it! I have found it!*† "It is but too frequently," says Mr. Placette, "that we see truth clashing with our temporal interests, with the secret bias of our hearts, with our most violent passions, and with other things which we make the ordinary measures of our conduct. Whenever this happens, we ought

* Dr. Priestley's Letters to Dr. Horsley, p. 137. "What," says the learned Chamier, "can be a more convincing proof, than that which arises from the confession of an adversary?" Panstra. tom. iv. l. viii. c. ix. § 4. Conformably to which, Mr. Travis, when speaking of a particular fact, says: It "is proved by the best testimony possible, the acknowledgment of an adversary." Letters to Mr. Gibbon, lett. iii. edit. 2nd.

† Werenfelsii Opuscula, pp. 376, 377.

* Popery confuted by Papists, sect. viii, p. 43.

† Ut Supra, sect. x. p. 152.

‡ Defence of Reformation, part ii. p. 127.

to despise these vain interests, to stifle these inclinations, to repress these criminal motions, and in all our proceedings to stick close to the unalterable rule of truth. But we cannot bring ourselves to such a resolution: on the quite contrary, we endeavor to ply and bend this rule; and instead of conforming ourselves to it, would have it conform to ourselves. Not being able to change it, because it is really constant and perpetual, our next attempt is to change our own judgment about it. We try to persuade ourselves out of its directions; and, with much pains and labor, we come at length to succeed in our design. No man can, indeed, be ignorant of that mighty sway which the heart bears over the understanding. According to the order of nature, and the intention of its divine Author, it is the understanding that ought to guide the heart, and to be set up as its faithful lamp and light; but in common experience we see the reverse of this. The heart draws aside the understanding that way to which itself inclines; and if it fail to do this immediately, and by absolute command, it carries its point by time and stratagem. It hinders the intellective power from attending to such reasons as are disagreeable to itself, and keeps it perpetually busied about the opposite arguments. It makes us look on the former with a secret desire, that they may prove false; and on the latter, with a most unjust wish that we may find them true: and then, no wonder if it be successful in its arts, and if it effectually lead us into error.”*

Very important is that declaration of our Lord: “If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself:” with which the following direction of Bp. Taylor agrees: “If a man inquires after truth earnestly, as after things of great concernment; if he prays to God to assist, and uses those means which are in his hand, and are his best for the finding it; if he be indifferent to any proposition, and loves it not for any consideration, but because he thinks it true; if he will quit any interest rather than lose a truth; if he dares own what he hath found and believed; and if he loves it so much the more, by how much he believes it more conducing to piety and the honor of God; he hath done what a good and wise man should do: he needs not regard what any man threatens, nor fear God’s anger when a man of another sect threatens him with damnation. For he that heartily endeavors to please God, and searches what his will is, that he may obey it, certainly love God;† and noth-

ing that loves God can perish.” Such is the rule of our duty in this respect; but as we are far from being insensible of our liability to be influenced by prejudices and corrupt affections in our inquiries after the mind of God respecting the ordinance of baptism, it is no small satisfaction to find, that our most learned and eminent opposers have said so much in favor of immersion, upon a profession of faith, as the appointment of Jesus Christ. For, as Dr. Owen observes, “Truth and good company will give a modest man confidence.”*

In proportion as I have become acquainted with the Popish controversy, and with that between our English Episcopalians and Protestant Dissenters, the more have I been convinced, that there is a remarkable similarity between the arguments used by Roman Catholics in defence of Popery; by our Conformists, in support of their Establishment; and by Pædobaptists in general, in favor of infant sprinkling. It gives me, therefore, peculiar pleasure to find, that the general principles on which I oppose Pædobaptism, are the very same with those upon which the Reformed have always proceeded, in confuting the Papal system, and upon which Protestant Dissenters argue against the constitution, government, and unscriptural rites of the English church. By these considerations, I am the more confirmed in my disapprobation of infant sprinkling. Agreeable to which are the following words of Dr. Calamy, when speaking of the persecuted Nonconformists, and of their leading principles: “They were the more confirmed in their adherence to these principles, by finding the most eminent divines of the church forced to make use of the very same in their noble defence of the Reformation against the Romanists; and, indeed, it seemed to them remarkable, that those which were reckoned by the clergy the most successful weapons against the Dissenters, should be the same that are used by the Papists against the Protestant Reformation.”†

In the course of my reflections on the language and arguments of some Pædobaptists, the reader will meet with a few strokes of pleasantry. It is presumed, however, that he will have no reason to complain of *ill temper*, or of a want of benevolence to any from whom I conscientiously differ. For though it appears, from several quotations, that the harshest things have been said of the Baptists,‡ by some of

* Vindication against Sherlock, p. 41.

† Nonconformist’s Memorial, Introduct. p. 53.

‡ Dr. Frealey acknowledges that, when writing against the Baptists, “he could hardly dip his pen in any other liquor than the juice of gall.” In Crossby’s Hist. Bapt. vol. i. Pref. p. 5. See Backus’s Church Hist. of New Eng. vol. ii. pp. 323, 324.

* Christian Casuist, b. ii. chap. xviii.

† Ductor Dubitant. p. 755. See Mr. Locke’s Conduct of the Understanding, sect. xi.

their opposers; and though it must be acknowledged the Baptists have sometimes retorted in an unbecoming manner; yet, as every one must confess, that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God," so it may be observed of the cause that is here pleaded,

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis.

Some persons, to avoid the labor of thinking, and to keep their consciences easy in a compliance with prevailing custom, pronounce baptism *a controverted point*; and then infer, that all disputes about the mode and subjects of the ordinance, are not only stale and unimportant, but unworthy the character of any who profess a warm regard for the interests of moral virtue, or for the person, the atonement, and the grace of Jesus Christ. That baptism has been the subject of much controversy must be allowed; but then I will say, with Bp. Hurd; "Show me the question in religion, or even in common morals, about which learned men have not disagreed; nay, show me a single text of scripture, though ever so plain and precise, which the perverseness or ingenuity of interpreters has not drawn into different, and often contrary meanings. What then shall we conclude? that there is no truth in religion, no certainty in morals, no authority in sacred scripture? If such conclusions as these be carried to their utmost length, in what else can they terminate, but absolute and universal scepticism?"* I may add, in the words of Dr. Waterland, "As long as religion [or any particular branch of it,] is held in any value or esteem, and meets with opposers, it must occasion warm disputes. Who would wish that it should not? What remedy is there for it, while men are men, which is not infinitely worse than the disease? A total contempt of religion, [or an universal and absolute indifference for any particular article in it,] might end all disputes about it; nothing else will."†

It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that positive rites, forms of worship, and ecclesiastical order, are not of equal importance with doctrines that immediately respect the object of our worship, as rational creatures; the ground of our hope, as criminals deserving to perish; or the source of our blessedness, as intended for an immortal existence. Nor is the most punctual performance of a ritual service, detached from faith in Christ and benevolence to man, worthy of being compared with truly devotional principles and virtuous tempers, though attended with much ignorance re-

lating to the positive parts of divine worship. But is this a sufficient reason for treating the law of baptism as of little or no importance; as if it were obsolete, or as if our great Legislator had no meaning when he enacted it? That mutilation of the sacred supper, which is practised in the Romish communion, has been sharply opposed and loudly condemned by all denominations of Protestants: and is it not lawful, is it not matter of duty, to oppose and condemn such an outrage on divine authority and primitive example? Are we not required to *contend earnestly*, but with virtuous dispositions, for every branch of *that faith which was once delivered to the saints*? If, therefore, infants be solemnly sprinkled by divine right, it must be the indispensable duty of Pædobaptists to contend for it; but if, on the contrary, infant sprinkling be a human invention, the Baptists are equally bound to oppose it, as deserving to be banished from the worship of God, where it has long usurped the place of a divine institution. If Christ be the only Lord and Lawgiver in his own kingdom, then certainly it is far from being a matter of indifference whether the laws which he enacted be regarded or not: for, with equal reason, might any one question, whether our Saviour should be *believed*, in what he declares; as whether he should be *obeyed*, in what he commands. Under the fair pretext of charity, forbearance, and catholicism, we might, with Melancthon and other adia-phorists in the sixteenth century, consider the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the number of the sacraments, the jurisdiction claimed by the pope, extreme unction, the observation of Popish festivals, and several superstitious rites, as things *indifferent*;* or, with others, we might assert the innocence of mental error in matters of doctrine and of worship; and so, by unavoidable consequence, render the Bible itself of little worth.

It has been often asserted, both by ancients and moderns, that the followers of Christ should never seek for peace at the expense of truth, nor of religious duty. Thus, for example, Hilary, bishop of Poitiers: "The name of *peace* is, indeed, very specious, and the mere appearance of *unity* has something splendid in it; but who knows not, that the church and the gospel acknowledge no other peace than that which comes from Jesus Christ, that which he gave to his apostles before the glory of his passion, and that which he left in trust with them by his eternal command, when he was about to leave them?"† Dr. Owen: "We are not engaged in an

* Introd. to Study of Prophecies, serm. viii.

† Importance of Doct. of Trinity, p. 206.

* See Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. cent. xvi. sect. iii. part ii. § 23. Venerable Hist. Eccles. secul. xvi. § 156.

† In Claude's Defence of Reformation, part iii. p. 3.

inquiry merely after *peace*, but after peace with *truth*. Yea, to lay aside the consideration of truth, in a disquisition after peace and agreement, in and about spiritual things, is to exclude a regard unto God and his authority, and to provide only for ourselves. . . . The rule of unity, as it is supposed to comprise all church communion, falls under many restrictions. For herein the special commands of Christ, and institutions of the gospel committed unto our care and observance, falling under consideration, our practice is precisely limited unto those commands, and by the nature of those institutions. . . . We are not obliged to accommodate any of the ways or truths of Christ unto the sins and ignorance of men.”*—J. A. Turretin: “There ought to be no charity without truth; no charity that is an injury to truth; no charity which causes us to offend against the truth. . . . For this ought not to be called *charity*, but a confederation and a conspiracy of error. ‘We wish,’ says Jerome, ‘for peace; and we not only wish, but also pray for it: but it is the peace of Christ, true peace, peace in which no war is involved.’ Otherwise, as Nazianzen teaches, ‘war is more eligible than that peace which separates us from God.’”†—Mr. Henry: “The method of our prayer must be, first for truth, and then for peace; for such is the method of the wisdom that is from above; it is *first pure; then peaceable*.”‡ With this both prophets and apostles agree; for their language is, *Love the truth and peace—Speaking the truth in love*.§

The folly and impiety of pleading for charity and peace, at the expense of divine truth and of religious duty, are well represented and properly chastised by a Pædobaptist author, in the following manner: “A considerable succedaneum for the Christian unity, is the Catholic charity; which is like the charity commended by Paul, in only this one instance, that it *groweth exceedingly*.—Among the stricter sort, it goes under the name of *forbearance*. We shall be much mistaken if we think that, by this soft and agreeable word, is chiefly meant the tenderness and compassion inculcated by the precepts of Jesus Christ and his apostles. It strictly means an agreement to differ quietly about the doctrines and commandments of the gospel, without interruption of visible fellowship. They distinguish carefully between *fundamentals*, or things necessary to be believed and practised; and *circumstantial*, or things that are indifferent. Now, whatever foundation there may be for such

a distinction in human systems of religion, it certainly looks very ill-becoming in the churches of Christ, to question how far He is to be believed and obeyed. Our modern churches . . . have nearly agreed to hold all those things indifferent which would be inconvenient and disreputable; and to have communion together, in observing somewhat like the customs of their forefathers. Many of the plainest sayings of Jesus Christ and the apostles are treated with high contempt, by the advocates of this forbearance.—The common people are persuaded to believe, that all the ancient institutions of Christianity were merely local and temporary, excepting such as the learned have agreed to be suitable to these times; or, which have been customarily observed by their predecessors. But it would well become the doctors in divinity to show, by what authority any injunction of God can be revoked, besides *his own*; or, how any man’s conscience can be lawfully released by custom, example, or human authority, from observing such things as were instituted by the apostles of Christ in his name. . . . This corrupt forbearance had no allowed place in the primitive churches. The apostle, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, required of them, to adorn their vocation ‘with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another, in love.’ But had they dispensed with the laws of Christ, for convenience and ease, it had been forbearing one another in hatred; for those laws were expressions of his love; the most fervent love that was ever shown among men, directed by infallible wisdom. Whosoever, therefore, would obliterate them, or any how attempt to change them, must either suppose himself wiser than Jesus Christ, or a greater friend to mankind. He must be moved, either by an enormous self-conceit, or by the spirit of malevolence. . . . The more thinking part of religious men observing what great mischiefs have arisen from contentions about truth,—have found it most desirable to let truth alone, and to concern themselves chiefly about living profitably in civil society. To be of some religion, is but decent; and the interests of human life require that it be popular and compliant. If men have different notions of Jesus Christ, his divinity, his sacrifice, his kingdom, and the customs of his religion, even from what the apostles seemed to have; charity demands that we think well of their religious characters, notwithstanding this. It is unbecoming the modesty of wise men to be confident on any side; and *contending earnestly* for opinions, injures the peace of the Christian church. Thus kind and humble is modern charity! Instead of rejoicing in or with *the truth*, it rejoiceth in contemplating the admirable piety that may be

* Discourse on Evangelical Love and Peace, p. 17, 24,

233

† Oratio de Theologo Veritatis et Pacis Studioso.

‡ Exposit. on Rom. xv. 5.

§ Zech viii 19, Eph. iv. 15.

produced from so many different, yea, opposite principles. . . . The Christians of old time were taught, not to dispute about the institutions of their Lord, but to observe them thankfully; and hereby they expressed their affection to him and to each other. If that affection be granted to be more important than the tokens of it, it would be unjust to infer that the latter have no obligation; which would imply, that Christ and the apostles meant nothing by their precepts. The Methodists have not, indeed, gone so far as their spiritual Brethren [the Quakers] have done, in rejecting all external ceremonies; but they are taught to believe, that all concern about the ancient order and customs of the Christians is mere party-spirit, and injurious to the devout exercises of the heart. Thus the modern charity vaunts itself, in answering better purposes than could be accomplished by keeping the words of Christ. It produces a more extensive and generous communion, and animates the devotion of men, without perplexing them by uncertain doctrines or rigorous self-denial. . . . Although it supposes some revelation from God, and some honor due to Jesus Christ, it claims a right to dispense with both—to choose what in his doctrine and religion, is fit to be believed and observed.”*

While, however, we think it our duty with a resolute perseverance to maintain the purity and importance of baptism, as a divine institution; we are far from considering ourselves as the only disciples of Christ, or our own communities as the only Christian churches. Nor is an idea of that kind justly inferable from our denying communion at the Lord’s table to Pædobaptists.† Respecting this particular, Dr. Owen says; “There is no necessity that any should deny all them to be true churches, from whom they may have just reason to withdraw their communion. . . . When we judge of our own communion with them, it is not upon this question, whether they are true churches, or not? as though the determination of our practice did depend solely thereon. For as we are not called to judge of the being of their constitution, as to the substance of it, unless they are openly judged in the scripture, as in the case of idolatry and persecution persisted in; so a determination of the truth of their constitution, or that they are true churches, will not presently resolve us in our duty, as to communion with them. . . . It is most unwarrantable rashness and presumption, yea, an evident fruit of ignorance, or want of love, or secular private interests, when, upon les-

ser differences, men judge churches to be no true churches, and their ministers to be no true ministers.”* The same excellent author says; “There is nothing more clear and certain, than that our Lord Christ . . . never joined with [the Jews] in the observance of their own traditions and pharisaical impositions, but warned all his disciples to avoid them and refuse them; whose example we desire to follow: for concerning all such observances in the church, he pronounced that sentence, ‘Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up.’”†

It is against what the author considers as an error in sentiment, and a corruption of worship, that the following Examination of Pædobaptism makes its appearance: errors, not persons are here opposed. He thinks, with Mr. Leigh, that he should “distinguish between loving of men’s persons and their errors;”‡ and, with Bp. Burnet, that “whatever moderation or charity we may owe to men’s persons, we owe none at all to their errors, and to that frame which is built on and supported by them.”§ Nay, as Dr. Waterland in another case observes, “While we are of a contrary judgment, it cannot but be guilty practice and conduct in us, and very great too to smother our sentiments, or not to bear our testimony in such a way as Christ has appointed, against all notorious corruptions, either of faith, or worship, or doctrine.”||

Should this Examination of Pædobaptism have the honor of being regarded as deserving an answer, and should any of our opposers write against me, it will not avail to refute some particular parts of the work detached from the general principles on which I proceed. No; the *data*, the *principal grounds* of reasoning, which are adopted from Pædobaptists themselves, must be constantly kept in view, or nothing to the honor of infant sprinkling will be effected. For as the grand principles on which my argumentation proceeds, and whence my general conclusions are drawn, are those of Protestants when contending with Papists, and those of Nonconformists when disputing with English Episcopalians; it will be incumbent on such opposer to show either that the principles themselves are false, or that my reasoning upon them is inconclusive. Now, as I do not perceive how any Protestant can give up those principles, without virtually admitting the superstitions of Popery; nor how they can be deserted by any Dissenter, without impli-

* Strictures upon Modern Simony, p. 48—55. Luther, in his vehement manner, says; “Maledicta sit charitas quæ servat eum iactura doctrinæ fidel, cui omnia cedere debent, charitas, apostolus, angelus e cælo.” Comment. in Epist. ad Galat.

† See my Apology for the Baptists.

* Discourse on Evangelical Love and Church-Peace, p. 82, 83, 84. See plain Reasons for Dissenting from the Church of England, part I. reason I.; and Stapleri Theolog. Polem. tom. i. p. 518.

† Enquiry into Orig. and Nature of Churches, p. 253.

‡ Treatise on Relig. and Learning, b. I. chap. vii.

§ In Mr. Robinson’s Plan of Lectures, Motto.

|| Importance of Doct. of Trinity, p. 135.

citly renouncing his Nonconformity; so I conclude, that the whole force of any opposer must be employed in endeavoring to prove, that I have reasoned inconsequently from those principles. That this might be easily proved, I am not at present convinced; and whether any of our Pædobaptist Brethren will consider this publication as of sufficient importance to excite such an attempt, is to me uncertain.

To the conclusions inferred from those very numerous concessions which our opposers have made, (and my reader will find that many of the greatest eminence among them have been the most free in making concessions,) it may, perhaps, be objected: "Notwithstanding all their concessions, they continued in the profession and practice of infant baptism." Granted; but then it should be considered, that this objection is quite futile; because I professedly argue against Pædobaptism, on the principles, reasonings, and concessions of *Pædobaptists*. Besides, though such an exception to my conclusions expresses a fact, yet it pays the consistency of the authors concerned but a poor compliment. In this light similar concessions from Roman Catholics have always been viewed by Protestants; of which the reader will meet with various instances in the course of this work.

Being fully persuaded, that I appear in defence of a divine institution and of apostolic practice, I earnestly commend this publication to the blessing of that sublime Being, who "worketh all things after the counsel of his will." Sincerely praying, that evangelical truth and experimental religion, that purity of worship and the practice of holiness, may flourish among all denominations of Christians, I conclude in the following words of Lord Bacon: "Read, not to contradict or confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."*

A. BOOTH.

PART I.

THE MODE OF ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Nature, Obligation, and Importance of Positive Institutions in Religion.

DR. DODDRIDGE. "Those are called positive institutions or precepts, which are

* In Dr. Edwards's Discourse concerning Truth and Error, p. 456.

not founded upon any reasons known to those to whom they are given, or discoverable by them, but which are observed merely because some superior has commanded them."—*Lectures, Definit.* lxxi. p. 233.

2. Bp. Taylor. "All institutions sacramental, and positive laws, depend not upon the nature of the things themselves, according to the extension or diminution of which our obedience might be measured; but they depend wholly on the will of the Lawgiver, and the will of the Supreme, being actually limited to this specification, this manner, this matter, this institution: whatsoever comes besides, it hath no foundation in the will of the Legislator, and therefore can have no warrant or authority. That it be obeyed, or not obeyed, is all the question and all the variety. If it can be obeyed, it must; if it cannot it must be let alone. . . . Whatsoever depends upon a divine law or institution, whatsoever God wills, whatsoever is appointed instrumental to the signification of a mystery, or to the collation of a grace or a power, he that does any thing of his own head must be a despiser of God's will, or must suppose himself the author of a grace, or else to do nothing at all in what he does; because all his obedience and all the blessing of his obedience depend upon the will of God, which ought always to be obeyed when it can: and when it cannot, nothing can supply it, because the reason of it cannot be understood. . . . All positive precepts, that depend upon the mere will of the lawgiver, admit no degrees, nor suppletory and commutation; because in such laws we see nothing beyond the words of the law, and the first meaning, and the named instance: and therefore it is that in *individuo* which God points at; it is that in which he will make the trial of our obedience; it is that in which he will so perfectly be obeyed, that he will not be disputed with or inquired of, *why* and *how*, but just according to the measures there set down; so, and no more and no less, and no otherwise. For when the will of the lawgiver is *all the reason*, the first instance of the law is *all the measure*, and there can be no product but what is just set down. No parity of reason can infer any thing else; because there is no reason but the will of God, to which nothing can be equal, because his will can be but one."—*Ductor Dub.* b. ii. chap. iii. § 14, 18.

3. Mr. Reeves. "The distinction of obligations between moral and positive duties is to be understood with great caution. For though the goodness of a law be a great motive and inducement to obedience, yet the formal reason of obligation does not arise from the goodness of a law, but from the authority and will of the legislator. God commands a thing which was before

indifferent; therefore that thing is as much a law as if it was never so good in its own nature: he forbade the eating of a tree in the midst of the garden, which without that prohibition had been indifferent. But Adam, and in him all his posterity, was condemned for the breach of a law purely positive. . . . When God therefore says, that he 'will have mercy and not sacrifice,' it is not to be understood as if God would have any of his laws broken; but, as our Saviour explains it, 'These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.' I ask then, what are natural laws? Why, what we conclude merely from the light of nature that God has commanded or forbidden, either to be believed or done. What then are *positive* laws? Why, what we know to be the will of God by his *express* word only. In both cases then we see, that it is the will of God, and not the goodness of the thing, or the manner of the discovery, which induces the obligation."—*Apologies*. vol. ii. p. 217, 218, edit. 1709.

4. Dr. Fiddes. "The distinction between positive law and moral law is founded in this difference: the subject matter of positive law is something to which we are antecedently under no obligation, and which only obliges by virtue of its being enacted, and perhaps to a certain limited period. The subject matter of a moral law is, on the other hand, something antecedently, in the visible reason of it, obligatory to us, and the obligation thereof will always continue unchangeably the same. . . . By a positive command, I understand an *express* declaration made by competent authority, whether concerning things to be done, or to be omitted."—*Theolog. Pract.* b. i. chap. vi. p. 50; b. ii. part i. chap. i. p. 105.

5. Dr. Owen. "Positive institutions are the free effects of the will of God, depending originally and *solely* on revelation, and which therefore have been various and actually changed."—*Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit*, b. i. chap. iii. § 3.

6. Buddeus. "The obligation by which men are bound rightly to use positive appointments, is to be derived from the moral law itself; by which it is manifest, that men are obliged to do all those things by which their eternal felicity may be promoted. . . . God had the wisest reasons, why he would have an appointment administered in this or the other manner. It is not lawful therefore, for men to alter any thing, or to mutilate the appointment. Thus the sacraments are to be used, not according to our own pleasure, but in the manner appointed by God."—*Institut. Theol. Moral.* pars i. c. v. § 18; pars ii. c. ii. § 50. Lips. 1727.

7. Bp. Butler. "Moral precepts are precepts, the reasons of which we see; pos-

itive precepts are precepts, the reasons of which we do not see. Moral duties arise out of the nature of the case itself, prior to external command; positive duties do not arise out of the nature of the case, but from external command; nor would they be duties at all, were it not for such command, received from Him whose creatures and subjects we are. But the manner in which the nature of the case, or the fact of the relation is made known, this doth not denominate any duty either positive or moral. . . . The reason of positive institutions, in general, is very obvious; though we should not see the reason why such particular ones are pitched upon, rather than others. Whoever, therefore, instead of cavilling at words will attend to the thing itself, may clearly see, that positive institutions in general, as distinguished from this or that particular one, have the nature of moral commands, since the reasons of them appear. Thus, for instance, the external worship of God is a moral duty, though no particular mode of it be so. Care is then to be taken, when a comparison is made between positive and moral duties, that they be compared no farther than as they are different; no farther than as the former are positive, or arise out of mere external command, the reasons of which we are not acquainted with; and as the latter are moral, or arise out of the apparent reason of the case, without such external command. Unless this caution be observed, we shall run into endless confusion. Now this being premised, suppose two standing precepts enjoined by the same authority; that in certain conjunctions it is impossible to obey both; that the former is moral, *i. e.* a precept of which we see the reasons, and that they hold in the particular case before us; but that the latter is positive, *i. e.* a precept of which we do not see the reasons: it is indisputable that our obligations are to obey the former, because there is an apparent reason for this preference, and none against it. . . . As it is one of the peculiar weaknesses of human nature, when, upon a comparison of two things, one is found to be of greater importance than the other, to consider this other as of scarce any importance at all; it is highly necessary that we remind ourselves how great presumption it is, to make light of positive institutions of divine appointment; that our obligations to obey all God's commands whatever, are absolute and indispensable; and that commands merely positive, admitted to be from him, lay us under a *moral* obligation to obey them; an obligation moral in the strictest and most proper sense."—*Analogy of Religion* p. ii. c. i.

8. Dr. J. G. King. "Positive duties, having no obligation in the reason of things, can have no foundation but in the *express*

words of the institutor, from which alone they derive their authority."—*Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*, p. 12.

9. Mr. Jonathan Edwards. "Those laws whose obligation arises from the nature of things, and from the general state and nature of mankind, as well as from God's positive revealed will, are called *moral* laws. Others, whose obligation depends merely upon God's positive and arbitrary institution, are not moral: such as the ceremonial laws, and the precepts of the gospel about the two sacraments." . . . Positive "precepts are the greatest and most proper trial of obedience; because in them the mere authority and will of the legislator is the sole ground of the obligation, and nothing in the nature of the things themselves; and therefore they are the greatest trial of any person's respect to that authority and will."—*Sermons*, p. 232. Hartford, 1780. *Sermons on Imp. Sub.* p. 79. Edinb. 1785.

10. Bp. Burnet. "Sacraments are positive precepts, which are to be measured ONLY by the institution, in which there is not room left for us to carry them any farther."—*Exposit. Thirty-nine Articles*, Art. xxvii. p. 279, edit. 5.

11. Mr. Steele. "Sacraments depend merely upon their institution: hence doth their being result, and upon this their matter and signification do depend. The institution, with the element, makes the sacrament; and so the *only* rule and balance for them must needs be their institution."—*Morning Exercises against Popery*, Sermon. xxii. p. 764, 765.

12. Stapferus. "Visible signs are the matter of sacraments. Signs are either natural or arbitrary. Sacred ceremonies are of the latter kind. But whatever an arbitrary sign be, it is such by institution."—*Institut. Theolog. Polem. tom. i. cap. iii.* § 1623, 1624.

13. Dr. Goodman. The term *institution* "implies a setting up *de novo*, or the appointing that to become a duty which was not knowable, or at least not known to be so, before it became so appointed. For this word, *institution*, is that which we use to express a positive command by, in opposition to that which is moral in the strictest sense, and of natural obligation. Now it is very evident, that all things of this nature ought to be appointed *very plainly and expressly*, or else they can carry no obligation with them; for seeing the whole reason of their becoming matter of law or duty, lies in the will of the legislator, if that be not *plainly* discovered, they cannot be said to be instituted, and so there can be no obligation to observe them; because where 'there is no law, there can be no transgression;' and a law is no law, in effect, which

is not sufficiently promulgated."—*Preserv. against Popery*, title viii. p. 7.

14. Dr. Sherlock. "What is matter of institution depends wholly upon the divine will and pleasure; and though all men will grant, that God and Christ have always great reason for their institution, yet it is not the reason, but the authority which makes the institution. Though we do not understand the reasons of the institution, if we see the command we must obey; and though we could fancy a great many reasons why there should be such an institution, if no such institution appears, we are free, and ought not to believe there is such an institution, because we think there are reasons to be assigned why it should be."—*Preserv. against Pop.* title ix. p. 419.

15. Anonymous. "We deny that there are any accidental parts of instituted worship; for if instituted, (*i. e.* commanded by Christ,) it cannot be accidental, (*i. e.* left to our liberty, as what may or may not be done without sin.) If accidental, it may be made a part of somewhat else, but of the instituted worship of Christ it cannot be. Circumstances of worship (as such) undetermined by the Lord, to be appointed by men, we deny. These circumstances are such as, without which the worship of God is perfect, or it is not. If the *first*, we need them not; they are vain, fruitless, having without them a perfect worship. If the *second*, the worship God hath commanded, as it comes out of his hands, without human additaments, is imperfect; but this is little less than blasphemy. To assert, it is lawful to conform to any part of instituted worship, without warrant from the scripture, reflects sadly upon the wisdom and faithfulness of Christ. For, either he was not wise enough to foresee that such a part of worship was or would be requisite; or had not faithfulness enough to reveal it: though the scripture compares him to Moses for faithfulness, who revealed the whole will of God, to the making of a pin in the tabernacle. We had thought, that the perfection of scripture had consisted in this, that the *whole* of that obedience that God requires of us, had therein been stated and enjoined; for which end we conceive it was at first commanded to be written, and hitherto by the wonderful gracious providence of the Lord continued to us. The accidentals of worship are either *part* of that obedience we owe to God, or they are not. If not, how came they to be such parts of worship, as without them we are interdicted to perform it? or, indeed, whence is it, that we are tending them up to God, when all our worship is nothing else but the solemn tender of that obedience that we owe to him? If they are, then there is some part of our obedience that is not prescribed in scrip-

ture: then is the scripture imperfect, and that with respect to the main end for which it was given forth, viz. to indoctrinate and direct us in the whole of that obedience that God requires of us."—*Jerubbaal*, chap. ii. p. 154, 155, 156.

16. Chamierus. "This is a most certain principle, that the sacraments are nothing, except from their institution; and this institution must be divine. Whatever, therefore, was invented by man, does not belong to a sacrament. The use of the sacraments depends upon their institution. Nothing belongs to the institution of the Lord's supper, that is not essential to it. If the whole essence of the sacrament be of divine institution, certainly, that being violated, the sacraments itself cannot stand."—*Panstrat.* tom. iv. l. v. c. xvi. § 23; l. vii. c. ii. § 1; c. xv. § 7; l. viii. c. iii. § 3.

17. Gerhardus. "Seeing that a sacrament depends entirely on the appointment of God, when we do not what God has appointed, it certainly will not be a sacrament."—*Loci Theolog.* tom. iv. *De Sacram.* § 52. *Francof.* 1657.

18. Dr. Clagett. "To conclude, that in matters depending upon the pleasure of God, he hath done that which seemeth best to our reason, is to suppose that in these things we know what is best no less than God doth; that we have weighed all the conveniences and inconveniences of either side; the advantages and disadvantages of every thing that lies before us; the arguments for, and the objections against this or that, with the same exactness, wherein they are comprehended in his infinite understanding. When once the institutions of God are revealed and testified to us, we must not only conclude that they are wise and good, because they are his; but we ought also to take notice of those footsteps of divine wisdom and goodness, which are discernable in them: and the more that a wise man considers and understands their ends and usefulness, the more worthy of their Author he will find them to be. But their congruity to our reason is not proof of their divine institution; since there are very many things, which to our finite understandings would appear as useful and as reasonable, but which yet God hath not instituted. Even where the appointments of God are evident, that wisdom and goodness which I can discover in them, is not the proper ground for my assurance that he hath established them; for that is no other than the evidence of the institution. Nor can that discovery alone give me the least assurance, that in making such provision he hath not been wanting to our needs; for the reason of that assurance is this, that it is He, it is God, I say, that hath made such provision for us. When it once appears what God

hath instituted in order to our salvation, and no more, we are to conclude that this is enough in its kind, because it is all that God hath done. But for that other kind of arguing, that God hath not been wanting to us in his institutions, if he has not instituted [this or that,] and therefore he *has* instituted it, I leave to those whose conclusions need it; very much desiring them to consider, *what a cause that must be* which drives them to such bold reasonings as these are."—*Preserv. against Pop.* title vii. p. 93.

19. Dr. Grosvenor.* "The diminutive things that have been said by some, of the positive appointments in religion, and the extravagant things that have been said by others, are two extremes which true reasoning leads nobody into, on either hand. It is as contrary to the nature of things to make nothing of them, as to make them the whole of religion. To know exactly the regard that is due to them, is to find out the rank and order they are placed in by Him who has appointed them. I shall lay together what I have to say on this subject under the following propositions.

"Proposition I. Some things are absolutely necessary to salvation, and in their own nature. We call those things absolutely necessary, without which there can be no salvation at all. Thus, a mind suited to the happiness intended by the word *salvation*, is absolutely necessary; or holiness, 'without which no man shall see the Lord.' All the titles in the world to heaven, can never give the pleasures of heaven, without a suitableness to its enjoyments. Fitness here is as the eye to the delights of colors and prospects; the ear to the pleasure of harmony; and as the palate, to those of taste and relish: that is, a capacity of enjoyment. As there must be an animal nature for animal pleasures, and a rational nature for rational ones; so there must be the divine and heavenly nature for those that are divine and heavenly. No man would care to live even with a God whom he did not love.

"Prop. II. No merely positive appointments are necessary in the sense, *i. e.* absolutely and in their own nature. If there never had been a sacrament in the world, I might have been happy without it: you cannot say so of love to God and likeness to him.

"Prop. III. A disposition to obey divine orders, wherever they are discerned, either positive or moral, is part of that 'holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.' I may be saved without a sacrament; but I cannot be saved without a disposition to obey God's authority wherever I see it. A

* Anonymous, indeed, but supposed to be Dr. Benj. Grosvenor.

sacrament is a positive rite, and not to be compared with moral virtue; but is not a disposition to obey God's order, moral virtue, or Christian grace, without a disposition to obey the authority of Christ, wherever I discern it? Surely obedience to God's command is a moral excellence, though the instances of that obedience may lie in positive rites. The command to Abraham, to sacrifice his son, was a positive order, and a very strange one too; seemingly opposite to some moral orders given out before: and yet his disposition to obey, when he was sure of a divine warrant in the case, has set him as the head of all the believing world; as the hero of faith, the father of the faithful, and a friend of God. The command of sprinkling the blood of the passover upon the door-posts of the Israelites, was an external positive rite; if there had not been a disposition to obey that order, it would have cost some lives, as it had like to have done to Moses, the neglect of circumcising his child, as good a man as he was in other respects. Was not the forbidden fruit a positive instance? an external thing? Setting aside the divine prohibition, there was nothing immoral in eating of that, any more than of any other tree; but disobedience is an immorality, let the instance be what it will.

"Prop. IV. The sincerity and truth of such a disposition, is best known by its being uniform and universal. (Psalm cxix. 6; Col. iv. 3.) The Author of our religion has told us, and added his example to his word, that 'thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness,' and so ordered himself to be baptized. Baptism was a positive rite, an external thing; and yet he calls it *righteousness*. Such righteousness as became Him who was the Holy One of God; became Him who had intrinsically no need of any outward ceremony; whose inward purity was perfectly divine: and if it became Him to fulfil such a sort of righteousness, it can hardly become any who pretend to be his followers to neglect it.

"Prop. V. As a competent evidence is supposed needful, for any external rite being of divine appointment; so again, a wilful ignorance of that evidence, or not discerning it, through criminal causes, will not excuse from guilt. The criminal causes of not seeing the evidence for such appointments, are, in this case, as in many other cases, non-inquiry, laziness, prejudice, lust, pride, and passion. That an ignorance owing to these causes, cannot be pleaded for a neglect of any of God's appointments, is so much the general sense of all casuists, that I shall only add here, THAT IT IS AT EVERY MAN'S PERIL, HOW HE COMES NOT TO KNOW THE WILL OF GOD, AS WELL AS NOT TO DO IT. We must

look to it, how we came not to see the appointment, and must answer that to God and our own conscience. It is not enough to say, *Lord, I did not know it was appointed*; when the answer may justly be, *You never inquire into the matter; you never allowed yourself to think of it; or if you did, you resolved in your mind that you would not be convinced. You made the most of every cavil, but never minded the solution to any of your objections.*

"Prop. VI. The duty and necessity of any external rites, and particularly of sacraments, have their measures and degrees. And here I apprehend, the measures of the duty and necessity of sacraments to be,—The *authority* enjoining. When we see the broad seal of heaven, where there is the divine warrant, 'Thus saith the Lord,' it is worse than trifling, to cavil and say, *It is but an external rite.*—The *degree* of evidence of their being so appointed.—Where the evidence is not so clear, the obligation is weakened in proportion; but where the terms are plainly binding, and strongly commanding, there the obligation is not to be evaded. When positive appointments and moral duties cannot be both performed; when the one or the other must be omitted, the preference is given to the moral and spiritual duty.—The *stress* God lays upon them for the time they are to continue. Sprinkling the blood of the passover upon the posts of the doors, was not at all necessary in itself to preservation from the destroying angel; but God laid that stress upon it. The oracle, or the mercy-seat, was a mere positive appointment. God could have met Moses any where else; but God laying that stress upon it, measures the degree of the necessity of observing that order: 'There will I meet thee, and commune with thee,' Exod. xxv. 22. Moses might have reasoned with himself, *God is every where, and can meet me any where, if he please, and if he does not please, he will not do it here*; and so have missed the honor of communion with his Maker; broke the divine order; lost the benefit of the oracle; and offended God, by the neglect.—The *reason* and *end* of them. If there should be any reasons of these injunctions that we do not know, it is sufficient that they are known to God. Our obedience is always a *reasonable service* whether we know God's reasons for the injunction or not. His command is always reason enough for us. . . .

"Prop. VII. He that commands the outward positive rite, commands the inward and moral temper at the same time. He does not say, *Do this*, without concerning himself *how* it is done whether in a manner suitable to an end appointed or not. . . . There is no such command of his, as en-

joins the outward act without the inward temper and disposition.

"Prop. VIII. Positive appointments for such uses and ends as these, are of a quite different nature from arbitrary impositions, with which they are too often confounded. The idea of *arbitrary* I think, implies a weakness incompatible to the divine nature; whose perfection it is, to do nothing but for some wise reason, and for some good end.

"Prop. IX. Though no positive appointments are absolutely necessary, yet the contempt of them, and of divine authority discerned in them, cannot consist with holiness. This contempt may be shown—by contemptuous language . . . a careless attendance . . . a total neglect . . . and by prostituting them to persons that do condemn them, and to purposes that are unworthy. . . .

"To conclude: External rites are nothing without the inward temper and virtue of mind; the inward temper is but pretended to, in many cases, without the external rites, and is acquired, promoted and evidenced by the use of them. If 'I give all my goods to the poor, and have not charity;' there is the external act, without the inward moral temper, and so it is all *nothing*. If, on the other hand, I say, I have the inward temper of charity, and give nothing to the poor, but say to my brother, 'Be thou warmed; be thou clothed;' how dwelleth the love of God in that man? Therefore what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. Whatever comparative excellence there may be in the two different instances of obedience; and the direction of our regard is summed up in that text, (Matt. xxiii. 23,) 'These ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone.'" —*Moral Obligation to the positive Appointments in Religion*, passim. Lond. 1732.

20. Bp. Hoadly. "I. The partaking of the Lord's supper is not a duty of itself, or a duty apparent to us from the nature of things; but a duty made such to Christians, by the positive institution of Jesus Christ.

"II. All positive duties, or duties made such by institution alone, depend entirely upon the will and declaration of the person who institutes or ordains them, with respect to the real design and end of them; and consequently to the due manner of performing them. For, there being no other foundation for them with regard to us but the will of the institutors, this will must of necessity be our sole direction, both as to our understanding their true intent, and practising them accordingly: because we can have no other direction in this sort of duties, unless we will have recourse to mere invention; which makes them *our own* institutions, and not the institutions of those who first appointed them.

"III. It is plain, therefore, that the nature, the design, and the due manner of partaking of the Lord's supper, must of necessity depend upon what Jesus Christ, who instituted it, hath declared about it.

"IV. It cannot be doubted, that he himself sufficiently declared to his first and immediate followers the whole of what he designed should be understood by it, or implied in it. For this being a positive institution depending entirely upon his will, and not designed to contain any thing in it, but what he himself should please to affix to it, it must follow, that he declared his mind about it *fully* and *plainly*: because otherwise, he must be supposed to institute a duty, of which no one could have any notion without his institution; and at the same time not to instruct his followers sufficiently what that duty was to be.

"V. It is of small importance, therefore, to Christians to know what the many writers upon this subject, since the time of the evangelists and apostles, have affirmed. Much less can it be the duty of Christians to be guided by what any persons, by their own authority, or from their own imaginations, may teach concerning this duty. This reason is plain: because in the matter of an instituted duty, (or a duty made so by the positive will of any person,) no one can be a judge, but the institutor himself, of what he designed should be contained in it; and because, supposing him not to have spoken his mind plainly about it, it is impossible that any other person (to whom the institutor himself never revealed his design) should make up that defect. All that is added, therefore, to Christ's institution, as a necessary part of it, ought to be esteemed only as the invention of those who add it: and the more there is added (let it be done with never so much solemnity, and never so great pretences to authority,) the less there is remaining of the simplicity of the institution, as Christ himself left it. . . .

"VI. The passages in the New Testament, which relate to this duty, and they *alone*, are the original accounts of the nature and end of this institution; and the only authentic declarations, upon which we of later ages can safely depend."—*Works*, vol. iii. pp. 845, 846, 847. See also *Heidegg. Corp. Theol.* loc. ix. § 40; loc. xxv. § 2. *Mr. Alsop's Antisozzo*, p. 468. *Dr. Ridgley's Bod. Div. quest.* xci. xcii. pp. 491, 492. *Glasg. edit. Puffendorff's Law of Nat. and Nations*, b. i. c. vi. § 18. *Mr. Reynolds on Angelical Worlds*, pp. 11, 12, 15.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. By this learned and respectable body of Pædobaptists we are taught,

that positive institutions originate entirely in the sovereign will of God, No. 1—20; that positive laws must be plain and express, No. 4, 8, 12, 13, 20; that the obligation to observe them arises, not from the goodness of the things themselves, but from the authority of God, No. 2, 3; that they are determined by divine institution, as to their matter, manner, and signification, No. 2, 16, 20; that they admit of no commutation, mutilation, or alteration, by human authority, No. 2, 6; that they depend entirely on divine institution, and are to be regulated by it, No. 10, 11, 16; that we ought not to conclude that God has appointed such a rite, for such a purpose, because we imagine ourselves to stand in need of it, and that there are sufficient reasons for it, No. 14, 18; that our obligation to observe them does not result from our seeing the reasons of them, but from the command of God; and that his positive command is enforced by the moral law, No. 6, 7, 14; that there are no accidental parts of a positive institution, No. 15; that it is unlawful to conform to any part of a religious rite, without a divine warrant, No. 15; that it is at our peril to continue ignorant of the will of God, relating to his positive appointments, No. 19; that it is great presumption to make light of them, No. 7, 19; that a disposition to obey God in his positive institutes, is part of that holiness without which none shall see the Lord, No. 19; and, that external rites are of little worth, detached from virtuous tempers, No. 19. Such are the declared sentiments of these respectable authors concerning positive institutions.

Reflect. II. As it seems to be the unanimous and well attested opinion of these learned Pædobaptists, that positive institutions derive their whole being from the sovereign pleasure of God; so his revelation will must have given them their existence under every dispensation of true religion. Consequently, we cannot know any thing about their precise nature, their true design, the proper subjects of them, or the right mode of their administration, farther than the scriptures teach: for "they are to be measured *only* by the institution, in which there is not room left for us to carry them any farther." See No. 10, 20. It follows, therefore, from the nature of the case, that positive ordinances must be entirely under the direction of positive precepts, or of examples in scripture, that are warranted by the Holy Spirit. For, as Dr. Goodwin observes, "There is this difference between doctrinal truths and institutions, that one truth may be, by reason, better fetched out of another, and more safely and easily than institutions: for one truth begets another, and truth is infinite

in the consequences of it; but so institutions are not. And the reason of the difference is this; because they depend upon a promise, and upon the power and will of God, immediately to concur with them, and set them up. They are things that are singled out by the will of God, to a spiritual end, with a spiritual efficacy. We may be assured what is an institution of God, by examples which we meet with in the scriptures: for one way by which Christ was pleased to convey his institutions to us, is by way of examples in the New Testament; without the which, being intended as a rule for us, we acknowledge that a complete rule for all things could not be made forth. . . . If an example be written as a rule, then it will bind, because there is no supposition of error."*

Remarkably strong to our purpose, is the language of Dr. Sherlock, who speaks as follows: "I would not be thought wholly to reject a plain and evident consequence from scripture; but yet I will never admit of a mere consequence to prove an institution, which must be delivered in plain terms, as all laws ought to be: and where I have no other proof, but some scripture-consequences, I shall not think it equivalent to a scripture-proof. If the consequence be plain and obvious, and such as every man sees, I shall not question it: but remote, and dubious, and disputed consequences, if we have no better evidence, to be sure are a very ill foundation for articles of faith, [or ordinances of worship.] Let our Protestant then tell such disputants, that for the institution of sacraments, and for articles of faith, he expects *plain positive proofs*: that, as much as the Protestant faith is charged with uncertainty, we desire a little more certainty for our faith, than mere inferences from scripture, and those none of the plainest neither."†—With Dr. Sherlock, Peter Martyr agrees, when he says, "It is necessary that we should have a clear testimony from the holy scriptures, concerning sacraments."‡

It seems, indeed, to be the general practice of all Protestants, when contending with Roman Catholics about their claims of prerogative and their numerous rites, to proceed on this principle: nothing short of an *explicit* grant, a *positive* command, or a *plain* example in the New Testament, can prove their divine origin. Is the debate concerning Papal *supremacy*, or *infallibility*? No reasonings from remote principles, no conclusions from far-fetched consequences, are allowed. The honors in dispute being such as depend entirely on

* Works, vol. iv. Government of the Church of Christ, chap. iv. pp. 21, 22.

† Preserv. against Pop. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 23.

‡ Apud Chamierum, Panstrat. tom. iv. l. i. c. xi. § 8.

the sovereign pleasure and special donation of God, an *explicit* divine grant of these prerogatives is loudly demanded. Are five of their seven sacraments; the ceremonies performed by them, when administering baptism and the Lord's supper; their withholding the cup from the people, and other things of a similar kind, the subjects in debate? Protestants hardly ever fail to require a *direct* proof; a *positive* precept, or a *plain* example, from the New Testament. All arguments drawn from ancient Jewish rites; all that are formed on general principles, or moral considerations; and all endeavors to produce inferential proof, are justly discarded as incompetent; as having nothing to do with the subject. For the subject being no other than the ritual part of that worship which God requires under the New Testament; a divine institution of the rites in question, a plain positive order, or an apostolic example, may well be required, before they have a place in our creed, or become a part of our solemn service. If, therefore, the New Testament say nothing about the institution or the practice of such rites, we have nothing to do with them, nor any thing to believe concerning them. On the same principle Protestant dissenters proceed, when defending Non-conformity; using many of the same arguments against their Episcopalian opponents, which those Episcopalians employ when vindicating their own secession from the church of Rome. The demand of Nonconformists upon their Episcopalian brethren is: *Produce your warrant* (for this, that, and the other,) *from our only rule of faith and practice, a divine precept, or an apostolic example, relating to the point in dispute.* So important is this principle, respecting every thing of a positive nature in Christianity, that I can hardly imagine any sensible Protestant would ever think of writing against the Popish system; or any conscientious Dissenter of justifying his Nonconformity, without availing himself of it in many cases. Nay, so obvious and so important is this principle, so congenial to that grand maxim, THE BIBLE ONLY IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS; that we might well wonder if a judicious author omitted it, when handling the doctrine of positive rites; except it appeared, that he labored to establish some hypothesis, to which this principle is inimical.

Nor does it appear from the records of the Old Testament, that when Jehovah appointed any branch of ritual worship, he left either the subjects of it, or the mode of administration, to be inferred by the people, from the *relation* in which they stood to himself, or from general *moral* precepts, or from any branch of his *moral* worship;

nor yet from any other well known *positive* rite: but he gave them special directions relating to the very case; and those directions they were bound to regard, whether they appeared in a pleasing or a painful, in a decent or a disgusting light. For as nothing but the divine will can oblige the conscience, and as that will cannot be known unless revealed; so, when made known, whether in reference to moral or positive duties, it must oblige. We are bound, therefore, to regard the divine laws, not so much on account of what they are in themselves, however excellent; as because they are *the will of HIM* whose claim of obedience is prior to every other consideration. See No. 2, 3. Consequently, seeing baptism is as really and entirely a positive institution, as any that were given to the chosen tribes; we cannot with safety infer, either the mode, or the subject of it, from any thing short of a *precept*, or a *precedent*, recorded in scripture, and relating to that very ordinance.

That the laws of positive worship under the Old Testament were particular, clear, and decisive, will not be denied; and that our Lord has furnished the gospel church with as complete a rubric of solemn service in the New Testament, as that recorded by Moses in the Pentateuch, our Pædobaptist brethren assert. Thus Dr. Owen, for instance: "All things concerning the worship of God in the whole church or house now under the gospel, are no less perfectly and completely ordered and ordained by the Lord Jesus Christ, than they were by Moses under the law."* Dr. Isaac Chauncy: "Christ hath been more faithful than Moses, and therefore hath not left his churches without sufficient rules to walk by."† Dr. Ridgley: "It is a great dishonor to Christ, the king and head of his church, to suppose that he has left it without a rule to direct them, in what respects the communion of saints; as much as it would be to assert that he has left it without a rule of faith. If God was so particular in giving directions concerning every part of that worship that was to be performed in the church before Christ's coming, so that they were not, on pain of his highest displeasure, to deviate from it; certainly we must not think that our Savior has neglected to give those laws by which the gospel church is to be governed."‡ Mr. Polhill: "Christ was as faithful in the house of God as Moses; his provision was as perfect for rituals, as that of Moses' was."§

* On Heb. ii. 2, 3, vol. ii. p. 26.

† Preface to Dr. Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church.

‡ Body of Divinity, quest. lxi.—lxiv.

§ Discourse on Schism, p. 66.

Reflect. III. It seems natural hence to infer, that our sovereign Lord must have revealed his will concerning the ordinance of *baptism*, in a manner proportional to its obligation and importance. For, as an appointment of Christ, it originated in his will, and from a revelation of that will the whole of its obligation results. In proportion, therefore, as we annex the idea of obscurity to what he says about the mode and the subject of it, we either sink the idea of obligation to regard it, or impeach the wisdom, the goodness, or the equity of our divine Legislator; for we neither have, nor can have any acquaintance with a positive institution, farther than it is revealed; and a *natural* incapacity will always excuse the non-performance of what would otherwise be an indispensable duty. We are therefore obliged to conclude, that our Lord has *clearly* revealed his pleasure, with reference to both his positive appointments, in that code of law and rule of religious worship, which are contained in the New Testament. See No. 20.

On this point let us hear Mr. Payne, when contending with the learned and artful Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. "Surely," says the Protestant Pædobaptist, "so wise a lawgiver as our blessed Saviour, would not give a law to all Christians that was not *easy* to be understood by them; it cannot be said without great reflection upon his infinite wisdom, that his laws are so obscure and dark, as they are delivered by himself, and as they are necessary to be observed by us, that we cannot know the meaning of them without a farther explanation. . . . God's laws may be very fairly explained away, if they are left wholly to the mercy of men to explain them."* Agreeable to this is the language of Mr. Arch. Hall, when he says, "The appointments of the Deity concerning his worship, are not to be gathered from the uncertain tradition of the elders, the authority of men, or the dictates of our own reason: no; they stand engrossed in the volume of *his Book*, which is the *ONLY* rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him."† J. A. Turretinus tells us, "That whatever of importance the scripture delivers concerning the sacraments, may be included in a few pages, nay, perhaps, in a few lines; and that so as a little child may understand it."‡ Once more: Chemnitius assures us, that a positive rite "should have an express divine command. . . . Whatever is maintained to be necessary in the church of Christ, should have a command in the divine word, and scriptural

examples."* Nay, even Bellarmine declares, that "in things which depend on the will of God, nothing ought to be affirmed, unless God hath revealed it in the holy scriptures."† Clear, however, as the positive laws of Christ are, Dr. Waterland has well observed from Le Clerc, that if men be "governed by their passions, and conceited of their prejudices, the most evident things in the world are obscure; and, that there is no law so clear, but a wrangler may raise a thousand difficulties about it."‡ It is, I think, worthy of remark, that though Protestant authors in general, consider the meaning of the law of Christ relating to his *last supper*, as being evident beyond all reasonable doubt; and though they severely censure the Roman Catholics for insinuating the contrary, yet, with regard to the law of *baptism*, they frequently represent its meaning, as ambiguous and embarrassed; nay, as favoring opposite practices: so that whether an infant, or one professing faith, be sprinkled, or immersed, the whole design of the law may be fulfilled, and a divine blessing on the administration expected. But whether this be consistent or scriptural, is left with the reader.

Reflect. IV. That no *addition* should be made by human authority to the positive appointments of Jesus Christ; and that it is not lawful, under any pretence, either to corrupt or depart from the *primitive institution* of those appointments; are things generally maintained and strongly urged against the Papists, by Protestants of all descriptions. The following quotations may serve as a specimen of their language and sentiments, in reference to these particulars. Dr. Owen: "All worship is obedience; obedience respects authority; and authority exerts itself in commands. And if this authority be not the authority of God, the worship performed in obedience unto it is not the worship of God, but of him or them whose commands and authority are the reason and cause of it. It is the authority of God alone that can make any worship to be religious, or the performance of it to be an act of obedience unto him. God would never allow that the will and wisdom of any of his creatures should be the rise, rule, or measure of his worship, or any part of it, or any thing that belongs unto it. This honor he hath reserved unto himself, neither will he part with it unto any other. He alone knows what becomes his own greatness and holiness, and what tends to the advancement of his glory. Hence the scripture abounds

* Preserv. against Popery, title vii. p. 147.

† Gospel Worship, vol. i. p. 30.

‡ Cogitat and Dissertat. tom. i. pp. 18, 19.

* Examen Concil. Trident. pp. 204, 285.

† In Preserv. against Popery, title viii. p. 83.

‡ Importance of Doct. of Trinity, p. 461, edit. 2nd.

with severe interdictions and comminations against them who shall presume to do or appoint any thing in his worship, besides or beyond his own institution. . . . Divine institution alone, is that which renders any thing acceptable unto God. . . . All divine service, or worship, must be resolved into divine ordination or institution. A worship not ordained of God, is not accepted of God. . . . It is a hard and rare thing to have the minds of men kept upright with God in the observation of the institutions of divine worship. Adam lost himself and us all by his failure therein. The Old [Testament] Church seldom attained unto it. . . . And at this day there are very few in the world who judge a diligent observation of divine institutions to be a thing of any great importance. By some they are neglected; by some corrupted with additions of their own; and by some they are exalted above their proper place and use, and turned into an occasion of neglecting more important duties. . . . Our utmost care and diligence in the consideration of the mind of God, is required in all that we do about his worship. There is nothing wherein men, for the most part, are more careless. Some suppose it belongs unto their own wisdom to order things in the worship of God, as it seems most meet unto them; some think they are no farther concerned in these things, than only to follow the traditions of their fathers. This, unto the community of Christians, is the only rule of divine worship. To suppose that it is their duty to inquire into the way and manner of the worship of God, the grounds and reasons of what they practise therein, is most remote from them. . . . It were no hard thing to demonstrate, that the principal way and means whereby God expects that we should give glory unto him in this world, is by a due observation of the divine worship that he hath appointed. For herein do we in an especial manner, ascribe unto him the glory of his sovereignty, of his wisdom, of his grace, and holiness; when in his worship we bow down to his authority alone; when we see such an impress of divine wisdom on all his institutions, as to judge all other ways folly in comparison of them; when we have experience of the grace represented and exhibited in them, then do we glorify God aright. And without these things, whatever we pretend, we honor him not in the solemnities of our worship.”*——Turretinus: “The appointment of God, is the highest law, the supreme necessity.”†——Mr. Archibald Hall: “As we live under the gospel dispensation, all our worship must be

regulated by gospel institution, that it may be performed according to the appointment of Christ, as king of the church.” The same author, when speaking of baptism says: “This ordinance should be observed with an honest simplicity, and kept pure and entire, as Christ hath appointed it. The rule given us in the word of God is our directory, and we do well to take heed to it in this duty, as much as in every other. How grand and awful is that weighty preface to the institution of Christian baptism! (Matt. xxvii. 18, 19.) Who is the daring insolent worm, that will presume to dispute the authority, or change the ordinances of him who is given to be head over all things to the church? . . . The solemnity of this ordinance is complete, and all the great purposes of its institution are secured by the authority and blessing of Christ, who is a rock, whose work is perfect, and all his commandments are sure. His laws are not subject to any of those imperfections, which are attendants of the best contrived systems among men, and frequently need explanations, amendments, and corrections. It is most dangerous and presumptuous, to add any ceremony, or to join any service, on any pretence, unto heavens’ appointment. This is the most criminal rashness; and, if it is not disputing the authority of Christ directly, it is mingling the authority of men with the authority of Him who has a name above every name. . . . When divine authority is interposed to point out the will of God concerning any service, which is enjoined for standing use among the saints, such a service ought to be observed without any regard to the manners and usages of mankind; because both the substance and the *manner* of it are the institution of Christ.”*

Reflect. V. Concerning the *circumstances* of positive institutions, our Pædobaptist brethren speak as follow. Mr. Vincent Alsop: “Under the Mosaical law God commanded that they should offer to him the daily burnt-offering; and, in this case, the *color* of the beast (provided it was otherwise rightly qualified) was a mere *circumstance*: such as God laid no stress upon, and that man had proved himself a superstitious busy-body, that should curiously adhere to any one color. But, for the heifer whose ashes were to make the *water of separation*, there the color was no circumstance, but made by God’s command a *substantial* part of the service. To be *red*, was as much as to be a *heifer*: for when circumstances have once passed the royal assent, and are stamped with the divine seal, they become substantials in in-

* On Heb. i. 6; ix. 1; viii. 5.

† Institut. Theol. loc. xix. quæst. xiv. tom. iii. p. 441.

* Gospel Worship, vol. i. pp. 32, 325, 326; vol. ii. p. 431.

stituted worship. . . We ought not to judge that God has little regard to any of his commands, because the matter of them, abstracted from his authority, is little: for we must not conceive that Christ sets little by baptism, because the element is plain, fair water; or little by that or other sacrament, because the materials thereof are common bread and wine. . . For though the things in themselves be small, yet his authority is great. . . Though the things be small, yet God can bless them to great purposes, (2 Kings v. 11.) . . Nor are we to judge that God lays little stress upon his institutes, because he does not immediately avenge the contempt and neglect of them upon the violators. (Eccles. viii. 11; Matt. v. 29: 1 Cor. xi. 30.) . . As we must not think that God appreciates whatever men set a high value upon, so neither are we to judge that he disesteems any thing because it is grown out of fashion, and thereby exposed to contempt by the atheistical wits of mercenary writers. . . If any of Christ's institutions seem necessary to be broken, it will be first necessary to decry them as poor, low, inconsiderable circumstances; and then to fill the people's heads with a noise and din, that Christ lays little stress on them; and in order hereto call them the *circumstantials*, the *accidentals*, the *minutes*, the *punctilioes*, and, if need be, the petty Johns of religion, that conscience may not kick at the condemning of them. . . It would be injurious to conclude that God has very little respect to his own institutions, because he may suspend their exercise *pro hic and nunc*, rather than the duties imperated by a moral precept. *Mint, anise, and cummin*, are inconsiderable things, compared with the *weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith*; and yet our Saviour tells them, (Matt. xxiii. 23,) 'These ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone.' . . God is the sovereign and absolute legislator, who may suspend, rescind, alter his own laws at pleasure; and yet he has laid such a stress upon the meanest of them, that no man may, nor any man, but the *man of sin*, dares presume to dispense with them, much less to dispense against them. . . *Positives* may be altered, changed, or abolished, by the legislator, when and how far he pleases; but this will never prove that he lays little stress upon them whilst they are not changed, not abolished: nor will it prove that man may chop and change, barter and truck one of God's least circumstantials, because the Lawgiver himself may do it. He that may alter one, may, for aught I know, alter them all, seeing they all bear the same image and superscription of divine authority. . . If God was so rigorous in his animadversions,

so punctual in his prescriptions, when his institutions were so numerous, his prescriptions so multiform; what will he be when he has prescribed us so few, and those so easy and useful to the observer? If we cannot be punctual in the observation of a very few positives of so plain signification, how should we have repined had we been charged with a numerous retinue of types and carnal rudiments! If Christ's yoke be accounted heavy, how should we have sunk under the Mosaical pædago^y!"*

Mr. Payne: "It is from the institution of the sacrament [of the Lord's supper,] that we know what belongs to the substance of it, and is essential to it, and what is only circumstantial and accidental. I own, there were several things, even at the institution of it by Christ, which were only circumstantials; as, the place, the time when, the number of persons to whom, the posture in which he gave it; for all these are plainly, and in their own nature, circumstantial matters; so that nobody can think it necessary or essential to the sacrament, that it be celebrated in an upper room, at night after supper, only with twelve persons, and those sitting or lying upon beds, as the Jews used to do at meals; for the same thing which Christ bids them to do, may be done, the same sacramental action performed in another place, at another time, with fewer or more persons, and those otherwise postured or situated; but it cannot be the same sacrament or same action, if bread be not blessed and eaten, if wine be not blessed and drunken, as they were both then blessed by Christ, and eaten and drunk by his apostles. The doing of these is not a *circumstance*, but the *very thing itself*, and the very substance and essence of the sacrament; for without these we do not what Christ did; whereas we may do the very same thing which he did, without any of those circumstances with which he did it. . . The command of Christ, *Do this*, does not in the least extend to these [circumstances,] but only to the sacramental action of *blessing bread and eating it; blessing wine and drinking it, in remembrance of Christ*: for that was the thing which Christ did, and which he commanded them to do. . . He that does not plainly see those to be circumstances [before mentioned,] and cannot easily distinguish them from the thing itself which Christ did, and commanded to be done, must not know what it is to eat and drink, unless it be with his own family, in such a room of his own house, and at such an hour of the day: it is certainly as easy to know what Christ instituted, and what he commanded, as to know this; and, conse-

* Sober Enquiry, p. 289—304.

quently, what belongs to the essence of the sacrament, without which it would not be such a sacrament as Christ celebrated and appointed, as to know what it is to eat and to drink; and yet Monsieur de Meaux is pleased to make this the great difficulty, to *know what belongs to the essence of the sacrament*, and what does not, and to distinguish what is essential in it, from what is not.*—Mr. Arch. Hall: "The signs, and even every circumstance relative to the use of them, must be appointed by Christ, and not contrived by men: for here, as in every other duty, we must observe all things that Christ hath commanded us. It is equally presumptuous and vain, to teach for doctrines the commandments or inventions of men. The signs that are used in the sacraments have a natural fitness to bring the things they represent to our mind."†

Reflect. VI. With regard to positive institutions, Protestant Pædobaptists farther inform us, that the Lord Jesus Christ is *jealous* of his honor; that what is not commanded, need not be *forbidden*; and that nothing is *lawful*, which is not a duty. The following instance may here suffice. Dr. Witherspoon: Our obedience "must be implicit; founded immediately on the authority of God. We must not take upon us to judge of the moment and importance of any part of his will, farther than he hath made it known himself. It is a very dangerous thing for us to make comparisons between one duty and another; especially with a view of dispensing with any of them, or altering their order, and substituting one in another's place."‡—Dr. Owen: "Christ marrying his church to himself, taking it to that relation, still expresseth the main of their chaste and choice affections to him, to lie in their keeping his institutions and his worship according to his appointment. The breach of this he calls *adultery* everywhere, and *whoredom*: he is a *jealous* God, and he gives himself that title only in respect of his institutions. And the whole apostasy of the Christian church unto false worship, is called fornication, (Rev. xvii. 5,) and the church that leads the others to false worship, *the mother of harlots*. On this account, those believers who really attend to communion with Jesus Christ, do labor to keep their hearts chaste to him in his ordinances, institutions, and worship. . . . They will receive nothing, practise nothing, own nothing in his worship, but what is of his appointment. They know that from the foundation of the world he never did allow, nor ever will, that in any thing the will of the creatures

should be the measure of his honor, or the principle of his worship, either as to matter or manner. . . . That principle, *That the church hath power to institute and appoint any thing, or ceremony belonging to the worship of God*, either as to matter or to manner, beyond the orderly observance of such circumstances as necessarily attend such ordinances as Christ himself hath instituted, lies at the bottom of all the horrible superstition and idolatry, of all the confusion, blood, persecution, and wars, that have, for so long a season, spread themselves over the face of the Christian world; and it is the design of a great part of the Revelation [of John] to make a discovery of this truth."*—Mr. Arch. Hall: "God will bless nothing but his own institutions. The inventions of men, in serving God, are as unprofitable as they are wicked and presumptuous, (Deut. xii. 31, 32.) . . . We cannot think God will honor the inventions of men, however they may be dignified by the specious names of useful, decent, agreeable, or prudent contrivances; yet, if they are an addition to his system, will he not say, *Who hath required these things at your hands?*"†—Hoornekus: "In what relates to the sacraments, and the affairs of religion, it is unlawful to do any thing that is not warranted by the command of God."‡—Dr. Sherlock: "Our [Popish] author, and some of his size, who do not see half a consequence before them, think they have a mighty advantage of us, in demanding the same proofs from us to justify our rejecting their doctrines, which we demand of them to justify their belief of them. That is to say, as we demand of them a scripture proof, that there is such a place as purgatory; they think they may as reasonably demand of us a scripture-proof, that there is no such place as purgatory: just with as much reason, as if one should tell me, that, by the laws of England, every man is bound to marry at twenty years old; and when I desire him to show me the law which makes this necessary, he should answer, Though he cannot show such a law, yet it may be necessary, unless I can show him a law which expressly declares that it is not necessary. Whereas nothing is necessary, but what the *law* makes so; and if the law has not made it necessary, there is no need of any law to declare that it is not necessary."§—Dr. Owen: "What men have a *right* to do in the church, by God's institution, that they have a *command* to do."||—Anonymous: "There is nothing relating to instituted

* Preserv. against Pop. title vii. pp. 110, 137, 138.

† Gospel Worship, vol. i. chap. vii. p. 235.

‡ Practical Discourses, vol. i. p. 335.

* Commun. with God, part ii. chap. v. pp. 169, 170.

† View of Gospel Church, pp. 33, 82.

‡ Socin. Confut. tom. iii. p. 436.

§ Preservat. against Pop. vol. ii. Appendix. p. 65.

|| On Heb. vii. 4, 5, 6, vol. iii. p. 127.

worship, as such, that is lawful, but is our necessary duty; viz: necessary, *necessitate precepti* instituting it.”*

Reflect. VII. That the subjects of positive divine laws cannot *slight* or *neglect* them without offending God, is maintained with a decisive tone by our learned Pædobaptist brethren. Thus, for instance, Bp. Taylor: “The positive laws of Jesus Christ cannot be dispensed with by any human power. All laws given by Christ, are now made for ever to be obligatory.”†

—Mr. Joseph White, speaking of the ancient ceremonial law, says: “To slight any of its services, was to insult the authority which enjoined it.”‡ —Dr. Waterland: “Positive duties stand upon a moral foot.

... To obey God in whatsoever he commands is the first moral law, and the fundamental principle of all morality. The reason of things, and the relation we bear to God should be obeyed in matters otherwise *indifferent*: and such obedience is *moral*, and the opposite disobedience *immoral*. ... *Positives*, therefore, while under precept, cannot be slighted without *slighting morals* also. In short, positive laws, as soon as enacted, become part of moral law; because, as I said, universal obedience to God’s commands, is the first moral law into which all laws resolve. ... Whenever positive duties are so performed as to become true obedience, they are as valuable in God’s sight as any moral performances whatever, because obeying God’s voice is all in all. Obedience was the thing insisted upon with Adam, with Abraham, with Saul, and with many others, in positive instances; and God laid as great a stress upon obedience there, as in any moral instances whatever. To conclude then, moral performances, without the obedience of the heart, are nothing; and positive performances, without the like obedience are nothing: but the sincere obeying of God’s voice in both, is true religion and true morality.”§ —Mr. Reynolds: “To call some law *moral*, in contradistinction from other law, as if it was not moral at all, is improper enough. Every law, properly so called, is *regula moralis*, or *regula morum*; an obliging rule for the moral creature to walk or act by. ... Positive commands are more easily transgressed than those that bear hard upon the light and law of nature. The seeming indifference of the subject, or matter, in which they are concerned, allays the awe, and fear, and distance, that attends more criminal

matter.”* —Mr. Wadsworth: “Some may say, *Sure, God will not be so much concerned with a failure in so small a punctilio as a ceremony!* True, it [the Lord’s supper] is a ceremony; but it is such a one that beareth the stamp of the authority of the Lord Jesus. If He appoints it, will you slight it, and say, *It is but a ceremony?* It is but a ceremony, but you are greatly mistaken if you think that therefore there is no danger to neglect it. What was the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but a ceremony? Yet, for disobedience in eating thereof, do you not know and feel what wrath it hath brought on the whole race of mankind? And tell me, was circumcision any more than a ceremony? Yet it had almost cost Moses his life for neglecting to circumcise his son; for the angel stood ready with his sword to slay him, if he had not prevented it by his obedience, (Exod. iv. 24, 25, 26.) So, for the Lord’s supper, as much a ceremony as it is, yet for the abuse of it, some of the church [at Corinth] were sick and weak, others fell asleep, that is, died: and if God did so severely punish the abuse, how think you to escape, that *presumptuously neglect* the use thereof? *But I am regenerate and become a new creature; I do not fear that God will cast me away for the disuse of a ceremony.* Is this the reasoning of one *regenerate?* Surely, thou dost not understand what regeneration meaneth. Is it not the same with being *born of God?* And what is to be obedient to the Father, but to do as he commandeth? And hath he not commanded you by his Son, to remember your Saviour in this supper? When you have considered this, then tell me what you think of this kind of reasoning: *I am a child of God, therefore I will presume to disobey him. He bids me remember Jesus in this supper, and I will not.* Methinks thou blushest at the very mentioning of it. And what, if he should not cast thee quite off for this neglect? yet thou hast no reason to think, but that either outwardly, or inwardly, or both, he will scourge thee for this sin before thou diest.”† —This reasoning, it is plain, *mutatis mutandis*, applies with equal force to a neglect of baptism: to which I will add the following passage from Dr. Owen: “Slaves take liberty *from* duty; children have liberty *in* duty. There is not a greater mistake in the world, than that the liberty of sons in the house of God consists in this, they can *perform* duties, or take the freedom to *omit* them: they can serve in

* Jerubbaal, p. 453.

† Ductor Dub. b. ii. chap. iii. p. 324.

‡ Sermons before University of Oxford, p. 130, edit. 2nd.

§ Scripture Vindicated, part iii. pp. 37, 71, 72.

* Enquiries concerning Angelical Worlds. pp. 11, 12,

15.

† Supplem. to Morn. Exercise at Cripplegate, pp. 213, 214.

the family of God, that is, they think they may if they *will*, and they can choose whether they will or no. This is a liberty *stolen* by slaves; not a liberty *given* by the Spirit unto sons.*

It is well observed by Chamier, and it is a dictate of common sense, "That no law derives its authority from the judgment [or the inclination] of those to whom it is given."† And it is equally clear, that when a law has been fairly promulged, ignorance of its demands cannot render a non-compliance innocent. For, as Dr. Waterland observes, the law presumes, "that when a man has done an ill thing, [or neglected his duty,] he either *knew* that it was evil, or else *ought* to have known it. *Ignorantia juris non excusat delictum.*"‡ It is therefore incumbent on every professor of Christianity, to make a diligent and impartial search into the records of the New Testament, that he may know and perform the will of his Lord respecting baptism. Nor has any one reason to consider himself as possessed of a pious and virtuous temper, while destitute of a disposition to make such an inquiry. Because "virtue," says Heinæcius, "is always united with an earnest, indefatigable care to understand the divine law. The greater progress one has made in virtue, the more ardent is this desire in his breast." Nay, though a person should plead *conscience* for the omission or corruption of a positive institute, he would not be exculpated; for, as the last mentioned author justly observes, "Though he be guilty who acts contrary to his conscience, whether certain or probable, yet he cannot, for that reason, be said to act rightly and justly, who contends that he has acted according to his conscience. Conscience is not the *rule*, but it applies the rule to facts and cases which occur. . . . He who follows an erroneous conscience sins on this very account, *That he follows it rather than the will of the Legislator*: though he be more excusable than one who acts directly against conscience, yet he is guilty."§ The morality of our conduct does not depend on the understanding; for our knowing, or being ignorant of a thing, is not the reason of its being good or evil, any more than the nature of an action does upon the will; because the willing a bad action to a good end, cannot render it innocent. Divine law is a rule of our conduct; and a want of conformity to that rule is a sin.

It appears, therefore, by the preceding reasoning, and from the authors produced, that none are worthy the name of Christians who are destitute of a disposition to

acknowledge the authority of Christ by submission to his positive appointments; and, that ignorance of their nature, obligation, and use, is far from excusing, except it arise from *natural* incapacity, and not from a bad state of the will. Now, in regard to baptism, we have not only the command of our Lord, but his own *example* also, to enforce our observance of it; concerning which, Mr. Wesley very properly says: "Let our Lord's submitting to baptism teach us a holy exactness in the observance of those institutions which owe their obligation merely to a divine command. Surely, *thus it becometh* all his followers *to fulfil all righteousness.*"* It has been justly remarked by a learned Lutheran, "That so great an honor was never conferred upon any ceremony,"† as there was upon baptism, when our Lord himself was immersed in Jordan, by the hands of John; when the divine Father, with an audible voice, proclaimed him his beloved Son; and when the Holy Spirit descended upon him.

I will conclude this part of our subject with the reasoning of Dr. Gerard. "A total disregard to the positive and external duties of religion, or a very great neglect of them, is justly reckoned more blamable, and a stronger evidence of an unprincipled character, than even some transgressions of moral obligation. . . . Even particular positive precepts, as soon as they are given by God, have something moral in their nature. Suppose the rites which are enjoined by them, perfectly indifferent before they were enjoined; yet from that moment they cease to be indifferent. The divine authority is interposed for the observance of them. To neglect them is no longer to forbear an indifferent action, or to do a thing in one way rather than another, which has naturally no great propriety: it is very different; it is to disobey God, it is to despise his authority, it is to resist his will. Can any man believe a God, and not acknowledge that disobedience to him, and contempt of his authority is *immoral*, and far from the least heinous species of immorality? . . . All positive institutions of divine appointment, are means of cultivating moral virtue. Be the rites themselves what they will, their being enjoined by God, renders them proper trials of our obedience to him, and renders our observance of them the means of cherishing a sense of his authority, and of improving a principle of subjection to it. A principle of subjection to the authority of God, is one of the firmest supports of all goodness and virtue; and positive institutions are the

* Communion with God, part ii. chap. x. p. 246.

† Panstrat. tom. i. l. vi. chap. xx. § 1.

‡ Import. of Doct. of Trin. p. 164.

§ Universal Law, b. i. chap. ii. § 37, 15.

* Note on Matt. iii. 16.

† Centur. Magdeb. cent. i. l. i. c. iv. p. 113.

most direct means of cultivating it, for the observance of them proceeds solely from the principle of obedience; but in every moral virtue, other principles are conjoined with this. All the rites appointed by God, are likewise direct and very powerful means of improving many particular virtuous affections, all the affections which are naturally exercised in performing them. Neglect of the *means* demonstrates, in every case, indifference about the *end*. Disregard to external worship and positive institutions, shows the want of all concern for moral improvement. But unconcern for moral improvement is not the defect of a single virtue, is not a single vice; it is a corruption and degeneracy of the *whole soul*, and therefore must appear highly detestable to every person of sound and unbiassed judgment. . . . It is not they who reckon a regard to positive institutions essential to a good and unblemished character, that judge weakly, but they who reckon that regard of no importance. Vain are their pretensions to enlargement of sentiment, and elevation above prejudice; their minds are so contracted, that they can admit only a partial idea of the nature of positive duties; they consider but the mere matter of them; they comprehend not their moral principles, their sublime end, or their important signification.*

As the leading ideas in the preceding paragraphs are the *grand principles* of legitimate reasoning on the doctrine of positive institutions; as it is on these principles that our most eminent Protestant authors proceed, when exploding the superstitions of Popery; and as it is our intention to examine Pædobaptism on these very principles; the reader is desired to keep them in mind, while perusing the following pages. It has been justly remarked by Bp. Taylor, that "men are easy enough to consent to a general rule; but they will not suffer their *own case* to be concerned in it."† This observation is, doubtless, founded in fact, and it expresses an affecting truth. While, therefore, we consider the forementioned authors as having verified the remark by practising infant sprinkling, we shall endeavor to avoid a similar inconsistency.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Signification of the Terms, Baptize and Baptism.

[N. B. To prevent mistakes, the reader is desired to observe, that many of the fol-

lowing quotations are to be considered as *concessions* made by these learned authors; no inconsiderable part of them asserting, notwithstanding what they here say, that the word baptism signifies pouring and sprinkling, as well as immersion.]

Witsius. "It cannot be denied, that the native signification of the word βαπτειν, and βαπτισεν, is to plunge, to dip. So that it is, doubtless, more than επιπολαζειν, which is to swim lightly on the surface; but less than δουειν, which is to go down to the bottom and be destroyed. . . . Yet I have observed, that the word καταδυειν is frequently used by the ancients, with reference to baptism."—*Æcon. Fæd.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 13.

2. Salmasius. "Baptism is immersion; and was administered, in ancient times, according to the force and meaning of the word. Now it is only *rhanism*, or sprinkling; not *immersion*, or dipping."—*De Cæsariæ Virorum*, p. 669.

3. Gurtlerus. "To baptize, among the Greeks, is undoubtedly to immerse, to dip; and baptism, is immersion, dipping. Βαπτισμος εν Πνευματι αγιω, baptism in the Holy Spirit, is immersion into the pure waters of the Holy Spirit, or a rich and abundant communication of his gifts; for he on whom the Holy Spirit is poured out, is as it were immersed into him. . . . Βαπτισμος εν πυρι, baptism in fire, is a figurative expression, and signifies casting into a flame, which, like water, flows far and wide; such as the flame that consumed Jerusalem. . . . The thing commanded by our Lord is baptism, immersion into water."—*Institut. Theol.* cap. xxxiii. § 103, 109, 110, 115.

4. Danæus. "Βαπτισμος, baptism, is derived απο του βαπτεισθαι, or βαπτιζεσθαι: the former of which properly signifies *to dye*; the latter, *to immerse*, especially in water. But as that which emerges out of the water appears to be washed, and fair, and clean; so the term baptism is frequently used in the holy scripture, for washing and cleansing."—*In Leigh's Critica Sacra*, under the word βαπτισμος, edit. 2nd.

5. Gomarus. "Βαπτισμος and βαπτισμα, signify the act of baptizing: that is, either plunging alone; or immersion, and the consequent washing."—*Opera, Disputat. Theolog. Disput.* xxxii. § 5.

6. Buddeus. "The words βαπτιζειν and βαπτισμος, are not to be interpreted of aspersion, but always of immersion."—*Theolog. Dogmat.* l. v. c. i. § 5.

7. Dr. Bentley. "βαπτισμους, baptisms, dippings,—Βαπτισον σεαυτον εις θαλασσαν, dip yourself in the sea."—*Remarks on Disc. on Free Thinking.* part ii. p. 56, 57, edit. 6.

8. Bp. Reynolds. "The Spirit under the gospel is compared to water; and that not a little measure, to sprinkle, or bedew, but to baptize the faithful in, (Matt. iii. 11;

* Sermons, vol. i. pp. 312—314, 316, 317, 320, edit. 2nd.

† Ductor Dubitant, b. ii. chap. iii. p. 303.

Acts i. 5,) and that not in a font, or vessel, which grows less and less, but in a spring, or living river, (John vii. 39.) . . . There are two words which signify suffering of afflictions, and they are both applied unto Christ, (Matt. xx. 22.) Are ye able to *drink of the cup* that I shall drink of, or be baptized with that baptism that I am baptized with? He that drinketh hath the water in him; he that is dipped or plunged hath the water about him: so it notes the universality of the wrath which Christ suffered."—*Works*, p. 226, 407.

9. Calvin. "The word baptize, signifies to immerse; and the rite of immersion was observed by the ancient church."—*Institut. Christ. Relig.* l. iv. c. xv. § 19.

10. Beza. "Christ commanded us to be baptized; by which word it is certain immersion is signified. . . . βαπτίζομαι, in this place, is more than χερνιπτεῖν; because *that* seems to respect the whole body, this only the hands. Nor does βαπτίζειν signify to wash, except by consequence: for it properly signifies to immerse for the sake of dyeing. . . . To be baptized in water, signifies no other than to be immersed in water, which is external ceremony of baptism. . . . βαπτίζω differs from the verb δύναι, which signifies, to plunge in the deep and to drown; as appears from that verse of an ancient oracle, Ἄσκος Βαπτίζειν, δύναι δὲ τοι οὐ θεμὶς ἐστὶν in which these two terms are distinguished, as expressing different ideas."—*Epistola II. ad Thom. Titium*, (apud Spanhem. *Dub. Evang.* pars iii. *Dub.* 24.) *Annotat. in Marc.* vii. 4. Acts xix. 3; Matt. iii. 11.

11. Meisnerus. "βαπτίζειν and βαπτειν, are generally found used for plunging and a total immersion."—*Apud Spanhem. Dub. Evangel.* pars iii. *Dub.* xxiv. § 2.

12. Danish Catechism. "What is Christian dipping? Water in conjunction with the word and command of Christ. What is that command which is in conjunction with water? 'Go teach all nations,' and so on, (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15, 16.) What is implied in these words? A command to the dipper and the dipped, with a promise of salvation to those that believe. How is this Christian dipping to be administered? The person must be deep-dipped in water, or overwhelmed with it, 'in the name of God the Father,' and so on." N. B. The gentleman who favored me with this extract, observes: that βαπτίζω is translated, by the Germans, *teuff*; by the Dutch, *doop*; by the Danes and Swedes, *dobe*; all which signify, *to dip*.

13. Spanhemius. "βαπτίζειν and βαπτειν, are generally found used for plunging, or a total dipping."—*Dub. Evangel.* pars iii. *Dub.* xxiv. § 2.

14. Vitranga. "The act of baptizing, is

the immersion of believers in water. This expresses the force of the word. Thus also it was performed by Christ and his apostles."—*Aphorismi Sanct. Theolog. aphor.* 884.

15. Beckmanus. "Baptism, according to the force of its etymology, is immersion, and washing, or dipping."—*Exercit. Theolog. exercit.* xvii. p. 257.

16. Bucanus. "Baptism, that is, immersion, dipping, and, by consequence, washing. Baptistry, a vat, or large vessel of wood, or stone, in which we are immersed, for the sake of washing. Baptist, one that immerses, or dips."—*Institut. Theolog. loc.* xlvii. quæst. i. p. 605.

17. Bp. Patrick. "I may say of him [Mr. John Smith] in Antoninus's praise, he was δικαιοσύνην βεβαμμένος εἰς βάθος. *DIPPED INTO justice*, as it were, over head and ears; he had not a slight superficial tincture, but was died and colored quite through with it."—*Funeral Sermon for Mr. J. Smith of Cambridge, subjoined to his select Discourses*, p. 509.

18. Zanchius. "Baptism is a Greek word, and signifies two things; first, and properly, immersion in water: for the proper signification of βαπτίζω, is to immerse, to plunge under, to overwhelm in water. . . . And this signification properly agrees with our baptism, and has a resemblance of the thing signified." Opera, tom. vi. p. 217. Genev. 1619. N. B. Mr. De Courcy tells us, that the opinion of Zanchius 'is worth a thousand others.'—*Rejoinder*, p. 261.

19. Hoornbeekius. "We do not deny that the word baptism bears the sense of immersion; or that, in the first examples of persons baptized, they went into the water and were immersed; or that this rite should be observed where it may be done conveniently and without endangering health."—*Socin. Confut.* l. iii. c. ii. sect. i. tom. iii. p. 268.

20. Stapferus. "By baptism we understand that rite of the New Testament church commanded by Christ, in which believers, by being immersed in water, testify their communion with the church."—*Institut. Theolog. Polem.* tom. i. cap. iii. § 1635.

21. Burmannus. "Βαπτισμός and βαπτισμα, if you consider their etymology, properly signify immersion. 'And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water,' (Matt. iii. 16. Compare Acts viii. 38.)"—*Synops. Theolog. loc.* xliii. cap. vi. § 2.

22. Roell. "Baptism, from βαπτο, signifies immersion."—*Explicat. Epist. ad Ephesios, ad cap.* iv. 5.

23. Mr. John Trapp. "'Are ye able to be baptized with the baptism;' or plunged over head and ears in the deep waters of affliction?"—*Comment. on Matt.* xx. 22.

24. Limborch. "Baptism is that rite, or ceremony, of the new covenant, whereby the faithful, by immersion into water, as by a sacred pledge, are assured of the favor of God, remission of sins, and eternal life; and by which they engage themselves to an amendment of life, and an obedience to the divine commands."—*Complete Syst. Div. b. v. chap. xxii. sect. i. Mr. Jones's translation.*

25. H. Altlingius. "The word baptism properly signifies immersion; improperly, by a metonymy of the end, washing."—*Loci Commun. pars i. loc. xii. p. 198.*

26. Hospinianus. "Christ commanded us to be baptized; by which word it is certain immersion is signified."—*Hist. Sacram. l. ii. c. i. p. 30.*

27. Casaubonus. "This was the rite of baptizing, that persons were plunged into the water; which the very word βαπτίζειν, to baptize, sufficiently declares; which, as it does not signify δύνειν, to sink to the bottom and perish, so, doubtless it is not επιολαζειν, to swim on the surface. For these three words, επιολαζειν, βαπτίζειν, and δύνειν, are of different significations. Whence we understand it was not without reason, that some long ago insisted on the immersion of the whole body in the ceremony of baptism; for they urge the word βαπτίζειν, to baptize."—*Annotat. on Matt. iii. 6.*

28. Diodati. "Baptized; viz. plunged into water. . . In baptism, being dipped in water according to the ancient ceremony, it is a sacred figure unto us, that sin ought to be drowned in us by God's Spirit."—*Annotat. on Matt. iii. 6; Rom. vi. 4.*

29. Calmet. "Generally people [speaking of the Jews] dipped themselves entirely under the water; and this is the most simple and natural notion of the word baptism."—*Dict. of Bible, art. Baptism.*

30. Luther. "The term baptism, is a Greek word. It may be rendered *adipping* when we dip something in water, that it may be entirely covered with water. And though that custom be quite abolished among the generality (for neither do they entirely dip children, but only sprinkle them with a little water,) nevertheless they ought to be wholly immersed, and presently to be drawn out again; for the etymology of the word seems to require it. The Germans call baptism *tauff*, from *depth*, which they call *tieff*, in their language; as if it were proper those should be *deeply immersed*, who are baptized. And, truly, if you consider what baptism signifies, you shall see the same thing required: for it signifies, that the old man and our nativity, that is full of sins, which is entirely of flesh and blood, may be overwhelmed by divine grace. The manner of baptism, therefore, should correspond to the signification of

baptism, that it may show a certain and plain sign of it."—*In Dr. Du Veil, on Acts viii. 38.*

31. Schellhornius, when explaining 1 Cor. xv. 21, and understanding the word *baptized* in a metaphorical sense, as expressive of being overwhelmed in calamities says; "The word βαπτίζεσθαι, which probably signifies to be immersed, or plunged under water; though not so frequently used by profane authors in a metaphorical sense, is nevertheless not unusual."*—*Biblioth. Bre-mens. class. vii. p. 638.*

32. Mr. Selden. "In England, of late years, I ever thought the parson baptized his own fingers, rather than the child."—*Works, vol. vi. col. 2008.*

33. Keckermannus. "We cannot deny, that the first institution of baptism consisted in immersion, and not sprinkling; which is quite evident from Rom. vi. 3, 4."—*System. Theolog. l. iii. c. viii. p. 369.*

34. Dr. Towerson. "The third thing to be inquired concerning the outward visible sign of baptism is, how it ought to be applied; whether by an immersion, or an aspersion, or effusion; a more material question [this] than it is commonly deemed by us, who have been accustomed to baptize by a bare effusion, or sprinkling of water upon the party. For in things which depend for their force upon the mere will and pleasure of him who instituted them, there ought, no doubt, great regard to be had to the commands of him who did so; as without which there is no reason to presume we shall receive the benefit of that ceremony, to which he hath been pleased to annex it. Now, what the command of Christ was in this particular, cannot well be doubted of

* In confirmation of which he produces the following authorities, which I will give in his own words. "Heliodorus. l. ii. c. iii. Æthiopie. Cnemon itaque cum omnino dolori illum succubuisse et calamitate submersum (συμφορα βεβαπτισμενον) esse intellexisset, metueretque, ne sibi aliquid mali conscisceret. L. iv. c. xx. O vos, qui adestis, Charicli quidem et postea lugere licebit. Nos vero non mergamur (συμβαπτίζομεθα) huius dolore, neque inconsiderate illius lacrymis, tanquam aquæ impetû auferamur, occasionem negligentes. L. v. c. xvi. Επειδὴ σετα συμβεβηκота εβαπτρτεν, quoniam te casus tui obruebant ac demergebant. Ita et eo sensu venit (L. ii. c. xxvii.) ejusdem auctoris verbum βυθίζεσθαι. Πλειονι κλυδωνι κακων βεβυθισμενοι. majore fluctu ærumnarum obruti.—Libanius, (In Parent. Juliani, cap. cxlviii. p. 369.) Ea enim, quam ob Julianum sentimus, tristitia, animam submergens (βαπτίζουσα) mentemque obscurans; tenebras quædam oculis quoque offundit, nec multum ab is, qui in tenebris nunc versantur, distamus.—Plutarchus: (De Puerorum Educatione, cap. xlii.) Sicut enim planta quidem mediocribus aquis nutriuntur, plurimis vero suffocantur; ad eundem modum anima quidem mediocribus augetur laboribus, sed immoderatis (βαπτίζετα) submergitur. Ita et Poeta anonymus: (Anthol. Gr. l. ii. c. xlvii.) βαπτίζεσθαι ad somnum transfert.

Βαπτίζετα δ' ἔπνω γειτονι τε θονατε

Vides heic βαπτίζεσθαι τῷ ἔπνῳ esse per metaphoram somno sepeiri, quam phrasin etiam alicubi in Heliodoro legisse memini."—*Ut supra, p. 638, 639, 640.*

by those who shall consider the words of Christ, (Matt. xxviii. 19.) concerning it, and the practice of those times, whether in the baptism of John, or of our Saviour. For the words of Christ are, that they should baptize, or *dip*, those whom they made disciples to him (for so, no doubt, the word βαπτίζειν properly signifies;) and which is more, and not without its weight, that they should baptize them *into* the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: thereby intimating such a washing, as should receive the party baptized within the very body of the water, which they were to baptize him with. Though if there could be any doubt concerning the signification of the words in themselves, yet would that doubt be removed by considering the practice of those times, whether in the baptism of John, or of our Saviour. For such as was the practice of those times in baptizing, such in reason are we to think our Saviour's command to have been concerning it especially when the words themselves incline that way; there being not otherwise any means, either for those, or future times, to discover his intention concerning it."—*Of the Sacram. of Bap.* part iii. p. 53, 54, 55.

35. Dan. Grade. "The word baptism generally denotes immersion, for the sake of washing or cleansing."—*In Thesaur. Theolog. Philolog.* tom. ii. p. 560.

36. H. Clignetius. "Baptism is so called from immersion, or plunging into; because in the primitive times those that were baptized were entirely immersed in water."—*In Thesaur. Disputat.* Sedan, tom. i. p. 769, 770. *Gener.* 1661.

37. Dr. Dan. Scott. "The verb βαπτίζω expresses the form of admitting a proselyte into the Christian church, which tradition assures us was by a trine immersion, or plunging under water. But of late aspersion, or sprinkling, is admitted by the church of England instead of immersion, or dipping."*—*New Version of St. Matt. Gospel. Note on Matt.* xxviii. 19.

38. Bossuet. "To baptize signifies to plunge, as is granted by all the world."—*In Mr. Stemmelt, against Mr. Russen*, p. 174.

* To fix the signification of βαπτίζω, he produces a number of passages from the following Greek authors: Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. iv. c. iv. § 6, p. 207; l. xv. c. iii. § 3, p. 745. De Bell. Jud. l. i. c. xxii. § 2, p. 110; l. i. c. xvii. § 1; l. ii. c. xviii. § 4, p. 193; l. ii. c. xx. § 1; l. iii. c. ix. § 3, p. 251; l. iii. c. x. § 9, p. 259. Strab. Geogr. l. i. p. 44. B; l. xii. p. 809, D; l. xvi. p. 1103. Lucian Ver. Hist. l. ii. p. 333, A. Plutarch. Quæst. Nat. tom. ii. p. 914. C. Orph. Argonaut, v. 510. Soph. Aj. v. 354. In the same learned author's Appendix ad Thesaur. Græc. Ling. under the verb βαπτίζω, he quotes passages from the following Greek writers: Polyb. Hist. l. i. § 73, ult. 545, 10, f. l. iii. p. 311, ult. Joseph. Antiq. l. ix. c. x. § 2. Vita, § 3. Diod. Sicul. Bibl. l. i. p. 23, 12. Strab. Geogr. l. i. p. 421. C; l. xiv. p. 982, D. Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 221, c. 47. D. Lucian. Baach. p. 653, A. Plat. Euthydem. i. 277, C. Diod. Sicul. l. i. p. 47, 4. Joseph. De Bell. l. iv. c. iii. § 3.

39. Suicerus. "He is said βαπτίζειν ὕδριαν, to baptize a bucket, who draws water out of a well or river; which cannot be done except the bucket be entirely plunged under the water. Wool and clothes are said to be βαπτίζεσθαι, baptized, when they are dipped; because they are quite immersed in the dyeing fat, that they may imbibe the color. βαπτίζω, to baptize, hath properly the same signification. βαπτίζειν εαυτον εις θαλασσαν, in the ancient poet, is to plunge himself into the sea. From the proper signification of the verb, baptize, baptism properly denotes immersion, or dipping into."—*Thesaurus Eccles. sub voce Βαπτισμα.*

40. Venema. "The word βαπτίζω, to baptize, is no where used in the scripture for sprinkling: no not in Mark vii. 4, otherwise than as appears to some."—*Institut. Hist. Eccles. Vet. et Nov. Test.* tom. iii. secul. i. § 138.

41. Magdeburg Centuriators. "The word βαπτίζω to baptize, which signifies immersion into water, proves that the administrator of baptism immersed, or washed, the persons baptized in water."—*Cent.* i. l. ii. c. iv. p. 382.

42. Anonymous. "The word baptize doth certainly signify immersion, absolute and total immersion, in Josephus and other Greek writers. But this word is in some degree equivocal; and there are some eminent Greek scholars who have asserted, that immersion is not necessarily included in baptism. The examples produced, however, do not exactly serve the cause of those who think that a few drops of water sprinkled on the forehead of a child, constitute the essence of baptism. In the Septuagint it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar was baptized with the dew of heaven: and in a poem attributed to Homer (called) *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, it is said, that a lake was baptized with the blood of a wounded combatant. (Εβαπτετο δ αἷματι λίμνη πορφύρεω.) A question hath arisen, in what sense the word baptize can be used in this passage. Doth it signify immersion, properly so called? Certainly not: neither can it signify a partial sprinkling. A body wholly surrounded with a mist; wholly made humid with dew; or a piece of water so tinged with and discolored by blood, that if it had been a solid body and dipped into it, it could not have received a more sanguine appearance, is a very different thing from that partial application which in modern times is supposed sufficient to constitute full and explicit baptism. The accommodation of the word baptism to the instances we have referred to, is not unnatural, though highly metaphorical; and may be resolved into a trope or figure of speech in which, though the primary idea is maintained, yet the mode of expression is alter-

ed; and the word itself is to be understood rather *allusively* than *really*; rather *relatively* than *absolutely*. If a body had been baptized or immersed, it could not have been more wet than Nebuchadnezzar's; if a lake had been dipped in blood, it could not have put on a more bloody appearance. Hitherto the Anti-Pædobaptists seem to have had the best of the argument, on the mode of administering the ordinance. The most explicit authorities are on their side. Their opponents have chiefly availed themselves of inferences, analogy, and doubtful construction."—*Monthly Review for May, 1784*, p. 396.

43. G. J. Vossius. "Βαπτίζειν, to baptize signifies to plunge. It certainly therefore signifies more than ἐπιπολαζειν, which is to *swim lightly on the top*; and less than δυνειν, which is, to *sink to the bottom*; so as to be destroyed."—*Disputat. de Bap. disp. i. thes. i. p. 25. Amstelod. 1648*.

44. Mr. De Courcy. "It is readily allowed, that dipping is one of the included ideas in the original word [βαπτίζω].—We never denied, that dipping is not excluded from the signification of the original word."—*Rejoinder*, p. 139, 143.

45. Turretinus. "The word baptism is of Greek origin, and is derived from the verb βαπτω; which signifies to dip, and to dye; βαπτίζειν, to baptize; to dip into, to immerse. Plut. de Superstit. βαπτισον σε εις θαλασσαν, *plunge yourself into the sea*; and, in the life of Theseus, he recites a Sibylline verse concerning the Athenians, which better agrees to the church:

Ἀσκος βαπτίζη, δύναι δε τοι σύ θεμὶς ἐστί.

Mergeris uter aquis, sed non submergeris unquam. Hence it appears, that βαπτίζειν is more than ἐπιπολαζειν, which is to *swim lightly on the surface*; and less than δυνειν, which is to *go down to the bottom*; that is, to strike the bottom so as to be destroyed."—*Institut. loc. xix. quæst. xi. § 4*.

46. Dr. Owen. "Though the original and natural signification of the word [βαπτίζω] imports, to dip, to plunge, to dye; yet it also signifies to wash or cleanse."—*In Dr. Ridgley's Bod. Div. quest. clxvi. p. 608, note*.

47. Bas. Faber. "Baptism, is immersion, washing."—*Thesau. Erudit. Scholast. Lips. 1717*.

48. Eras. Schmidius. "Βαπτειν, is to dye, to immerse in water; also to wash, or to immerse for the sake of washing or cleansing."—*Annotat. on Matt. iii. 6. Norimb. 1658*.

49. Mr. Daniel Rogers. "None, of old, were wont to be sprinkled; and I confess myself unconvinced by demonstration of scripture for infants' sprinkling. It ought to be the church's part to cleave to the in-

stitution, which is dipping; and he betrays the church, whose officer he is, to a disorderly error, if he cleave not to the institution, which is to dip. That the minister is to dip in water, as the meetest act, the word βαπτίζω notes it: for the Greeks wanted not other words to express any other act besides dipping, if the institution could bear it. What resemblance of the burial, or the resurrection of Christ is in sprinkling? All antiquity and scripture confirm that way. To dip, therefore, is *exceeding material* to the ordinance; which was the usage of old without exception of countries, hot or cold."—*Dr. Russel's Just Vind. of Doc. and Prac. of John, &c. Epist. Dedicat. p. 5*.

50. Dr. Hammond. "The word here used βαπτίζεσθαι, (as it differs from νιπτεσθαι, verse 3,) signifies not only the washing of the whole body, (as when it is said of Eupolis, that being taken and thrown into the sea, ἐβαπτίζετο, he was immersed all over, and so the baptisms of cups, &c., in the end of this verse, is putting into the *water all over*, rinsing them,) but washing any part as the hands here, by way of immersion in water, as that is opposed to affusion or pouring water on them."—*Annotations on Mark vii. 4*.

51. Ikenius. "The Greek word βαπτίζεσθαι denotes the immersion of a thing, or a person, into something; either with a view to expiation, or for washing and cleansing. Here also [Matt. iii. 11, compared with Luke iii. 16,] the baptism of fire, or that which is performed in fire, must signify according to the same simplicity of the letter, an immission, or immersion, into fire for a similar end: and this the rather, because here, to baptize in the Spirit and in fire, are not only connected, but also opposed to being baptized in water; and, therefore, the connection of the discourse, and the laws of opposition demand, that after whatever manner these two phrases denote baptism in water, and in the Spirit, to be performed, such must that be which is performed in fire. . . . The Jewish rites of purification were different; for either they were performed by an immersion of the whole body, or by the washing of some parts, as the hands, or the feet, which is called by the Greeks, ἐκνίψις; or by sprinkling; which, in Greek, is denominated ραντισμος, *rhantism*."—*Dissert. Philolog. Theolog. dissert. xix. p. 225. Antiq. Hebraicæ, pars i. c. xviii. § 9*.

52. Deylingius. "The word βαπτίζεσθαι, as used by Greek authors, signifies immersion and overwhelming. Thus we read in Plutarch, (de Superstit. tom. ii. op. f. 166,) βαπτισον σεαυτον εις θαλασσαν, *dip yourself in the sea*: like as Naaman, (in 2 Kings v. 14,) who 'baptized himself seven times in Jordan,' which was an immersion of the

whole body. So Strabo, (lib. xiv. p. 458,) when speaking about the soldiers of Alexander the Great, marching in the winter season between Climax, a mountain in Pamphylia, and the sea, says: They were immersed, βαπτίζομενους, up to the waist. The same author, (lib. xii. p. 391,) speaking of Tatta, a marsh, situate between Galatia and Cappadocia, says: The water rises, παντὶ τῷ βαπτίζοντι εἰς αὐτό, so as to overwhelm any thing. Diodorus Siculus, (lib. i. c. xxxvi.) when speaking of the Nile overflowing its banks, says: 'Many of the land animals perish, ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιληφθέντα διαφθεῖρεσθαι βαπτίζομενα, being overtaken and overwhelmed by the flood.' In Josephus, (Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. cap. iii.) βαπτίζοντες, persons baptizing, are persons plunging down. It has the same signification in the gospels, and in the writings of the apostles: if you except Luke xi. 38, where βαπτίζεσθαι seems to be used concerning washing the hands, which is done by sprinkling."—*Observat. Sac.* pars iii. observ. xxvi. § 2. Lips. 1715.

53. Le Clerc. "At that time came John the Baptizer.' He has been called the *Baptizer*, rather than *Baptist*, because the latter word is a proper name in the modern languages; whereas in this place it is an appellative, to signify a man that plunged in water those who testified an acknowledgment of his divine mission, and were desirous of leading a new life—'He shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit.' As I plunge you in water, he shall plunge you, so to speak, in the Holy Spirit."—*Remarques sur Nouv. Test.*, Matt. iii. 1.

54. Danzius. "Βαπτισμος, βαπτισμα, and βαπτισις, denote plunging, or dipping; also washing, or a bath."—*De Bap. Proselyt. Judaic.* § 1, in Ugolini *Thesaurο Antiq. Sac.* tom. xxii. p. 883.

55. Reiskius. "To be baptized, signifies, in its primary sense, to be immersed. Hence ναὺς ἀβαπτιστος, a ship unbaptized, is a vessel not immersed in the waves; and, in Gregory Thaumaturgus, a person immersed in error, is called βεβαπτισμενος; and he who rescues such persons from their dangerous mistakes, is said τοὺς βαπτίζομενους ἀνιῆσθαι, to lift up or draw out the parties that were so baptized."—*Dissertat. de Bap. Judæorum*, cap. i. § 1.

56. Heideggerus. "The words βαπτισμα and βαπτισμος, baptism, (from βαπτειν, to plunge, to immerse,) properly signify immersion."—*Corpus Theolog. Christ.* loc. xxv. § 21.

57. J. J. Wetstenius. "To baptize, is to plunge, to dip. The body, or part of the body, being under water, is said to be baptized."—*Comment. ad Matt.* iii. 6.

58. Dr. Doddridge. "I have, indeed, a most dreadful baptism to be baptized with,

and know that I shall shortly be bathed as it were in blood, and plunged in the most overwhelming distress."—*Paraphrase on Luke* xii. 50.

59. Zepperus. "If we consider the proper meaning of the term, the word baptism signifies plunging into water, or the very act of dipping and washing. It appears, therefore, from the very signification and etymology of the term, what was the custom of administering baptism in the beginning; whereas we now, for baptism, rather have rhanism, or sprinkling."—*In Leigh's Crit. Sac.* under the word βαπτισμος. Lond. 1646.

60. Mr. Poole's Continuators. "To be baptized, is to be dipped in water; metaphorically, to be plunged in afflictions. I am, saith Christ, to be baptized with blood, overwhelmed with sufferings and afflictions."—*Annotations on Matt.* xx. 22, edit. 1688.

61. Walæus. "The external form of baptism is immersion into water, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."—*Enchiridium*, p. 425.

62. Articles of Smalcald. "Baptism is no other than the word of God, with plunging into water according to his appointment and command."—*Kromayeri Epitom. Lib. Concord. Christ.* p. 107.

63. Anonymous. "That the letter of the scripture is in favor of the Baptists (or, as they are still absurdly called Anabaptists,) cannot without evasion and equivocation be denied."—*Lon. Rev. June*, 1776, p. 489.

64. Gerhardus. "Βαπτισμος and βαπτισμα, from βαπτίζειν, to baptize, to immerse, to dip, and that properly, into water: it has a likeness to the words βυθίζω and βαθύνω, each of which signifies to plunge down into the deep. Plutarch, βαπτιστον σεντον εἰς θαλάσσαν, plunge yourself into the sea. The same biographer, in the life of Galba, speaks metaphorically of being baptized, or immersed in debt: βεβαπτισμενος οφειλημασι. In his Morals, he speaks of being baptized, or oppressed, by an accumulation of affairs: βαπτίζεσθαι ὑπὸ των πραγμάτων. In his life of Phocion, of being baptized in, or plunged under immoderate labors: βαπτίζεσθαι τοῖς πονοῖς ὑπερβαλλουσι. Aphrod. l. i. probl. has the following expressions: βεβαπτισμενὸς τῷ σώματι, plunged down in the body. In this acceptance of immersing, it is used (2 Kings v. 14,) 'Then went he down and dipped (εβαπτισατο) himself seven times in Jordan.' . . . But because those who are immersed in water, and emerge out of it, appear washed and clean, therefore βαπτισμος and βαπτίζειν are consequentially used for any kind of ablution, whether it be performed by merely sprinkling, or pouring, or by a particular dipping. Βαπτίζειν is derived from βαπτειν, which signi-

fies, in general, to dip, to wash, to dye, to immerse."—*Loc. Theolog.* tom. iv. *De Bap.* p. 224.

65. Alstedius. "Βαπτίζειν, to baptize, signifies only to immerse; not to wash, except by consequence."—*Lexicon Theologicum*, cap. xii. p. 221.

66. Mr. Wilson. "To baptize, to dip into water, or to plunge one into the water."—*Christian Dictionary*, edit. 1678.

67. Mr. Bailey. "Baptism, in strictness of speech, is that kind of ablution, or washing, which consists in dipping; and when applied to the Christian institution so called, it was used by the primitive Christians in no other sense than that of dipping; as the learned Grotius and Casaubon well observe. But as new customs introduce new significations of words, in process of time it admitted the idea of sprinkling, as in the case of clinical baptism."—*Dictionary*, Dr. Scott's edit. 1772.

68. Mr. Leigh. "Βαπτίζω. The word baptize, though it be derived from βαπτω, to dip, or plunge into the water, and signifieth primarily such a kind of washing as is used in bucks, where linen is plunged and dipped; yet it is taken more largely for any kind of washing, rinsing, or cleansing, even where there is no dipping at all, (as Matt. iii. 11, and so on.) . . . The native and proper signification of it is, to dip into water, or to plunge under water, (John iii. 22, 23; Matt. iii. 16; Acts viii. 38.)"—*Critica Sacra*.

69. Schoettgenius. "Βαπτίζω, from βαπτω, properly, to plunge, to immerse; to cleanse, to wash."—*Lex. in Nov. Test. Krebsii*, edit. 1765.

70. Mr. Parkhurst. "Βαπτίζω, from βαπτω, to dip, immerse, or plunge in water. To baptize, to immerse in, or wash with water. Figuratively, to be baptized, immersed, or plunged in a flood, or sea, as it were, of grievous afflictions and sufferings."

71. Schrevelius. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize, to plunge, to wash."—*Cuntab.* 1685.

72. Pasor. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize, to immerse, to wash."—*Lips.* 1735.

73. Trommius. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize; to immerse, to dip."—*Concordantiæ Græcæ*, sub voce.

74. Mintert. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize; properly, indeed, it signifies to plunge, to immerse, to dip into water: but because it is common to plunge or dip a thing that it may be washed, hence also it signifies to wash, to wash away. . . . Βαπτισμός, baptism: immersion, dipping into; washing, washing away. Properly, and according to its etymology, it denotes that washing which is performed by immersion."

75. Scapula. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize; to dip, or immerse; as we immerse any thing for the purpose of dyeing, or cleansing in

water. Also to dip, to plunge, to overwhelm in water. Likewise to wash away, to wash."—*Lond.* 1652.

76. Hedericus. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize; to plunge, to immerse, to overwhelm in water; to wash away, to wash. . . . Βαπτισμα, baptism; immersion, dipping into."—*Lond.* 1778.

77. Constantinus. "Βαπτισμός, baptism; the act of dyeing, that is, of plunging."—*Edit.* 1592.

78. Mr. Robertson. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize; to immerse, to wash."—*Thesaurus Græc.*

79. Mr. William Young. "Baptize; to dip all over, to wash, to baptize."—*Latin-English Dictionary*.

80. Stockius. "Βαπτισμα, baptism. Generally, and in virtue of its etymology, it signifies immersion, or dipping into. Particularly and properly, it denotes the immersion or dipping of a thing into water, that it may be cleansed or washed."—*Jenæ*, 1735.

81. Stephanus. "Βαπτίζω, to plunge, or immerse. To plunge; that is, to plunge under, or overwhelm in water. To cleanse, to wash."—*Thesaur. Græc. Ling.* 1572.

82. Schwarzzius. "Βαπτίζω, to baptize; to plunge, to overwhelm, to dip into.* To wash, by plunging, (Luke xi. 38; Matt. vii. 4.) Sometimes to sprinkle, to besprin-

* To authenticate this, as the native and primary meaning of the term, he produces the following authorities. "Polyb. iii. c. 72. Μολις εως των μαζων οι περὶ βαπτίζομενοι διεβαινον, vix transibant pedites ad mammas usque mersi. Idem, v. c. 47. Άντροι ἰν' αὐτων βαπτίζομενοι και καταδυνοντες εν τοις τελμασιν, ipsi se ipsis mergebantur et deprimabantur in paludibus. Idem. xxxviii. p. 84. Παντεως βαπτίζονται, omnino merguntur. Idem. xxxvii. extr. p. 64. Χειμων τοιουτος εξαιφνης την χωραν απασαν κατασχεν, ωσε—τα πλοια τα εν τῷ Τιβεριδι—βαπτισθηνα, tanta tempestas subito per totam regionem exstitit, ut navigia in Tiberi mergentur. Idem. l. p. 492. Πως μεν αν ονχ ὑπ' αὐτου του πηγδους των κωπων βαπτισθειη; quomodo non ipsa remorum multitudine, submergatur? Adde p. 502, 505. Porphyrius de Styge. p. 282. Οταν δε καταγορευμενος επιβη, αναμαρτητος μεν ων αδεως διερχεται, αχρι των γονατων εχων το ὑδωρ αμαρτων δε, ολιγον προβας βαπτίζεται μεχρι κεφαλαις. Quum autem accusatus ingreditur lacum, secure, si peccati sit expert, transit, mersus usque ad genua. Sin peccarit, paulum progressus submergitur usque ad caput. Diodorus Siculus, l. i. p. 33. Των δε χειρσαινων θηριων τα πολλα μεν ὑπο του ποταμου περιληφθεντα διαφθειρεται βαπτίζομενα, τινα δε εις τους μετεωρους εκφευγοντα τοπους διασωζονται. Animalium terrestrium multa a flumine Nilo coarctata mergendo perduntur: alia in editos locos fugientia servantur. Adde Strabon. vi. p. 421. Joseph. Bell. Jud. p. 259, init. Activum quoque in significatione passiva est apud Joseph. Antiq. ix. c. x. § 2. Οσον οὐτω μελλοντος βαπτίζειν τον σκαφος, quum navis mergeretur tantum, quantum nondum cederat."—I will here add another passage from Diod. Siculus, l. i. p. 67, as I find it quoted and translated by Dr. Sam. Chandler: "Τους δε ιδωτας δια την εκ τούτων ευποριαν ον ΒΑΠΤΙΖΟΥΣΙ ραις εισφοραις. The people were not appressed with taxes."—*Defence of Prime Minister of Joseph*, p. ii. p. 338.

kle, to pour upon.* To purify and consecrate to God, by plunging. Matt. iii. 6, 11, 13, 14, and elsewhere. . . . *Baptists, the Baptist*, who sustained the singular and sacred office, of plunging men desirous of salvation, that they might know themselves to be devoted to God."—*Comment Crit. et Philolog. Ling. Græc.* See also *Martini Lexicon Philologicum*, sub voce Baptismus. *Riissii Samma Tholog.* loc. xvii. § 26. *Glossarium Vetus*, sub voce Βαπτισμ. *Damm. Nov. Lex. Græc.* sub voce Βαπτω. *Dr. Macknight's Harm.* part ii. p. 279, edit. 2d. *Petavii Theol. Dogmat.* l. ii. de Pœnitent. c. i. § 11. *Mr. S. Davies's Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 169, edit. 3d.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. It will be allowed, I think, by every competent and impartial judge, that many of the authors from whose writings these quotations are made, may be justly numbered among the first literary characters that any age has produced. Now, as all these concessions, declarations, and reasonings, proceeded from persons that practised pouring or sprinkling in the administration of the ordinance under consideration; so there is the highest reason to conclude, that nothing but the force of evidence, and a conscientious regard to truth, could have induced them thus to speak; for it is manifest, that such language has the appearance of supporting a contrary practice.

To the foregoing quotations from Pædobaptists, whom candor itself must suppose inclined to make as few concessions to the Baptists as the evidence of stubborn facts would permit, we will add the attestations of others, that may be justly considered as impartial spectators of our controversy about the right manner of administering baptism. The authors to whom I advert,

* His only authorities for the two latter of these ideas, are the following: "Æschyl. Prometh. Vincit. p. 53. Λιδηκρον εν σφαγαιοι βαψασα ξιφος, ancipitem gladium cœdibus tingens. Apud Platon. in Conviv. p. 316. Aristophanes de se dicit, και γαρ και αυτος επι των χυθεις βαβαρτισμενους. Etenim ego quoque sum ex iis qui heri multum biberunt." Whether these passages do not confirm the idea of *plunging* and *overwhelming*, rather than that of *sprinkling*, or *pouring*, for which they were produced, let the learned judge. Respecting the latter of them, Dr. Daniel Scott says: "Plato uses this verb [βαπτίζω] of a person who had drunk freely, drenched himself in liquor." Note on Matt. xxviii. 19. So Justin Martyr and Chrysostom speak of being baptized in wine; and Clemens Alexandrinus, of being baptized in sleep. Apud Suicerum, Thesaur. Eccles. tom. i. p. 623. And as the word baptized, in these connections, expresses the notion of being as it were buried in sleep, and overwhelmed in wine; so those corresponding adjectives, *ebrius*, *drunk*, and *drunken*, are allusively used to signify soaked, dipped, drenched. Thus Martial: "Lana sanguine conchæ ebria." Thus Jehovah: "I will make mine arrows drunk with blood." (Deut. xxxii. 42.) And Shakespeare thus: "Then let the earth be drunken with our blood—See Ainsworth and Johnson under the words.

belong to the denomination of people called Quakers; and their language is as follows.

1. Robert Barclay. "Βαπτίζω signifies *immergo*; that is, to plunge and dip in; and that was the proper use of water baptism among the Jews, and also by John and the primitive Christians, who used it. Whereas our adversaries, for the most part, only *sprinkle* a little water upon the forehead, which doth not at all answer to the word *baptism*: so that if our adversaries will stick to the word, they must alter their method of sprinkling."—*Apology*, proposition xii. § 10.

2. John Gratton. "John did baptize into water; and it was a baptism, a real dipping, or plunging into water, and so a real baptism was John's."—*Life of John Gratton*, p. 231.

3. William Dell. Speaking of baptism, he calls it, "the *plunging* of a man in cold water."—*Select Works*, p. 389, edit. 1773.

4. Thomas Ellwood. "They [the apostles, at the feast of Pentecost] were now baptized with the Holy Ghost indeed; and that in the strict and proper sense of the word *baptize*; which signifies to *dip*, *plunge*, or *put under*."—*Sacred Hist. of the N. Test.* part ii. p. 307.

5. Samuel Fothergill. "By which [baptism of the Holy Spirit,] I understand such a thorough *immersion* into his holy nature, as to know him, the only begotten Son of God, to conform the soul to his own image."—*Remarks on Address to People called Quakers*, p. 27.

6. Joseph Phipps. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is "effected by spiritual immersion. . . . The practice of *sprinkling* infants, under the name of *baptism*, hath neither precept nor precedent in the New Testament."—*Dissertations on Bap. and Communion*, p. 25, 30.

7. William Penn. "I cannot see why the bishop [of Cork, in answer to whom he wrote,] should assume the power of unchristianizing us, for not practising of that which he himself practises so unscripturally, and that according to the sentiments of a considerable part of Christendom; having not one text of scripture to prove that *sprinkling in the face* was the water baptism—in the first times. Then it was in the river *Jordan*; now in a *basin*."—*Defence of Gospel Truths against the Bishop of Cork*, pp. 82, 83.

8. George Whitehead. "Sprinkling infants, I deny to be baptism, either in a proper or scripture sense. For sprinkling is *rhantism*, and not *baptism*; coning of βαπτίζω, i. e. *aspergo*, to sprinkle, or to besprinkle, (Heb. ix. 13, 19, compared with Heb. x. 22;) *παρταπος*, a *besprinkling*, (and chap. xii. 24, and 1 Pet. i. 2.) But βαπτίζω, is to *baptize*, to *plunge* under water, to

overwhelm. Wherefore I would not have these men offended at the word *rhantism*, it being as much English as the word baptism. And also βαπτισμους is translated *washing*; i. e. of cups, pots, brazen vessels, and tables, (Mark vii. 4.) Now if washing here should be taken in the common sense, cleanly people use not to do it only by sprinkling some drops of water upon them, but by washing them clean; so that rhantism can be neither baptism nor washing, in a true or proper sense."—*Truth Prevalent*, chap. ix. p. 116.

9. Elizabeth Bathurst. "*Sprinkling* infants; this they [the Quakers] utterly deny, as a thing by men imposed, and never by God or Christ instituted."—*Life and Writings of Elizabeth Bathurst*, chap. v. p. 44.

10. Thomas Lawson. "Such as *rhantize*, or sprinkle infants, have no command from Christ, nor example among the apostles, nor the first primitive Christians, for so doing. . . . The ceremony of John's ministration, according to divine institution, was by dipping, plunging, or overwhelming their bodies in water; as Scapula and Stephens, two great masters in the Greek tongue testify; as also Grotius, Pasor, Vossius, Minceus, Leigh, Casaubon, Bucer, Bullinger, Zanchy, Spanhemius, Rogers, Taylor, Hammond, Calvin, Piscator, Aquinas, Scotus. . . . As for *sprinkling*, the Greeks call it *rhantismos*, which I render *rhantism*: for it is as proper to call sprinkling *rhantism*, as to call dipping baptism. This linguists cannot be ignorant of, that dipping and sprinkling are expressed by several words, both in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. It is very evident, if *sprinkling* had been of divine institution, the Greeks had their *rhantismos*; but as *dipping* was the institution, they used *baptismos*; so maintained the purity and propriety of the language. . . . To sprinkle young or old, and call it baptism, is very incongruous; yea, as improper as to call a horse a cow; for baptism signifies *dipping*. However, rhantism hath entered into, and among the professors of Christianity; and, to GAIN THE MORE ACCEPTANCE, it is called *Baptism*."—*Baptismologia*, pp. 117, 118, 119.

11. Anthony Purver.—"*Baptized* is but a Greek word used in English, and signifying plunged." Note on 1 Cor. xv. 29. Such is the harmonious and united testimony of these our impartial friends: nor do I suppose that any sensible person of the same denomination would for a moment scruple to subscribe the preceding declarations.

Reflect. II. By the numerous quotations here produced from the most learned Pædobaptists, we are expressly taught, that immersion is the radical and obvious meaning of the term baptism, No. 1—82; that

the Danes, the Swedes, the Germans, and the Dutch, render the word βαπτίζω by expressions that signify to dip, No. 12; that it has no other signification in Mark vii. 4, No. 10, 40, 50, 82; that the idea of immersion is retained when the term is used metaphorically of the Holy Spirit, No. 3, 8, 51, 53; of sufferings, No. 6, 8, 23, 58, 60, 70; and of other things, No. 42, 64, 82; that βαπτίζειν is of a middle signification, between επιπολαζειν, to swim on the surface, and δυνειν, to go down to the bottom, No. 1, 10, 27, 43, 45, 64; that the word baptism is no where used in scripture to signify sprinkling, No. 40; that it signifies immersion only, not washing, except by consequence, No. 65; that the Greeks wanted not other words to have expressed a different action, if the institution would have borne it, No. 49; that the manner of baptizing should correspond to the signification of the ordinance, No. 30; that all antiquity and scripture confirm the idea of plunging, No. 49; that sprinkling is rhantism, rather than baptism, No. 2, 59; that new customs introduce new significations of words, No. 67; that our opponents chiefly avail themselves of inferences, of analogy, and of doubtful construction, No. 42; and that the Baptists have the advantage in point of argument, No. 42, 63.

Let us now review the testimonies of our impartial friends the Quakers. They assert, that the word in question signifies immersion, No. 1—11; that the first administrator practised accordingly, No. 2, 7, 10; that if sprinkling had been the institution, the Greeks had their *rhantismos*, but that dipping being appointed, *baptismos* was used in divine law, No. 10; that sprinkling is neither baptism, nor washing, No. 8; that there is neither precept nor precedent for sprinkling, No. 6, 7, 10; that the contrast between baptism and the rite which is now practised, is like that between the waves of Jordan, and the water in a portable basin, No. 7; that sprinkling of infants is a human invention, No. 9, 10; and that sprinkling is called baptism, to keep it in countenance, No. 10. Such is the import of what the most learned Pædobaptists assert, and of what the impartial Quakers affirm, concerning the term in dispute; which, whether it be in our favor, I leave the reader to judge.

Reflect. III. Werenfelsius has well observed, in his excellent dissertation De Scopo Interpretis, that "some interpreters do not search the scripture so much for the meaning of the Holy Spirit, as for praise and honor; others, not so much for the sense of scripture, as for their own opinion; and others, not so much for the true meaning of scripture, as for one that is useful or agreeable." Now as our inquiry here is

concerning the sense of a term,* an important enacting term of divine law; and as the partiality and pride, so justly condemned by Werenfelsius, are too common to all theological writers; to avoid the appearance of predilection for a particular sense of the word in dispute, we will have recourse to the observations and rules of our opposers themselves, respecting the true meaning of inspired writers, and the expounding of laws. The following extracts may perhaps be useful to direct us in the present case, and are therefore submitted to the reader's consideration.

First, then, Buddeus. "It is necessary, doubtless, that he who desires to be understood when he writes or speaks, should intend to convey only *one* meaning; which, if we obtain, we have the true and genuine sense."†—Chamier: "There is but one genuine sense of a text."‡—Dr. Owen: "If it [the scripture] have not every where one proper determinate sense, it hath none at all."§—Schelhornius: "The true sense of scripture, is not every sense the words will bear."||—Werenfelsius: "The true meaning of scripture, is not every sense the words will bear, and perhaps may excite in the reader's mind; nor yet every sense that is true in itself, but that which was really intended by the holy writer."¶—Anonymous: "Laws being directed to the unlearned, as well as the learned, ought to be construed in their *most obvious* meaning, and not explained away by subtle distinctions; and no law is to suffer a figurative interpretation, where the proper sense of the words is as commodious, and equally fitted to the subject of the statute."**—Dr. Sherlock: "When the words of the law are capable of different senses, and reason is for one sense, and the other sense against reason, there it is fit that a plain and necessary reason should expound the law. But when the law is not capable of such different senses, or there is no such reason as makes one sense absurd and the other necessary, the law must be expounded according to the *most plain* and *obvious* signification of the words, though it should condemn that which we think there may be some reason for, or at least no reason against; for otherwise it is an easy matter to expound away all the laws of God."††—Bp. Taylor: "In all things where the precept is given in the proper style of laws, he that takes the *first* sense is the likeliest to be well guided. . . . In the interpretation

of the laws of Christ, the *strict* sense is to be followed."*—Dr. Jonathan Edwards: "In words which are capable of two senses, the natural and proper is the primary; and therefore ought, in the first place and chiefly, to be regarded."†—Dr. Horsley: "It is a principle with me, that the true sense of any phrase in the New Testament, is what may be called its standing sense; that which will be the *first* to occur to common people of every country and in every age."‡—Vitranga: "This is accounted by all a constant and undoubted rule of approved interpretation; that the *ordinary* and *most usual* signification of words must not be deserted, except for sufficient reasons."§—Dr. Waterland: "Since words are designed to convey some meaning, if we take the liberty of playing upon words after the meaning is fixed and certain, there can be no security against equivocation and wile, in any laws, or any engagements whatever. All the ends and uses of speech will hereby be perverted."||—Dr. William Sherlock: "In expounding scripture, we must confine ourselves to the *plain* and *natural* signification of the words. . . . They [the Socinians] take and challenge to themselves a liberty of putting any sense upon the words of scripture which they can possibly bear, or are ever used in. . . . If we believe nothing but what the scripture does plainly and expressly teach, according to the most proper and usual acceptance of the words; if we believe amiss, it is none of our fault, unless just reverence to scripture be a fault. . . . It is impossible to prove, that *that* is not the sense of scripture, which is the *natural* interpretation of the words of any one text, and is not contradicted by any other text. . . . Can they [the Socinians] prove, that the words do not signify what we say they do? Or, that this is not the *most easy* and *obvious* sense of the words, and what every man would take to be the natural signification of them, who did not think himself concerned to try his skill to force some other sense on them? When the words are plain, and the sense plain and obvious, nothing can tempt any man to reject the plain sense of the words, for some obscure, labored, and artificial interpretations, but a dislike of the doctrine which the plain and obvious sense of the words teaches."¶—Dr. Doddridge: "I am more and more convinced, that the vulgar sense of the New Testament, that is, the sense in which an honest man of plain sense would take it,

* Opuscula Theolog. pp. 373, 374.

† Theolog. Dogmat. l. i. c. ii. § 24.

‡ Panstrat. tom. i. l. xiv. c. x. § 18.

§ On Heb. iii. 15, vol. ii. p. 155.

|| Bib. Bremens. class. vi. p. 468.

¶ Opuscula. p. 372.

** Encyclopæd. Britan. vol. vi. article Law, p. 41.

†† Preserv. against Pop. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 11.

* Duct. Dub. b. i. chap. i. p. 26; b. ii. chap. iii. p. 328.

† Preserv. against Socinianism, part iii. p. 52.

‡ Reply to Dr. Priestley, lett. iv. p. 23.

§ De Synag. Vet. l. i. pars l. c. iii. p. 110.

|| Supplem. to Case of Arian Subscrip. p. 9, 10.

¶ Scripture Proofs of our Saviour's Div. pp. 64, 65, 130, 131, 132.

on his *first* reading the original, or any good translation, is almost every where the true general sense of any passage. . . . I chose to follow the plainest and most obvious and common interpretation; which, indeed, I generally think the best. . . . As it is certain that *αρχη* has not always that signification, [for which some contend] I judge it safe to give what is more commonly the sense of it.* Once more: Mr. Alsop says, "No cogent reason can be assigned, why we should depart from the plain, ordinary, primary acceptance of the word *Christ*, for a figurative, improper and secondary acceptance."†—Were I to produce all the passages of this kind, from learned Pædobaptists, with which observation has furnished me, I should fill several more pages:‡ but I forbear, considering these as quite sufficient.

The leading idea of the foregoing paragraph is not a merely speculative principle; it is considered and treated, by great numbers of learned Pædobaptists, as of the highest importance. In all controversies, where an appeal is made to divine revelation, every one is ready to avail himself, as much as possible, of the primary, obvious, and most common sense of inspired language, both as to single terms and complete propositions. A sensible disputant is never willing to waive this advantage; nor, so far as I have observed, will he deliberately violate this principle, except when maintaining such hypotheses as he knows would be injured, if not subverted by it. Of the latter, Socinians are extremely culpable; and, indeed, we need not wonder at it: for the very life of their cause consists in explaining some of the most capital terms of scripture, in an improper and a secondary, a far-fetched and arbitrary sense. They make exceptions to the clearest evidence of scripture testimony; insisting, that this or the other emphatical term, on which the argument very much depends, *may* be understood in a sense extremely different from its natural and obvious meaning; and then, without any reason, besides the support of their own hypothesis, they argue and infer any thing that suits their purpose. Thus deserting at every turn the radical and common acceptance of the most important scriptural expressions, they are never at a loss for an evasion. Against this conduct their numerous opponents have made very loud complaints; of which I will produce a few

examples. "Their whole design and endeavor," says Dr. Owen, "is to put in exceptions against the *obvious* sense and interpretation of the words; not fixing on any determinate exposition of [the passage in question] themselves, such as they will abide by, in opposition unto any other sense of the place. Now this is a most *sophistical* way of arguing upon testimonies, and suited to make controversies endless.

Whose wit is so barren, as not to be able to raise one exception or other, against the plainest and most evident testimony? So the Socinians deal with us, in all the testimonies we produce to prove the deity and satisfaction of Christ. They suppose it enough to evade their force, if they can but pretend that the words are capable of *another* sense; although they will not abide by it, that *this* or *that* is their sense: for if they would do so, when that is overthrown, the truth would be established. But every testimony of the scripture hath *one determinate* sense. When this is contended about, it is equal those at difference do express their apprehensions of the mind of the Holy Spirit, in the word which they will abide by. When this is done, let it be examined and tried, whether of the two senses pretended unto, doth best comply with the signification and use of the words, the context or scope of the place, other scripture testimonies, and the analogy of faith. . . . The words *may* have another sense; therefore [say the Socinians] nothing from them can be concluded; whereby they have left nothing stable, or unshaken in Christian religion. . . . How will they prove that [*εγενετο*] *may* be rendered by *fiat, was*? They tell you, it is so in two other places in the New Testament. But doth that prove that it *may* so much as be so rendered here? The proper sense and common usage of it is, *was made*; and because it is once or twice used in a peculiar sense, *may* it be so rendered here (John i. 14,) where nothing requires that it be turned aside from its most usual acceptance? . . . The various signification of a word, used *absolutely* in any other place, is sufficient for these men to confute its *necessary* signification in any context.*—Dr. John Edwards: "Certainly, never men made such ill use of grammar and criticism as these [Socinians] do; for they make use of them only to deprave the true sense of the holy writ. To avoid and put by the force of some plain and express places, how do they stickle, how do they tug! To lexicons, dictionaries, and glossaries they resort, and inquire into and pick up all possible senses of the words and

* Fam. Exp. Note on Matt. xviii 17; 2 Cor. viii. 1; Rev. iii. 14.

† Antisozzo, p. 35.

‡ See, among others, Dr. Owen, On the Nature of a Gosp. Church, p. 142 Ikenii Dissertat. Philolog. Theolog. pp. 69, 361. Jos. Placcii Opera, tom. ii. pp. 91, 255, 777, 875. Francof. 1703. Luther, De Servo Arbitrio, pp. 115, 134. Argent. 1707.

* Nature of Gospel Church, p. 144. Mystery of the Gospel vindicated, pp. 160, 228; see also pp. 218, 275, 303. Exposit. of Heb. vol. iii. p. 465.

phrases which they meet with in scripture, but what are most agreeable to the matter and scope of the places they are concerned in. If a word have any other meaning in any author whatsoever, they make this a sufficient warrant to depart from the true and genuine sense of the place.*—Volkelius having asserted that, by the term *Godhead* (Col. ii. 8,) "neither the nature of God, nor of Christ, but the knowledge of the divine will, and the manner of worshipping God, *may* be, and therefore *must* be understood;" Mr. Alsop replies, "The reader is now satisfied why it *must* be so. It *may* be so, and therefore necessarily it *must* be so;" and, in a similar case he says: "From *may* be in the premises, to *must* be in the conclusion, is a high leap."†—Once more: Dr. Horsley says, "It is the particular happiness of the Unitarian writers, that they are never found at a loss for an expedient."‡

Farther: When Protestant Pædobaptists are disputing with Roman Catholics about the meaning of that capital term *justification*, they constantly maintain the necessity of abiding by its primary, obvious, and most common acceptation, which is forensic; in opposition to any real or pretended secondary sense, for which the Papists earnestly plead. Of this I will give the following instances. Turretinus: "Properly the verb *justify*, is forensic; and signifies, to *absolve* any one in judgment, or to *account* and *declare just*. . . . The Roman Catholics do not deny, that the word *justification*, and the verb *justify*, are frequently used in a forensic sense; yet they will not allow this to be the constant sense of the terms, but maintain that they often signify the real production, acquisition, and increase of righteousness; and that this acceptation of the words takes place in a particular manner, with reference to the justification of man before God. . . . But though the word *justification*, in some passages of scripture, depart from its proper signification, and take a sense that is not forensic; it does not follow that we do ill by taking it in a judicial sense, because its *proper sense* is to be regarded in those places which are the seat of the doctrine."§—Buddeus: "It may be demonstrated, that the forensic sense of the word *justification*, is the constant and perpetual signification of it in holy scripture. Yet were it very clearly shown, that in one or two places the word is used in a different sense, our cause would not be injured; for it would still be a fact, that the forensic sense is *more usual*, and chiefly

perspicuous in the sacred writings."*—Dr. Owen, when endeavoring to vindicate the forensic sense of the word *justify*, against the exceptions of a learned man, makes the following preliminary observation: "I shall premise that which I judge not an unreasonable demand; namely, that if the signification of the word in any, or all the places which he mentions, should seem doubtful unto any, (as it doth not unto me,) that the uncertainty of a very few places should not make us question the proper signification of a word, whose sense is determined in so many, wherein it is clear and unquestionable."†

Once more: Our learned Pædobaptist brethren apply the same principle to the interpretation of Greek particles. Thus Dr. Doddridge: "It seems desirable, where it can be done, to interpret the *particles* in their *most usual* sense."‡—Mr. James Hervey, when disputing the signification of a Greek particle with Mr. J. Wesley, says: "I am ready to grant, that places may be found where the preposition *en* must be understood according to your sense. But then every one knows that this is not the native, obvious, literal meaning; rather a meaning swayed, influenced, moulded by the preceding or following word. . . . He will not allow the Greek preposition *en* to signify *in*; though I can prove it to have been in peaceful possession of this signification for more than two thousand years."§

Reflect. IV. If we examine the present prevailing practice of pouring, or sprinkling, upon those principles, rules, and reasonings, which the most eminent Pædobaptists have laid before us in the preceding quotations; or if we pay any regard to the decision of those who have no interest in this dispute, and may therefore be justly considered as quite impartial; we must conclude, that neither sprinkling, nor pouring, is warranted by the word *baptism*. For our learned opponents themselves assure us, without so much as one exception occurring to observation in the course of my reading, that the primary meaning of the term in dispute, is *immersion*; and many distinguished characters among them unite in directing us, to interpret words and laws agreeably to the primary, obvious, and most usual sense of the terms. Now Pædobaptism, as practised in these northern parts of Europe, is not agreeable to the native, obvious, and common acceptation of the word *baptism*. It adopts a supposed secondary, remote, and obscure sense

* Theolog. Dogmat. l. iv. c. iv. § 11, p. 953.

† Doct. of Justif. chap. iv. Vid. Gomari Opera, pars ii. p. 92. Waltei Enchirid. Relig. pp. 337, 338. Mastricht. Theolog. l. vi. c. vi. § 19. Witsii Œcon. Fæd. l. iiii. c. viii. § 5—14.

‡ Note, on Mark ix. 49.

§ Letters to Mr. J. Wesley, lett. ii. p. 26; lett. x. p. 232.

* Discourse concerning Truth and Error, p. 301.

† Antisozzo, pp. 37, 44.

‡ Reply to Dr. Priestley, lett. v. p. 30.

§ Institut. loc. xvi. quæst. l. § 4, 5, 9.

of the term. It represents our divine Legislator as having more meanings than one, under the same enacting term, of the same law, and at the same time; for so far as I have observed, none deny that *immersion* is warranted by that commanding word. It confronts an established principle upon which, among other things, the great doctrine of justification is defended against the Papists; a principle on which every confutation of Socinian error must proceed. And it opposes the grand rule of all interpretation, *that the ordinary and most usual signification of words must not be deserted except for cogent reasons*; which rule is no other than the language of reason, of observation, and common sense. Pædobaptism, however, has nothing to plead for departing from this rule but—*its own existence*.

Reflect. V. Dr. Addington has justly observed, that “if there are two translations of a word, one of which is certainly true, and the other may be false, it is easy to say which the wise and candid would prefer.”* Now, on the authorities here produced—authorities of commentators, of critics, and of lexicographers the most respectable—we may venture to assert, that the word baptism *certainly* signifies immersion, whatever meaning it may have besides; consequently, both candor and prudence require us to embrace that acceptance in preference to any other. But supposing, without granting, that the word under consideration is occasionally used by inspired writers, by the Septuagint translators, or by Greek classics, to signify *washing*, where there is no immersion, or even to denote *sprinkling*; yet while it is allowed by so many of the first characters for sacred criticism, that its primary and obvious meaning is immersion; there is no reason to depart from it in the administration of a divine ordinance; except it can be proved, that the design of the institution will not comport with it, or that the practice of the apostles was a departure from it; concerning both which, we shall hear the verdict of learned men in subsequent chapters. Nay, if the numerous authors produced be not under a gross mistake, in fixing the natural and primary meaning of the term *baptism*; though many incontestable instances could be brought, that βαπτίζω, in certain connections, signifies to *wash*, without including the idea of dipping; and that on some occasions it also signifies to *pour*, and to *sprinkle*; yet immersion would still be the grand ruling idea. Surely, then, we ought not hastily, or for trivial reasons, to desert the original, the natural and proper sense

of a term which was chosen by the unerring Spirit, when a new branch of holy worship was appointed; especially seeing that very term was intended to direct the church in all future ages, *how* the worship should be performed.

It should be well observed, that when our Lord after his resurrection says, *Go—baptize*; he does not mention baptism by way of allusion, or incidentally. No, he speaks the language of *legislation*: he delivers DIVINE LAW. He mentions and appoints baptism as an ordinance of God, and as a branch of human duty. Where then must we expect precision in the use of terms, if not on such an occasion? Can it be supposed, without impeaching the wisdom or the goodness of Christ, that he enacted a law relating to his own worship, the *principal* term in which is obscure and ambiguous? Can it be imagined that he *intended* an ambiguity so great in the term baptism, which prescribes the duty to be performed, as equally to warrant the use of immersion, of pouring, or of sprinkling, which are three different actions? We may safely challenge our opposers to produce an instance of this kind out of the Mosaic ritual. Does Jehovah, when giving his positive laws, make use of a term that properly signifies *dipping*? He means as he speaks, and requires immersion, in contradistinction to pouring and sprinkling. Does he, on the other hand, employ a word which, properly understood, signifies *pouring*? Or does he choose an expression, the radical idea of which is no other than *sprinkling*? He still means as he speaks, and enjoins what he mentions, in distinction from every other action.

That dipping, pouring, and sprinkling, denote three different actions, in the language of divine law, as well as in the estimate of common sense, we have many examples in the writings of Moses. The following are selected for the reader's notice. “And the priest shall dip, βαψει, (Septuag.) his finger in the blood, and SPRINKLE, προσρανει, of the blood seven times before the Lord, before the veil of the sanctuary. And the priest shall—POUR, εκχει, all the blood of the bullock at the bottom of the altar.”* “Moses took the anointing oil, and he SPRINKLED, ερβανεν, thereof upon the altar seven times; and he POURED, επεχε, of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head.” “Moses SPRINKLED, προσεχε, the blood upon the altar round about—and he WASHED, επλυνεν, the inwards and the legs in water.† He DIPPED, εβαψε, his finger in the blood—and poured out, εκεχε, the blood at the bottom of the altar,

* Christian Minister's Reas. p. 34.

† Levit. iv. 6, 7; see. v. 17, 18.
† Chap. viii. 11, 12, 19, 21.

And Aaron's sons presented unto him the blood, which he SPRINKLED, *προσέχευεν*, round about upon the altar—And he did WASH, *ἐπλυνε*, the inwards.* “As for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall DIP them, *βαψει αὐτα*, and the living bird, in the blood of the bird that was killed—And he shall SPRINKLE, *περίρρηνει*, upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times—And he that is to be cleansed shall WASH, *πλυνει*, his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and WASH HIMSELF, *λουσεται*, in water, that he may be clean.† And whosoever toucheth his bed shall WASH, *πλυνει*, his clothes, and BATHE HIMSELF, *λουσεται*, in water.” See the following verse.‡ So in the New Testament, washing the feet is distinguished from bathing the whole body, washing a part of the body from being baptized, and baptism from washing; as appears by the following instances. “He that is WASHED (or has been bathing, *ὁ λελουμένος*,) needeth not, save to WASH HIS FEET, *ποδας νιφασθαι*.” “He took them the same hour of the night and WASHED, *ἐλουσεν*, their stripes; and was BAPTIZED, *εβαπτισθη*, he and all his straight-way.” “Arise and be BAPTIZED, *βαπτισαι*, and WASH AWAY, *ἀπολουναι*, thy sins.”§ By which it appears, that as *tasting*, in the language of scripture, is distinguished from *drinking*;|| so are *washing* the feet, from *bathing* the whole body, and *washing a part* of the body, from being *baptized*. So that ancient patron of Pædobaptism, Cyprian, expressly distinguishes between *washing* and *sprinkling*, when professedly pleading for the latter, in what he thought a case of necessity. In his letter to Magnus he intimates that some doubted, whether those who received the clinical baptism, “were to be accounted legitimate Christians; eo quod aqua salutari non loti sint, sed perfusi, because they were not *washed*, but *sprinkled*, with the salutary water.”¶ Whence it appears, that in Cyprian's time sprinkling was quite a novel practice; that it was used only in favor of those who were confined by illness; and that baptismal *washing*, in the language of Cyprian, is no other than plunging. Mr. Cleveland also has very lately distinguished between dipping, sprinkling, and washing, in the following manner: “We *dip* our hand in water, though not all over, to baptize a person by *sprinkling*, or to *wash* our face.”** With what reason or shadow of propriety, then, can any one pretend that

the term baptism, is equally expressive of these different actions?

Were the leading term in any human law to have an ambiguity in it equal to that for which our brethren plead, with regard to the word *baptism*; such law would certainly be considered as betraying either the weakness or wickedness of the legislator; and be condemned as opening a door to perpetual chicane and painful uncertainty. Far be it, then, from us to suppose, that our gracious and omniscient Lord should give a law relating to divine worship, and obligatory on the most illiterate of his real disciples, which may be fairly construed to mean, *this*, *that*, or the *other* action—a law, which is calculated to excite and perpetuate contention among his wisest and sincerest followers—a law, in respect of its triple meaning, that would disgrace a British parliament, as being involved in the dark ambiguity of a pagan oracle. It must, therefore, be at our peril, if we indulge a wanton fancy in the interpretation of that law which is now before us. For, as Mr. Charnock observes, “It is a part of God's sovereignty to be the interpreter, as well as the maker, of his own laws; as it is a right inherent in the legislative power among men. So that it is an invasion of his right to fasten a sense upon his declared will, which doth not *naturally flow* from the words. For to put any interpretation, according to our pleasure, upon divine as well as human laws, contrary to their true intent, is a virtual usurpation of this power; because if laws may be interpreted according to our humors, the power of the law would be more in the interpreter than in the legislator.”*

Were the same licence of interpretation used in construing the law of the sacred supper, as numbers practise on the term baptism; we should probably soon behold an obsolete and superstitious custom revived: the custom, I mean, of employing a reed, a glass tube, or something similar, by which to *suck* the wine out of the cup.† When our Lord instituted the holy supper, his order concerning the wine was; *Πιετε ἐξ αὐτου παντες*, “*DRINK ye all of it*,” (Matt. xxvi. 27.) Now none will dispute, that *πιετε* is from *πινω*; or that the natural and proper signification of it is *to drink*; in the full and most proper sense, to *DRINK*. Nay, it will be allowed, I suppose, that if *πινω* does not signify that precise idea, there is never a word in the Greek Testament that can express it. Yet the learned lexicographer Schwarzius tells us, that it signifies not only *to drink*; but also to *suck*, to *imbibe*, to *admit*, to *receive*, for which he refers to Heb. iv. 7.

* Of Man's Enmity to God, p. 93.

† Hæspianiani Hist. Sac. l. iv. c. ii. p. 248. Venem. Hist. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 193

* Chap. ix. 9, 12, 14.

† Levit. chap. xiv. 6, 7, 8.

‡ Chap. xv. 5, 6; see also, Numb. xix. 4, 7, 18, 19;

Deut. xxi. 6, 7.

§ Job xlii. 10. See Dr. Doddridge in loc.; Acts xvi.

33, and xxii. 16.

¶ Matt. xxvii. 34.

** Epist. lxxvi.

Infant Baptism from Heaven, p. 63. Salem, 1731.

Our brethren ought not to forget, that the principal terms of a law, and especially of a law relating to divine worship, should be understood in their natural, obvious, primary sense; from which it is dangerous to depart, except some glaring absurdity would follow. This remark is perfectly agreeable to the doctrine of Sir William Blackstone, who lays it down as a rule of legal interpretation; "that the words of a law are generally to be understood in their *usual* and *most known* signification; not so much regarding the propriety of grammar, as their general and popular use:" but, "where words bear either none, or a very absurd signification, if literally understood, we must a little deviate from the received sense of them."* This we may venture to say, is a rule of good sense, as well as of legal knowledge; and should be constantly regarded in our interpretation of laws, whether divine or human. Whereas, if we wantonly depart from it, almost any hypothesis may be supported; for by taking such a liberty, there is no word in any language that might not have the whole of its natural and primary sense expounded away.

Reflect. VI. While our brethren maintain that the term baptism, when relating to the institution so called, means any thing short of immersion; it behoves them to inform us, which of our English words is competent to express its adequate idea. I have observed, indeed, that they seldom fix upon any particular term and abide by it, as answering to the word baptism; but rather choose to use, *washing*, *pouring*, or *sprinkling*, just as their cause requires. Now, as those three expressions, in their native signification, denote three different actions, it looks as if they were fearful of being embarrassed, were they to select one of them and uniformly to employ it, in preference to the other two. As they do not pretend our divine Lawgiver meant, that washing, pouring, and sprinkling, should all be performed on the same person to constitute baptism; so, while they believe that any action short of immersion is warranted by his command, they ought as fair disputants, to tell us what that action is, and by what name we should call it. (See the quotations from Dr. Owen, Reflect. iii. p. 68, 69.) At present however, we can only ask, Is it *washing*? If so we may consider that word as a proper translation of it,† and a complete substitute for it, wherever the ordinance before us is

mentioned by the sacred writers.* Let us make the experiment on a few passages. We will take, for instance, the words of Ananias to Saul, (Acts xxii. 16;) which must be read thus: "Arise and be *WASHED*, and wash away thy sins:" and those of Paul, (Rom. vi. 3, and Gal. iii. 27,) "Know ye not, that so many of us as were *WASHED* into Jesus Christ, were *WASHED* into his death? As many of us as have been *WASHED* into Christ, have put on Christ." Is it *pouring*? Then we must read (Mark i. 9, and Acts ii. 38, 41,) thus; "Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was *POURED* of John in (*us*, into) Jordan." "Repent and be *POURED* every one of you." "Then they that gladly received his word, were *POURED*." Is it *sprinkling*? Then we must read (John iii. 23; Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12,) thus: "John also was *SPRINKLED* in Enon near to Salim, BECAUSE THERE WAS MUCH WATER there: and they came and were *SPRINKLED*." "Therefore we are *BURIED* with him by *SPRINKLING* into death." "BURIED with him by *SPRINKLING*." These few examples may suffice to show, what an awkward appearance the noble sense and masculine diction of inspiration wear, when expressed according to this hypothesis. Whereas, if instead of *washing*, *pouring*, or *sprinkling*, you employ the word *immersion*, the preceding passages will make a very different figure, and read thus: "Arise and be *IMMERSED*, and wash away thy sins." "Know ye not, that so many of us as were *IMMERSED* into Jesus Christ, were *IMMERSED* into his death?" "As many of us as have been *IMMERSED* into Christ, have put on Christ." "Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was *IMMERSED* of John, in (or into) Jordan." "Repent and be *IMMERSED* every one of you." "Then they that gladly received his word were *IMMERSED*." "John also was *IMMERSED* in Enon near to Salim, because there was much WATER there: and they came and were *IMMERSED*." "Therefore we are buried with him by *IMMERSION* into death." "Buried with him by *IMMERSION*." Here we have, if I mistake not, both dignity of sentiment, and propriety of language. Hence it appears, that the word βαπτίζω is connected with such particles (*ev* and *eis*) as forbid our concluding that either *wash*, *pour*, or *sprinkle*, is a proper substitute for it. The form of expression adopted by evangelists and apostles, is always, if I mistake not, baptizing *in* or *into* something. Thus, for example, *ev* or *eis*, *in* or *into* Jordan;† *ev*, *in* water, *in*

* Commentaries, vol. i. Introduct. sect. ii.

† Baptism is the Greek word, with an English termination; concerning which Mr. Lewis says, "Our last translators were directed by the king to retain the old ecclesiastical words," of which baptism was one. Hist. of Eng. Translations, p. 317, 326, edit. 2nd.

* It is an old rule, Definitiones debent cum definito reciprocari: that is, A definition and the thing defined should be convertible.

† Matt. iii. 6; Mark i. 9.

the Holy Spirit;* *as, into the name,† into Moses,‡ into Christ,§ into his death.||* *Es,* in the case of baptism, cannot be rendered *to or towards*; because it would be absurd to say, that John baptized *to or towards* Jordan; nor in regard to this affair can *es* be translated *with or by*; because it would be awkward to say, John baptized *with or by* Jordan; besides, *as*, which is used of the same administration, cannot be so rendered. Baptism, therefore, being always expressed as performed *in, or into* something, must be immersion, and not pouring or sprinkling; for *persons* cannot be sprinkled or poured into water, though they may be plunged into it.

Let us now apply the same terms to the different *metaphorical* baptisms of which we read in the New Testament. There we have, the baptism of *sufferings*, of the *Spirit* and of *fire*, of the *cloud* and the *sea*. According to our brethren, the passages to which I refer must be read, either thus: "I have a WASHING to be WASHED WITH, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." "He shall WASH you with (rather in, *es*,) the Holy Spirit and in fire." "And were all WASHED unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea."¶ Or thus: "I have a POURING to be POURED with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?" "He shall POUR you in the Holy Spirit and in fire." "And were all POURED unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea." Or thus: "I have a SPRINKLING to be SPRINKLED with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?" "He shall SPRINKLE you in the Holy Spirit and in fire." "And were all SPRINKLED unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea." According to us, the manner of reading these passages will be this: "I have an IMMERSION to be IMMERSED with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?" "He shall IMMERSE you in the Holy Spirit and in fire." "And were all IMMERSED unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea." In regard to Luke xii. 50, if you render the word baptism by the term washing, you not only sink the vigorous idea, but convey a sentiment foreign to the text. For the term *washing* plainly suggests the notion of cleansing; whereas it is manifest that our Lord here speaks of *himself* personally—of himself, not as to be *cleansed* from sin, but *punished* for it; or, as the apostle asserts, MADE A CURSE FOR US. To adopt the word *pouring*, would exceedingly dilute and impoverish the marvellous meaning, if not to render the passage abso-

lutely unintelligible; and, from using the term *sprinkling*, common sense turns abhorrent; as it would render the emphatical and admirable text quite ridiculous. For who can seriously imagine that our Lord intended to represent his most bitter sufferings by the act of sprinkling a few drops of water on a person? No; he designed to express his being "baptized, or plunged, into death," as Bugenhagius interprets the passage.* So that, though the term baptism is here used by way of allusion; and, though I am far from thinking that the allusive sense of a word should be the rule of interpreting the same expression in a positive divine law; yet, as all pertinent metaphors have a literal and proper sense for their foundation, we may conclude, that if it be possible for any word, when used metaphorically, to express the idea of *immersion, plunging, overwhelming*, we have it here in the term baptism. The same observations will apply to a similar text, (Matt. xx. 22,) "Are you able to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" which Dr. Doddridge thus paraphrases; "Are ye able to be baptized with the baptism, and *plunged* into that sea of sufferings with which I am shortly to be baptized, and, as it were, *overwhelmed* for a time?" In respect of the two other passages, whether our sense of the word in question, or that of Pædobaptists, be more emphatical, and the language more agreeable, my reader will determine.

Farther: If it be lawful to administer the ordinance before us by pouring or sprinkling, equally as by immersion; it must be, because that diversity of administration is warranted, either by command of our divine Lawgiver, or by the practice of his apostles. But if so, is it not very surprising that the sacred penmen of the New Testament, when recording precepts and facts for our direction in this affair, have never used a term, the *natural* and *primary* meaning of which is pouring or sprinkling? This is the more surprising, as, in other cases, apparently of much less consequence to the purity of divine worship, they frequently employ such words as are adapted to express those ideas without any ambiguity. If *pouring*, for instance, be a legitimate way of performing the rite, what can be the reason that βαλλω, εκχεω, επιχεω, εκχυνω, καταχεω, προσχεω, or προσχυσις, (all which are found in the apostolic writings,) are never used in the New Testament, concerning the administration of baptism? Or, if *sprinkling* be a proper mode of proceeding, how comes it that παντιζω, παντισμος, or some other term of the same significa-

* Matt. iii. 11.

† Matt. xxviii. 19.

‡ 1. Cor. x. 2.

§ Gal. iii. 27.

¶ Rom. vi. 3. See Mr. M'Lean's Nature and Import of Baptism, p. 6.

¶ Luke xii. 50; Matt. iii. 11; 1 Cor. x. 2.

* In Biblioth. Bremens. claus. ii. p. 665.

tion, does not appear in any command or precedent, relating to the subject of this controversy? Why should those Greek words I have just mentioned, and all others of a similar meaning, (whether used by Pagan classics, or the Septuagint translators) be excluded from precepts and examples of the institution before us; while βαπτίζω, βαπτισμα, and βαπτισμος, are appropriated to that service, if pouring or sprinkling had been at all intended by our Lord, or ever practised by his apostles? See No. 49. It must not be supposed, as Jos. Placæus has justly observed in another case, that this was done by inspired writers without design:* and on our principles the reason is plain. The great Legislator intended that his followers should be IMMERSED, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit:" in pursuance therefore of this design, such words are used concerning the ordinance, as *naturally* and *properly* convey that idea. We have, I think, as much reason to conclude that βαπτίζω and βαπτισμα are terms of opposite significations, as that βαπτιστηριον and περιβαπτιστηριον denote things intended for opposite uses. The former of these names it is well known, was applied by ancient Christians to the baptismal font; because candidates for communion were *immersed* in it: the latter, it is equally clear, was appropriated by Pagan Greeks to the vessel which contained their holy water; because thence the idolatrous priest *sprinkled* the consecrated element upon each worshipper.† What then would the learned say, were any one pretending to an acquaintance with Christian and Greek antiquities, designedly to confound the two latter expressions, as if they were convertible terms? Be the just censure what it might, I cannot help thinking it is due to those who confound the two former, by laboring to prove them equivalent, in regard to the ordinance before us. Though our brethren maintain the lawfulness of *pouring* and *sprinkling*, they cannot produce one instance from the divine rubric of this institution, of any word being used which primarily and plainly expresses either of those actions. It is very remarkable, that while few or none of our learned opponents dare deny, that the term baptism conveys the idea of immersion; and while none of them, so far as I have observed, venture to assert, that it never means any thing besides pouring or sprinkling; yet, in their *practice*, pouring, or sprinkling, is constantly used. Thus what is allowed by learned men in general to be the *radical* idea of a capital

term in divine law, is entirely kept out of sight; while a presumed *secondary* sense, is the only thing that appears in their mode of proceeding.

Dr. Addington, indeed, says: "We have not met with *one* text, in the whole Bible, that requires the immersion of the whole body."* Just so, I remember, Socinus declared, that he could not find one text which requires either immersion or sprinkling. The people called Quakers adopt similar language. Nor could the whole Council of Trent meet with so much as one text that enjoins those whom they call the laity, to partake of wine at the Lord's table.† "So hard a thing is it," says Mr. Reeves, "to find any text plain enough for some men!"‡ But though Dr. Addington has not met with one text, which he considers as requiring immersion, many of those learned authors with whose language the reader has been entertained, seem to be of a different opinion: and if the native signification of the term baptism, be immersion, the action so called must be *required*, wherever divine law enjoins the administration of baptism. This must be the case except it can be proved, that the leading terms of a law should be understood in a real, or supposed, secondary sense. Has, then, Dr. Addington met with any text which requires *pouring*, or *sprinkling*, in opposition to immersion? Has he found any passage of sacred writ, that *enjoins* pouring or sprinkling water on the *face*, in contradistinction to plunging the whole body? He will not, I think, dare to assert either the one or the other. But if immersion be not *required*, in contradistinction to pouring and sprinkling; and if pouring or sprinkling be not *required*, in opposition to immersion; we should consider it as a favor, if this opponent would inform us what *is* required. For the question relates to the *mind* of CHRIST: it regards the meaning of a *divine* LAW: nor can we forbear thinking, that *something* is required, *really* and in *earnest* required, which is called *baptism*; or else our Protestant principles would exclaim against us, for performing any thing under that name as a branch of holy worship. While, therefore, any of our opposers deny that *immersion* is required, they are obliged to prove, either, that their own mode of proceeding has the sanction of a *divine requisition*, exclusively of ours; or, that the most High has, for once, consulted the honor of the human will, by leaving the manner of performing a positive rite of religion entirely at the option of his worshippers. The former will

* Opera, tom. ii. p. 267.

† Suiceri Thesaurus Eccles. tom. i. p. 659. Dr. Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 195.

VOL. I.—Tt.

* Christian Minister's Reasons, p. 176.

† Sess. xxi. cap. i.

‡ Apologies, vol. i. Preface, p. 84, edit. 1709.

be an arduous task; the latter is pregnant with impious absurdity.

Reflect. VII. While the Pædobaptists maintain that our great Lawgiver intended any thing less than *dipping* the subject of the ordinance, whether it be washing, pouring, or sprinkling; it is necessary for them to consider, whether his design was, that water should be applied, in any of these ways, to the *whole body*, or to some *particular part*. If the former, why do they not comply with his requisition? Why make such a partial application of the element? If the latter, what part must it be? Some pour water on the *back part* of the head, and call it baptism.* Others have *washed the face*, pronounced the prescribed form of words, and thought the institution was rightly administered.† What, if others were to wash the *hands* of a candidate, call it baptism, and plead, that washing the hands was a religious rite appointed by Jehovah?‡ Nay, what if some should wash the *feet*, pronounce it baptism, and appeal to John xiii. 10, in justification of their conduct?§ I leave the reader to consider, whether a minister has not as good a warrant from the New Testament thus to proceed, as to pour water upon, or to sprinkle *the face*; and then to conclude, that the party is duly baptized. It has been the opinion of some, that a child is baptized, on whatever part of his body the water may fall:|| and we may justly demand, By what law of Christ, or by what example of the apostles, is any one authorized to apply water to the face, or the head; rather than to the hands, the feet, or any other part of the body? It should never be forgotten, that the institution about which we treat, is of a positive kind; and that we are not at liberty to perform it as we please, but are bound to observe the law of administration enacted by our divine Sovereign. See chap. i.

In opposition to this partial application of water, it may be farther observed, that when Jehovah appointed circumcision, he expressly mentioned the part on which it should be performed. When also he commanded a topical application of the sacrificial blood and the anointing oil, he did

not fail to describe the parts intended:* and such was the obligation of his directions in reference to these affairs, that if Abraham had circumcised a *finger*, instead of the *foreskin*; or had the blood and the oil been applied to any other parts of the body, than those that were specified; guilt would have been contracted, and the anger of the Lord incurred. So, on the other hand, when God enjoined the priests or the people to *bathe*, had they only sprinkled the *face*, poured water on the *hands*, or washed the *feet*, they would have been equally culpable. Now, baptism being a positive institution, as well as those ancient rites, what reason can be assigned, if water should be applied only to a particular part of the body, why that part was not mentioned, either in the institution of the ordinance, or in some apostolic example of its administration? yet I do not remember to have observed, that any of our opponents pretend that it is.

Reflect. VIII. That extraordinary communication of spiritual gifts and of divine influence, which the disciples of Christ received at the feast of Pentecost, being called the *baptism* of the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit being represented as *poured out*, and *falling upon*, those first ministers in the Messiah's kingdom; our brethren have often pleaded these facts in opposition to us, and in favor of their own practice. In answer to which, I would propose the following things to consideration.

The word *baptism* is here manifestly used in an improper and allusive sense; for there is no more literal propriety in speaking of the Holy Spirit being *poured*, or *sprinkled*, upon those first disciples of our ascended Lord, than in representing them as *immersed* in the Holy Spirit. Must we, then, expound the principal term of a divine law, which is to be literally understood, by a merely allusive expression? so expound it, as to depart from its native, primary, and obvious meaning? It has been common for learned men to examine the propriety of metaphorical and allusive terms, upon the foundation of their literal and primary meaning; but never, that I have observed, to consider an allusive application of them, as the standard of their literal sense. Yet this is the case here. For our dispute is about the meaning of the term baptism, in a *proper*, *literal* sense, and as occurring in divine *law*: to determine which, our brethren appeal to an *improper*, and an *allusive* sense of the word as used with reference to a supernatural fact. This, we think, is very extraordinary. For if the command to baptize need any explanation from subsequent facts, it

* Bp. Burnet's Second Letter of his Travels, p. 85.

† Mr. Neale's Hist. Purit. vol. i. p. 343, 344, octav. edit.

‡ Deut. xxi. 6.

§ The pedilavium practised in early times, was actually considered by some, in the beginning of the fourth century, as a proper substitute for baptism; on which account, washing of the feet by the bishop was forbidden by the Council of Eliberis. See Dr. Gill, on John xiii. 15. The church of Milan practised washing of the feet, "because Adam was supplanted by the devil, and the serpent's poison was cast upon his feet; therefore men were washed in that part for greater sanctification, that he might have no power to supplant them any farther." Mr. Bingham's Orig. Ecclesiast. b. xii. chap. iv § 10.

|| Venem. Hist. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 192.

* Lev. xiv. 17.

seems natural for us to have recourse—not to the language of metaphor, nor to any expression that is merely allusive; but to apostolic practice in the administration of baptism; because, by making allusive expressions the rule of interpreting literal commands, any divine law may soon be explained away. For instance: Had the mode of interpretation adopted by our opponents been approved and applied by the ancient Hebrews to the command of circumcision, they might have evaded the painful rite. They would, it is likely, have reasoned thus: “The law of circumcision is plainly symbolical; and the chief moral instruction suggested by it, is the circumcision of the heart. But that is not the mutilating, or the impairing, of *natural power*: it is no other than the superinducing of mental purity, by an alteration of moral qualities. If, then, there be a just correspondence, as doubtless there is, between the rite itself and its principal moral design, the præputium should not be *cut off*, but some way or other *purified*.”

Thus the order of Jehovah might have been evaded under a fair pretext, and the divine rite essentially altered. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that when our brethren, in the case before us, make such appeals to miraculous agency and metaphorical expression, they tacitly confess that the obvious meaning of the word baptism, and primitive practice, afford their cause but little assistance.

Again: As it is not uncommon for us to speak of being *immersed* in debt, in business, or in care; and of being *plunged* in grief, or in ruin; so we are never considered as using these metaphorical expressions with elegance, or with propriety except so far as the analogical sense, in which we employ them, points to their literal and primary meaning. The following rules, among various others, have in this case been given. “It ought to be remembered, that all figurative ways of using words or phrases suppose a natural and literal meaning.”* “The figurative sense must have a *relation* to that which is proper; and the more intimate the relation, the figure is the more happy—The proper sense of the word ought to bear some proportion to the figurative sense, and not soar much above it, nor sink much below it—To draw consequences from a figure of speech, as if the word were to be understood literally, is a gross absurdity.”† Pertinent, on this occasion, is the language of Chrysostom, who speaks of “being BAP-

TIZED, or *immersed* in cares innumerable;” *μυριας βαπτιστένης φροντισιν*: and again, to the same effect, *ὅπο πληθος φροντιδων του νουν βεβαπτισμενον εχουτες*. So Basil the Great, describing a person who stands immovably against the storms of temptation and persecution, calls him *αβαπτιστος ψυχη*, “a soul unbaptized, or not overwhelmed.”* See No. 31, 82. Now here the very term in question is used in a metaphorical way; yet so used, as plainly to retain its obvious and primary meaning. But how disagreeably would it sound, seriously to say of a man that owes but a few pence, He is *immersed* in debt? or, of one whose heart is broken with sorrow, He is *sprinkled* with grief? The most illiterate would be struck with such a glaring impropriety. When, therefore, we consider this metaphorical use of the term baptism, as expressive of that divine energy, and that assemblage of wonderful gifts, which were granted in the primitive times to fit the apostles for their arduous work; the analogical sense of the word *baptism*, will appear much more elegant and much more emphatical on our principles, than on those of our opposers. Dr. Ward has observed, that “we say, *floods* of fire, and *clouds* of smoke, for large quantities;”† so when the scripture speaks of being baptized with, or in the Holy Spirit, the *great abundance* of his gifts and graces must be intended. One of our English authors has used the words, “*dipped* in scandal.”‡ Now thus to represent a person is much more expressive of that opprobrium under which he lies, than if it were said: His character is greatly aspersed; or, infamy is poured upon him; because it immediately leads us to think of his being overwhelmed with reproachful charges. Dr. Owen speaks of “being baptized into the spirit of the gospel.”§ As it is plain that the word *baptized* cannot here mean poured, or sprinkled; (for what sense is there in representing a person as poured, or sprinkled, into any thing?) so it is equally plain, that the author’s words more strongly express the sanctifying power of the gospel on the human heart, than if he had talked of the spirit of the gospel being poured or sprinkled upon a professor of religion. Thus, in the present case, we have a much stronger idea of that sacred influence, and of those heavenly donatives, with which the apostles were indulged at the feast of Pentecost, by retaining the primary meaning of the word in question; than by thinking of some possible, but remote sense of the

* Dr. Reid’s Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man, p. 74.

† Encyclopæd. Britan. under the article *Figure of Speech*. See also Dr. Ward’s System of Oratory, vol. i. p. 356.

* Apud Schelhornium, Biblioth. Brem. class. vii. p. 633. Vid. Suiceri. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. i. p. 623.

† Ut supra, p. 401.

‡ Notes on Mr. Pope’s Dunciad, p. 123, edit. 1729.

§ Discourse on the Holy Spirit, b. iv. chap. i. p. 334.

term. For as the analogical signification of the same word, when used of our Lord's unparalleled sufferings, would be so diluted as to become ridiculous, or unintelligible, were we to consider the allusion as made to the act of pouring, or of sprinkling, a few drops of water upon any person; so, in regard to the baptism of the Holy Spirit, we must either abide by the natural sense of the term, or greatly impoverish the scriptural notion of that wonderful fact. Though all true believers are partakers of a divine influence, yet they are not all baptized in the Holy Spirit. For as those afflictions which are common to the disciples of Christ, are not the baptism of sufferings; so neither are those communications of divine influence, which are common to real saints, the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Farther: Our brethren themselves I think will allow, that a person may be so surrounded with subtle effluvia; that a liquid may be so poured, or it may so distil upon him, that he may be as if immersed in it. A certain writer, when speaking about the different applications of electricity for the cure of diseases, says: "The first is the electrical *bath*; so called, because it surrounds the patient with an atmosphere of the electrical fluid, in which he is *plunged*, and receives positive electricity."* This philosophical document reminds me of the sacred historian's language, where narrating the fact under consideration. Thus he speaks: "And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost."† Now if the language of medical electricity be just, it cannot be absurd, nay, it seems highly rational, to understand this language of inspiration as expressive of that idea for which we contend. Was the Holy Spirit poured out, did the Holy Spirit fall upon the apostles and others at that memorable time? it was in such a manner, and to such a degree, that they were like a patient in the electric bath, as if immersed in it. Did our opposers thus consider the term *pour*, in this connection, we should not object; because the primary and evident meaning of the word *baptism* would be still preserved in their explanation of its allusive sense. But to suppose that the pouring a very small quantity of water, or the falling of a few drops on the face of a per-

son, is a just emblem of that metaphorical baptism, is quite incongruous; as it enervates and almost annihilates that grand idea which the scripture gives of the marvellous fact. See No. 42.

Once more: We have the pleasure to find that various authors, who were not under the influence of Antipædobaptist sentiments, express themselves agreeably to our view of the case. Cyril of Jerusalem, about the middle of the fourth century, speaks thus: "As he, *ὁ ἐκδύων ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι*, who is plunged in water and baptized, is encompassed by the water on every side; so are they that are wholly baptized by the Spirit."*—Casaubon: "Βαπτίζειν, is to immerse; and in this sense the apostles are truly said to be baptized; for the house in which this was done was filled with the Holy Ghost, so that the apostles seemed to be plunged into it, as into a fishpool."†—Grotius: "To be baptized here, is not to be slightly sprinkled, but to have the Holy Spirit abundantly poured upon them."‡—Cor. a Lapide, Menochius, and Tiranus: "A copious effusion of the Holy Spirit is called the baptism of the Holy Spirit."§—Witsius: "A very great communication of the fiery or purifying Spirit, is called baptism, because of its abundance."||—Dr. Doddridge: "He [Christ] shall baptize you with a most plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit."¶—Mr. Leigh: "*Baptized*; that is, drown you all over, dip you into the ocean of his grace; opposite to the sprinkling which was in the law."**—Bp. Hopkins: "Those that are baptized with the Spirit, are as it were plunged into that heavenly flame, whose searching energy devours all their dross, tin, and base alloy."†† See No. 3, 8, 51, 53. To all which I may add, As the baptism of water was administered *ἐν ὕδατι*, *IN water*;‡‡ *in Jordan*;§§ *and in Enon*;||| so the New Testament uniformly represents the recipients of this heavenly baptism, as baptized *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, *IN the Holy Spirit*;¶¶ which unavoidably leads us to the proper and primary sense of the

* In Dr. Gill's Exposit. on Acts i. 5.

† In Dr. Gill's Ancient Mode of Baptizing, pp. 22, 23.

‡ Apud Poli Synopsin, ad Act. i. 5.

§ Ibid.

|| Miscel. Sac. tom. ii. p. 535.

¶ Paraphrase on Matt. iii. 11.

** Annotat. on Matt. iii. 11.

†† Works, p. 519.

‡‡ Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 8; John i. 26, 31, 33. So Montanus; so the Vulgate, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions; and so Le Cene, Siuon, and others in their French versions, together with Wetham's English translation, published at Douay, render Matt. iii. 11. with whom Tindal's trans. Cranmer's Bible, and the Bishops' Bible, as they are usually called, agree. N. B. What is here said respecting the French versions, and our old English translations, depends on the observation of a friend.

§§ Matt. iii. 6; Mark i. 9.

||| John iii. 23.

¶¶ Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 8; Luke iii. 16; John i. 33; Acts i. 5, and xi. 16.

* Monthly Review, vol. lxxii. p. 456.

† Acts ii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

word baptism, rather than to any supposed secondary meaning that can be imagined.

Reflect. IX. In opposition to all these authorities and all this reasoning, Mr. John Horsey is of opinion, that the word baptism is "an equivocal, open, general term;" that nothing is determined by it farther "than this, that water should be applied to the subject *in some form or other*;" that "the mode of use," is "only the ceremonial part of a positive institute; just as, in the supper of our Lord, the time of day, the number and posture of communicants, the quality and quantity of bread and wine are circumstances not accounted essential by any party of Christians;" that "sprinkling, pouring, and plunging, are perfectly equivalent, equally valid; and, that if our Lord had designed to confine his followers to a particular mode, exclusive of all others," he would hardly have used "an open general term, (βαπτίζω)" but "a word decided and limited in its import." He adds, "the Greek language would have furnished him with terms indisputably precise and exact. Of this kind have been reckoned, and I think properly, *καταβυθίζω, καταποντίζω, καταδύω* or *καταδύω*, not to say *δύπτω* and *βυθίζω*."*

—Mr. Edward Williams, when advertising to the same subject, says: "As the most eminent critics, commentators, and lexicographers are divided in their verdict, respecting the acceptation of the term *baptizo*, and consequently the intention of our Saviour's command *to baptize*; and as the *practice* of the disciples, whence we should gather in what sense they understood it, is attended with considerable difficulty, when reduced to any one invariable method—we should vary it according to circumstances, and in proportion as demonstrable evidence is wanting, refer the mode to the private judgment of the person or persons concerned."† Such are the views and such is the language of Messrs. Williams and Horsey: to whom I may say, as the Athenians to Paul, "You bring certain strange things to our ears, we would know therefore what these things mean."

The word *baptizo*, then, is an *equivocal, open, general term*; so *equivocal* and so *obscure*, that the most learned authors are divided about its meaning, in our Lord's command *to baptize*. This, however, is mere assertion; and, indeed, I should be sorry to see it proved, because it would greatly impeach the legislative character of Jesus Christ. For, as Baron Montesquieu observes, "The style [of laws] should be plain and simple; a direct expression being always better understood

than an indirect one. . . . It is an essential article that the words of the laws should [be adapted to] excite in every body the same ideas. . . . The laws ought not to be subtle; they are designed for people of common understanding, not as an art of logic, but as the plain reason of a father of a family."* Now can it be supposed that our Lord would give a positive law of divine worship—a law that is obligatory on the most illiterate of his real disciples, in the very first stage of their Christian profession; and yet express it in such ambiguous language, that the most wise and eminent of his followers cannot now understand it? Love to his character and zeal for his cause forbid the thought! That ambiguity of which our brethren speak, must, if real, have arisen in our great Legislator's conduct, either from *incapacity*, from *inadvertency*, or from *design*. Not the *first*; for he was undoubtedly able clearly to have expressed his own meaning. Not the *second*; for no incogitancy could befall Him, in whom are *all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*. Not the *last*; for it would ill become One who declared himself possessed of *all authority in heaven and in earth*, to give a law of perpetual obligation, with an intention that nobody now should understand it. A little to illustrate this, it may be observed, that his order to baptize, is a *law*; a law of equal force with that of the holy supper. This law extends its obliging power to all that are *taught*; so taught, as to be his disciples. For them to neglect or transgress it, therefore, must be a sin; and all sin exposes to punishment. If, then, the grand enacting term of this law be so equivocal, that no one can tell with certainty what it means, we may suppose it probable that, in ten thousand instances, a transgression of it has proceeded, not from any thing wrong in the hearts of our Lord's disciples, but from the designed obscurity of the law itself. Now a law designedly obscure is fitted for nothing so much as to multiply crimes and punishments. Such a law is unjust and cruel; consequently, could not proceed from our divine Sovereign.

Again: According to Mr. Williams's view of the case, we may safely conclude, that the law of baptism is now obsolete; nay, in regard to us, that it never was promulgated. The former, because when the enacting terms of a statute become unintelligible, it is high time to consider the law as antiquated. For to what purpose is a law considered as obligatory, when the most learned, sagacious, and impartial cannot understand it? Here we are landed at downright Quakerism, so far as baptism

† Infant Baptism stated and defended pp. 15, 16, 17, edit. 2nd.

† Notes on Mr. Maurice's Social Relig. p. 131.

* Spirit of Laws, b. xxix. chap. xvi.

is concerned in it. With regard to the latter, let the following things be observed. It is generally agreed, if I mistake not, that no positive law is obligatory till promulgated; in other words, it is not a law. For what is meant by the term *law*, but a *rule of action* prescribed by sovereign authority? It cannot, however be a *rule of action*, any farther than it is made known. Agreeable to this is the following language of Sir William Blackstone: "A bare resolution, confined in the breast of the legislator, without manifesting itself by some external sign, can never be properly a law. It is requisite that this resolution be notified to the people who are to obey it."* See Chap. I. No. 12. Now if any law, requiring a single act of obedience, as in the case before us, do not specify the act intended in such a manner as to be understood by those who read and study it without partiality, it is absurd to talk of its promulgation. For what is meant by promulgating a law, but publicly making known the commanding will of the legislator, with regard to this or the other affair? Yet this, according to Messrs. Horsey and Williams, has not been done, respecting the law of baptism; for the principal word in that law is an *equivocal, open, general term*, and so *obscure*, that the *most eminent* authors are divided about its meaning. Nor does the apostolic practice explain it. Our Lord, indeed, gave a command to baptize; by which it is universally understood, that he designed the performance of a *single action*; for nobody supposes, that sprinkling, pouring, and plunging, must all be united to constitute baptism. But what particular action he meant by the Greek verb, is quite as uncertain as what the Psalmist intended by the Hebrew term, *Selah*. All we can learn is this: As the latter seems to contain a direction to those concerned in the sacred music, to perform that music in some way or other; so, the former denotes an application of water to the subject, "in some form or other;" for, on the authority of Mr. Horsey, nothing farther is determined by it. Such is the *ne plus ultra* of its meaning! *The trumpet gives an uncertain sound, and who shall prepare himself to the battle?* It follows, therefore, on the principles opposed, that the law of baptism has not, with regard to us, been promulgated. We have been used to think that the laws of Christ were equally determinate, fixed, and plain, with the gospel of Christ; and Paul informs us, that the gospel which he preached *was not yea and nay*, but always affirmative and always the same. Not so the law of baptism, if our opposers be right; for it is

this, that, and the other, but nothing determinate, nothing certain.

The principal enacting word in a positive law of the New Testament, an equivocal term; and so obscure, that the most eminent writers are divided about its meaning! Strange, indeed. For, fond as our brethren are of this idea, were either of them the legislator in a civil state, and to act a similar part, he would soon be accounted either a fool or a tyrant. But I am persuaded, that his wisdom, his rectitude, and his benevolence, would all revolt at the thought of such a procedure. Admitting this representation of our Lord's conduct in his legislative capacity to be just and fair, mankind may think themselves happy that he has not, in this respect, had more imitators among the petty sovereigns of the earth. Britons, at least, would quickly be disposed to execrate the measures of parliament, were the three estates to adopt the idea and act upon it. How often and how justly have the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent been severely censured for their studied ambiguity! Thus Bp. Stillingfleet, concerning that matter: "This was one of the great arts of that council to draw up their decrees in such terms as should leave room enough for eternal wranglings among themselves; provided they agree in doing the business effectually against the heretics, as they were pleased to call them."*—Thus Werenfelsius: "Integrity was wanting in the fathers of the Trent synod, when they studiously left ambiguity and obscurity in a great part of their canons and decrees."† Whether in thus acting, they had the supposed ambiguity of our Lord's canon concerning baptism in their eye, we dare not assert; but every one must allow, if Messrs. Horsey and Williams be right, that they might have pleaded the most venerable example for such a conduct.

Βαπτισμ, an equivocal, open, general term; a term which, with equal facility, admits the idea of plunging in Jordan, of pouring from the palm of the hand, and of sprinkling from the ends of the fingers! Our author might as well have asserted, that its derivative, *βαπτιστηριον*, equally signifies a *bath*, large as King Solomon's brazen sea; a *font*, small as those in our modern-built-parish churches; and a *basin*, precisely of the same dimensions with those he commonly uses when sprinkling infants. But what would learning, what would impartiality have said, had he made such an assertion?

A capital word in positive divine law, an equivocal term—a term, so ambiguous and

* Comment. vol. i. Introduct. sect. ii.

* Preservative against Popery, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 103.

† Opuscula, p. 530.

so obscure, that the most learned and upright do not with certainty know what it means! Then we have need of an infallible judge; and were there one at Rome, it would be worth our while to visit his holiness, that we might have the obscurity all removed. For while the Legislator considers himself as having fairly promulgated his law, whether we view its enacting terms as equivocal or univocal, it will prove a serious fact, that they who neglect or transgress it will not be held innocent. With the idea of ambiguity, however, some of our brethren seem delighted. But so were not the ancient Athenians! for Abp. Potter informs us, that it was considered as criminal, for any person among them to propose a law in ambiguous terms.* I have heard, indeed, that some of our pettifogging lawyers boast the great uncertainty of our English law, with regard to the issue of numerous causes. Nor do I wonder at it. But that such worthy characters, as Messrs. Horsey, and Williams, should seek a refuge for their cause in the supposed uncertainty of divine law, is truly amazing! Were they disputing with Roman Catholics, or discussing almost any subject of a theological kind, except that of infant sprinkling, they would labor to establish against every opposer, the certainty, the precision, and the sufficiency of divine law and apostolic example. This at least has been the common practice of Protestants. For instance: Turretinus (de Baptismo) speaks to the following effect: It is not lawful to suppose that Christ, in a very important affair of Christianity, would so express himself, that he could not be understood by any mortal.†—Dr. Ridgley: "In order to our yielding obedience, it is necessary that God should signify to us, in *what* instances he will be obeyed, and the *manner* how it is to be performed; otherwise it would rather be fulfilling of our own will than his."‡—Dr. Owen: "The sole reason why he [the apostle] did make use of it [the word *surety*,] was, that from the nature and notion of it among men in other cases, we may understand the signification of it, what he intends by it. It is not for us to charge the apostle with such obscurity, and expressing his mind in such uncouth terms."§—Mr. Benjamin Bennet: "It is a *reproach* to the lawgiver, *blasphemy* against him, to suppose that any of his upright sincere subjects, cannot find out the meaning of his laws, with all their care and diligence, even in the necessary essential points of their faith and obedi-

ence."*—Mr. Bradbury: "The words [of our Lord, Matt. xxviii. 19,] ought to be taken in their plain and natural sense, because they are a lasting form to the end of time. For Christ to give us expressions that people cannot understand, would be only to abuse them. It is unworthy of Him who is the light of the world, in whose mouth there was no guile. . . . [Such] is the plain and natural sense of the words; and therefore to twine and torture them with conjectures and *maybe's*, is making Christ, not a teacher, but a *barbarian*, by not uttering words that are easy to be understood."†—Anonymous: "A confusion in terms would at length produce entirely the same effect, as the confusion of languages; vague and equivocal expressions would render the most accurate notions liable to continual contradictions, and expose truth itself to perpetual cavils. As the first intention of words is to make known our ideas to each other, the principal merit of every language [and of every discourse] must consist in the clearness and precision of its terms."‡—Ep. Taylor: "It is certain God put no disguises upon his own commandments, and the words are meant plainly and heartily; and the farther you remove from their *first* sense, the more you have lost the purpose of your rule."§—Samuel Fothergill, one of the people called Quakers: "Thou [Mr. Pilkinton] concludest, that *water baptism may be properly administered in any decent and convenient manner whatsoever*. Pray, who must be judge of this decency and convenience? Any thing subjected to human decision, with respect to decency and convenience, wants, in my judgment, those characters of divine institution which become the religion of the holy Jesus; which is, 'not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.'"¶ Hence it appears, that the plea of our brethren for a latitude of administration, from the supposed ambiguity of the law, is not only contrary to the avowed sentiments of Protestants in other cases, but an encouragement to those who entirely reject the ordinance. See Reflect. III. and Chap. I. No. 4, 8, 12, 13, 29. Reflect. II, III.

The following quotation, *mutatis mutandis*, will here apply with peculiar force. Thus, then, Mr. Vincent Alsop: "I cannot imagine what greater reproach he [Dr. Goodman] could throw upon these famous [Thirty-nine] Articles and their worthy compilers, than to suggest that they

* Irenicum p. 60.

† Duty and Doct. of Bap, pp. 150, 173.

‡ Monthly Review, vol. lxxiv. pp. 537, 538.

§ Ductor Dubitant. b. i. chap. i. p. 26. Vid. Chameirum, Panstrat, tom. i. l. xv. c. iv. § 16; c. ix. § 2.

¶ Remarks on an Address to the People called Quakers, pp. 6, 7.

* Antiquities of Greece, vol. i. chap. xxv. edit. 1697.

† Institut. loc. xix. quest. xviii. § 4.

‡ Body of Div. quest. xci. xcii. p. 491.

§ On Heb. vi. 2, 26, vi. l. i. pp. 222, 256.

were calculated for all meridians and latitudes; as if the Church did imitate *Λοξιας*, the Delphian Apollo, whose oracles wore *two faces* under one hood, and were penned like those amphilogies, that cheated Cræsus and Pyrrhus into their destruction; or as if, like Janus, they looked, *πρὸς ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω*, *backwards and forwards*; and like the untouched needle, stood indifferently through the two and thirty points of the compass. The Papists do never more maliciously reproach the scripture, than when they call it a *Lesbian rule*, a *nose of wax*, a *leadén dagger*, a *pair of seaman's trowers*, a *moveable dial*, you may make it what o'clock you please: and yet they never arrived at that height of blasphemy, as to say it was *industriously* so penned by the amanuenses of the Holy Ghost. I dare not entertain so little charity for an assembly of holy and learned men, convened upon so solemn an occasion, that they would play *leger-de-main*, and contrive us a system of divinity which should be *instrumentum pacis non veritatis*. The conventicle of Trent, indeed, acted like themselves, that is, a pack of jugglers, who, when they were gravelled and knew not how to hush the noise and importunate clamor of the bickering factions, the craftier leading men found out a *temper*, as they called it, to skin over that wound which they could not heal, and durst not search. And what was the success of these carnal policies? only this, both parties retained their differing opinions, believed just as they did before; and yet their opinions were directly contrary to one another, though both supposed to agree with the decree of the council. . . . If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, it is all one as if it were not sounded. That which is every thing, and every where, is nothing and no where. That which has no determinate sense, has no sense; and that is very near akin to nonsense. The Jews indeed have a tradition, that the manna was what every man's appetite could relish; and such a religion would these men invent as should be most flexible. . . . Strange it is, that religion, of all things in the world, should be unfixed, and like Delos or O-Brazile, float up and down in various and uncertain conjunctures!*" Perfectly similar are the animadversions of Dr. Edwards on Bp. Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*; for, among other things, he says: "He hath made the articles of our church a nose of wax, and accordingly he bends and wrests them which way he pleases. . . . According to this learned prelate, we do not know the meaning of a great part of our articles, and consequently they are of no use, for what is unintelligible is so. . . . This way

of dealing with the articles seems to me to be a very severe reflection on our first performers, the pious and learned compilers of these articles, as if they were not able to write or dictate sense: or could not speak grammatically, and so as to be understood; or as if they purposely designed obscurity, and that in some of the most considerable points of our religion; as if they studied to perplex men's minds, and ensnare their consciences. . . . If the words and expressions be voted doubtful and of uncertain signification, the thing itself, the matter couched in them, will soon be insignificant and vain."*

But why should the word *baptism* be esteemed so equivocal and so obscure? Is it because, in different connections, it is used in various acceptations; such as immersion, washing, pouring, and sprinkling? For the sake of argument, and for that only, we admit the reality of those various acceptations. But is that a sufficient reason for pronouncing the word *equivocal*, and for considering the sense of it in divine law as *uncertain*? If so, we shall find comparatively but few terms in any language that are not equivocal and of dubious meaning. The reader needs only to dip into a Hebrew or a Greek Lexicon; into Ainsworth's Latin, or Johnson's English Dictionary, to be convinced of this.

Had there been any controversy among the Jews, in the latter times of their civil state, about the manner of performing circumcision, they might, on the principles of our opposers, have reasoned thus: "The words of our law are *equivocal, open, general* terms; by which nothing is determined, but that a *superfluous incumbrance* (the *top*, or *protuberance* of something pertaining to the subject) should be, *in some form or other*, cut, or cut off. We may therefore cut, or pare, the nails of our fingers, or of our toes, instead of circumcising the foreskin. For the cutting required, is merely the ceremonial part of a positive institute; and therefore only a *circumstance*, like that of number, of time, of gesture, or of place, in various other affairs. If a sharp instrument be but applied to any part of our bodies, so as to make an incision,† or an amputation of something belonging to our own persons, it is *perfectly equivalent, equally valid*, with cutting off the *preputium*. Besides, the latter it *harsh, severe, and indecent*, especially with regard to adult persons: it *shocks* our feelings, and exposes us to a thousand reproaches amongst our Gentile neighbors. We have indeed our doubts,

* Discourse concerning Truth and Error, pp. 425, 429.

† The learned Vander Waeyen informs us, that circumcision, as performed by the Arabians and some others, is only an incision made in the preputium, which afterwards is entirely healed. *Varia Sacra*, pp. 332, 333.

whether it was *originally* practised in that rigid sense for which some of our brethren plead. But were it incontestably proved, that our father Abraham actually circumcised his foreskin, and that his immediate descendants followed his example, there are, we conceive sufficient reasons for our adopting a different method. The faith and obedience of the renowned Abraham, we all know, were tried in a singular manner on various occasions; and, perhaps, the blessed God might give him some intimation of his will respecting the rite in question, which, not being intended for general obligation, was not recorded by the inspired writer. But it is the language of God as penned by Moses, that is the rule of our conduct; and it is plain that the words are of an equivocal, open, general meaning, and far from being confined to the circumcising of the præputium. It should be carefully remembered also, that our great progenitor and his immediate offspring, lived in times when civilization, and a sense of delicacy were far from having arrived at their present stage of refinement: nor had our venerable fathers much intercourse with the nations around them. Now it is evident, that what was considered as decent, or not much disgusting, in a rude uncultivated age, may become, in a course of time quite the reverse. This we apprehend is a fact in the case before us. So that were we to insist on performing the ceremony in that sanguinary and painful manner, for which some few contend, it would be an insuperable bar to the polished Greeks and Romans around us becoming proselytes to our divine religion, and an occasion perhaps of their final ruin. But who can imagine that the God of Israel would be pleased with such scrupulosity, as tended to continue the Heathens in their idolatry? a scrupulosity too, about that which is no where *precisely* and *incontrovertibly* required. We remember with pleasure, nor can we forget that condescending declaration of God, recorded by one of our minor prophets: 'I desired mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God, more than burnt offerings.' To enforce the rite in a manner so disgusting to the delicacy and ease of our polite neighbors, who may be at any time inclined to forsake their old superstitions, and to shelter themselves under the wings of the Schechina, would be like *putting new wine into old bottles*, and greatly retard the progress of our holy religion." Thus, on the principles of our brethren, and in their language, *mutatis mutandis*, might the Jews have reasoned away a divine command.

Again: Were our opposers to apply their principles and reasonings concerning

the word *baptism* to one of those Greek verbs that were used by our Lord in the institution of his last supper, many of them would be presented with a new discovery, both of the nature and the design of the ordinance; for, when contemplating its administration, they would soon behold, with Roman Catholics and some others, the officiating minister wearing the character of a *priest*, and *offering* a sacrifice to God. The original word, to which I advert, is the verb ποιεῖν; which signifies *to do*, as plainly as βαπτίζειν signifies *to dip*. Ποιεῖν, however, in different connections, admits a great number of acceptations; no fewer, even in the New Testament, according to Mr. Parkhurst, than *twenty-six*: and among others, like *facere*, to which it answers, it undoubtedly signifies, in some passages of the Greek classics and of the Septuagint version, *to offer*, or *present an oblation* to God. On this remote sense of the term, the propriety of talking about a *priest* at the Lord's table; about his *offering* the bread and wine; about an *altar*, and a *sacrifice*, chiefly depends: just as the practice of pouring or sprinkling, instead of immersion, depends on a supposed secondary sense of the word βαπτίζειν. But let us hear Dr. Brett on the subject.

"There is yet," says he, "a more evident proof to be found in the scripture, even in the very words of the institution, to prove that we are required to *offer* the bread and wine to God, when we celebrate the holy eucharist, 'This do in remembrance of me.' Dr. Hickes, in his *Christian Priesthood*, p. 58, &c., proves, by a great many instances, that the word ποιεῖν, *to do*, also signifies *to offer*, and is very frequently used both by profane authors, and by the Greek translators of the Old Testament in that sense; and so also is the Latin word *facere*. I will transcribe a few of those instances, and those who desire more may consult Dr. Hickes's book. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. cxxxii. says: 'Without one of the Magi it is not lawful for them, ποιεῖσθαι, *to offer a sacrifice*.' And in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which all the learned know is followed by the writers of the New Testament, even where they cite the words and speeches of our Saviour, it is so used: as Exod. xxix. 36, 'Thou shalt offer, ποιῇς, a bullock;' verse 38, 'This is that which, ποιῇς, thou shalt offer upon the altar;' verse 39, 'The one lamb, ποιῇς, thou shalt offer in the morning, and the other lamb, ποιῇς, thou shalt offer in the evening.' So likewise Exod. x. 25. In all which places the word, which is translated *offer*, and which in this last text is translated *sacrifice*, and which in these and many other places will bear no other sense, is the very word which in the institu-

tion of the eucharist is translated *do*. And even our English translators have sometimes used the word *do* in this sacrificial sense; as particularly Lev. iv. 20. Here our English translation is, 'And he shall *do* with the bullock, as he *did* with the bullock for a sin offering, so shall he *do* with this.' Here indeed they have put in the word *with*, without any authority: the Greek is, *he shall do the bullock, as he did the bullock, so shall he do this*: where *do* plainly signifies *offer*. . . . That the words of the institution, *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, do this*, are to be understood in this sacrificial sense, is manifest from the command concerning the cup, which is, 'This *do* ye, as oft as you drink it, in remembrance of me.' For except we understand the words in such a sense, they will be a plain tautology. But translate it, as I have showed the words will very probably bear, *Offer this*: make an oblation or libation of this, *as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me*, and the sense is very good. . . . A priest therefore is necessary and *essential* to the due administration of this sacrament.* On this reasoning Dr. Doddridge remarks: "Because the word *ποιεῖν* signifies, in some few instances, *to sacrifice*, Dr. Brett would render it, [*τοῦτο ποιεῖτε*] *sacrifice this*; whence he infers, that the eucharist is a *sacrifice*."† But though Dr. Doddridge very justly considers the argument of Dr. Brett as quite inconclusive, I may be permitted to observe; that he has proved the *sacrificial* sense of the term *ποιεῖν*, in certain connections, by far better evidence than I have ever yet seen produced by our opposers, in favor of that secondary sense of the word *βαπτίζειν*, on which their constant practice proceeds. The reasoning of Dr. Brett may therefore teach them the necessity of abiding by the natural and obvious meaning of the term in dispute; for it is impossible, I think, to confute him on any other ground.

Farther: To show the impropriety of our brethren's conduct when reasoning on the word before us, we will suppose our Lord to have used the term *νίπτω*, which, in its primary acception, signifies a partial application of water to a person, by *washing his hands*. Now had this been our Legislator's commanding term, its native and most common signification would undoubtedly have been pleaded against an immersion of the whole body. But, on the principle of interpretation adopted by our opposers, the argument might easily have been evaded. For we might have replied, *Νίπτω* is an equivocal, open, general term. It signifies not only to wash the hands, but also the *feet* and the *face*. Nay, it is manifest-

ly used to express an *entire plunging*. For thus it is written: *Every vessel of wood shall be RINSED, νίπεται, in water*, (Lev. xv. 12.) Agreeably to which, Mr. Parkhurst says, it signifies, (in John ix. 7, 11, 15,) to wash *the whole body*; and so Schwarzzius understands it. So equivocal is the term, and of such various application, that the Septuagint uses it, as Mintert observes, to express the idea of *raining down*, or of *sending a shower*, (Job. xx. 23.) Again: We will suppose our Lord to have expressed his law in Latin, and that he used the word *perfundo*, instead of the Greek *βαπτίζω*. We will farther suppose, that the primary meaning of the Latin verb is pleaded against us. In this case we might have replied, It not only signifies to *sprinkle* and to *pour*, but also to *bathe*: in proof of which, we appeal to Ainsworth, and to the authorities produced by him.*

We will indulge imagination and suppose, on the contrary, that our Lord had caused his law of baptism to be written in modern English; and that, instead of the word *βαπτίζω*, we had found the term *bathe* or *dip*; even this would have been liable to similar objections. Our opposers might still have recurred to their old exception: It is an equivocal, open, general term; and signifies to *sprinkle*, to *wet*, or *bedew*, as well as to *plunge*. In confirmation of which they might have said: "As to the word *bathe*, it is frequently used by our correctest writers and speakers, in such connections where plunging cannot possibly be intended. Nothing, for instance, is more common among us than to say, Such an one's cheeks are *bathed* in tears: when we only mean, that the tears trickle plentifully down his cheeks: by which the idea of *sprinkling* is conveyed, rather than that of plunging. To *bathe*, signifies also to supple or soften by the outward application of warm liquors, as Dr. Johnson informs us: for which he produces the authority of Mr. Dryden, who says, *I'll bathe your wounds in tears for my offence*. Still the word *bathe* is rather in favor of sprinkling than of immersion." As to the term *dip*, they might have said: "It is plain the word is often used where a total immersion cannot be designed. So we read that Jonathan 'put forth the end of the rod which was in his hand, and *DIPPED* it, *εβαψεν αὐτοῦ*, in a honey-comb.'‡ Again, 'Send *Lazarus* that he may *DIP*, *βαψῇ*, the tip of his finger in water.'§ It is also common for us to speak of dipping a pen in the ink. Sometimes also the word is used allusively, in a

* To which may be added, Virg. Georg. I. 194. *Æn*; VIII. 589.

† 1 Sam. xiv. 27. Septuag.

‡ Luke xiv. 24.

* True Script. Account of the Eucharist, pp. 81, 82, 83, 131.

† Note on 1 Cor. xi. 24.

sense equally foreign from the idea of an entire immersion. For example, thus: I have just *dipped* into the works of such an author. Now this, far from signifying that I feel my mind, as it were, *immersed* in the author's writings, only means, as Johnson tells us, that I have entered *slightly* into them. Nay, sometimes, when the term *dip* is used with reference to a liquid, it means no more than to *moisten*, to *wet*, as the same celebrated author informs us; who confirms that sense of the word, by appealing to the following lines of our famous English classic, Milton:

‘And tho’ not mortal, yet a cold shudd’ring dew
Dips me all o’er, as when the wrath of Jove
Speaks thunder.’

Evident proofs, they might have added, that the words *dip* and *bathe*, as well as βαπτω and βαπτίζω, are equivocal, open, general terms; which do not determine any thing farther, than that water should be applied to the subject in some form or other.” On such principles, and by such reasonings, the natural and primary meaning of any word, in any law, or in any language, might be quickly explained away. Were this principle of interpretation universally admitted and applied, no law upon earth could maintain its authority, or obtain its end. The obligation of laws, and obedience to lawgivers, would be little more than empty names. Nor could any doctrine, or any fact, contained in the Bible, stand its ground against the operation of this principle. For by rejecting the natural sense of inspired terms, whenever we find it uncompliant with our inclination; and by adopting a secondary, uncommon, or allusive acceptance of them, as often as we find occasion; it is an easy thing for the most ungodly person to manufacture a creed, as well as ritual, entirely to his own liking, out of those materials which the scripture furnishes, let the real meaning of prophets and apostles be what it may. Yes, he must be a dull genius who cannot, by proceeding on this principle, frame a theological system to suit his own taste, in such a manner as to leave but little room for the subjecting of his understanding, his conscience, and his will to divine authority; or so as to have but little occasion for the practice of that self-denial, which is represented by our Lord as a distinguishing mark of true godliness. For, grant but the liberty of taking the principle words of a law, of a narrative, or of a doctrine, in a secondary and remote sense, where metaphor and allusion are out of the question, and a person of genius might safely engage to evade any law, to subvert any doctrine, and essentially to misrepresent any fact, contained in the Bible. My acquaintance, indeed, with lan-

guages, ancient or modern, is very contracted; but yet I may venture to conclude on the ground of analogy, that there are few terms in any language which are not as liable to an improper, allusive, and secondary acceptance, as the word *baptism*. Why, then, in the name of common sense and of common impartiality—why should that emphatical and enacting term βαπτίζω, be singled out as remarkably *equivocal*? Why represented as obscure to such a degree, “that the most eminent critics, commentators, and lexicographers are divided in their verdict about”—what? Its *primary* meaning? far from it. Here we think Mr. Williams is under a gross mistake; for, on the authority of those numerous testimonies which have been laid before the reader, we may safely assert, that there is hardly any verb in the Greek Testament, about the natural, obvious, primary meaning of which, the most eminent authors appear to be less divided. I do not, indeed, recollect so much as one learned writer, in the whole course of my reading, who denies that the primary sense of the term is to *dip*: and as to the different acceptations for which our opposers plead, we may ask, with Mr. Locke, “What words are there not used with great latitude, and with some deviation from their strict and proper significations?”*

The *manner of using* water, when baptism is administered, is a *mere circumstance*, according to Mr. Horsey; for he compares it with various particulars in the administration of the holy supper, that are entirely circumstantial. This, if I mistake not, neither agrees with his own principles; with the doctrine, of positive institutes, as contained in scripture and acknowledged by Protestants; nor with common sense. Not with his own principles. For when he baptizes a child, in what does he consider the act of baptizing to consist? In taking the infant in his arms? he never imagined it. In pronouncing the solemn form of words? by no means; for then he must consider himself as baptizing the subject without any water at all. In putting his fingers into the water? no such thing; for still no water is applied. In verbal addresses to God for a blessing upon the child, or in exhortations to the parents? far from it; because the same consequence would follow. In what, then, but the *very act* of sprinkling, or of pouring, *in the name of the Father*, and so on? But how can that, in which the very act of baptizing consists, be a *mere circumstance* of baptism? Let a man's notions of baptism be what they may, he always considers, and cannot but consider, the act of ap-

* Essay on Human Understanding, b. ii. chap. xxiii. § 1.

plying water to a person, or of plunging him into water, not as a *circumstance* of baptism, but as baptism *itself*.—If any of our Pædobaptist brethren still hesitate, let them ask their own consciences, whether they consider themselves as performing a circumstance no way essential to baptism when, “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,” they apply water to a child? The answer, doubtless, will be in the negative. With equal reason, therefore, might Mr. Horsey have told us, that eating bread and drinking wine at the Lord’s table, are circumstances of receiving the sacred supper, or that walking is a circumstance of local motion; as that plunging, pouring, or sprinkling, is a circumstance of baptism: for no minister of Christ can consider his performance of sprinkling, of pouring, or of plunging, in the sublimest of all names, as any thing but the *very act* of baptizing.

Not with the *doctrine of positive institutes*, as contained in scripture and acknowledged by Protestants. If there be any force or propriety in what our opponent says, it must be on supposition that what he represents as a circumstance, is not enjoined by our divine Lord; for whatever he requires cannot be indifferent, and therefore is not a circumstance. Had the time of day, the number and posture of communicants, or the quality and quantity of bread and wine, been appointed by the great Lawgiver, with reference to his holy supper, not one of those particulars would have been a circumstance: for, it is manifest, they would all have been so many *parts* of one institution; nor would it have been lawful to vary from them. Many particulars of a similar nature were appointed by Jehovah in the ordinance of the ancient passover: but, being appointed, they were of divine obligation, even though the *minutiae* of the institution extended to “the time of day” when that festival should commence. The Roman Catholics, like our author in the present case, would fain persuade us, that a participation of wine at the Lord’s table is a mere *circumstance*; but they have been constantly told by Protestants, that it is an essential part of the institution: yet not more so, than the use of water, in baptism, let “the mode of use” be whatever it may. Besides, our opponent here begs the question in dispute between us, respecting the term *baptism*. Again: Omitting various divine appointments which might be mentioned on this occasion, how multifarious were the rites enjoined for the cleansing of an Israelitish leper, as particularized in Leviticus the fourteenth! They are too numerous to be given in detail; but every reader of the heavenly statute may soon perceive, that,

according to Mr. Horsey, many of them were such *ceremonial* parts of one positive institute, as may be called *circumstances*: for there is no reason to doubt but the original words there used are as equivocal as the term *baptism*. As to the avowed *sentiments of Protestants*, relating to the doctrine of positive institutions, I would refer my reader to the preceding chapter; No. 2, 6, 10, 11, 15, 16, 20. Reflect. II, III, V, VI, VII.

Not with *common sense*. For if the manner of using water be a *circumstance* of baptism, what in the world can baptism *itself* be? The *circumstances* of a thing are always considered as different from the *thing itself*. They attend, they accompany, or, if you please, they *stand about* a thing; but they are never considered as *the* thing. I should be glad to know, on these premises, what baptism, real, identical baptism is. It is not *sprinkling* of water; it is not *pouring* of water; nor is it *plunging* into water: for these are only so many modes of using water; and the mode of use is no more of the essence of baptism, than the number of communicants at the Lord’s table is of the essence of the sacred supper. Now as, according to Mr. Horsey, the manner of using water is only a circumstance of baptism; as the word βαπτίζω is an equivocal, open, general term; and as, according to Mr. Williams, the most eminent authors are divided in their verdict about what our Lord meant by it; all we can learn concerning the ordinance is this: baptism is an *unknown something*, which has a connection with water,* and was practised by the apostles in obedience to Jesus Christ; for on the authority of Mr. Horsey, whether you sprinkle, or pour, or plunge, in the name of the eternal Trinity, it is only a *circumstance*, and not *baptism itself*. Sprinkling, pouring, or plunging, as much a circumstance of baptism, as the number of communicants at the holy table is of the sacred supper! One step farther, and *baptism itself* (whatever the equivocal word means) will be esteemed a circumstance of something else, and its obligation confined, as by the Quakers, to the ministry of John. Far be it that I should imagine Messrs. Williams and Horsey intended to relax the obligation of this positive rite; but whether their manner of speaking has not a tendency so to do, I leave the reader to judge.

It may, perhaps, be objected, “Baptism signifies *washing*; which may be performed by plunging, pouring, or sprinkling: and it is in this view that the different modes of proceeding are called *circumstances*—

* Mr. Horsey’s words are, “connection with a river;” but his practice, I presume, is in connection with a basin. See his sermon, p. 19.

ces." That *washing* is the native, primary, and obvious meaning of the term, we do not believe, nor can we admit, except for the sake of argument. Let it be granted, however, that baptism is no other than washing. What follows? That these three different ways of solemnly using water are mere *circumstances* of washing? nothing less. Because whether one or another of these various modes be adopted, it is *the washing itself*, and not a circumstance of it; or else there is nothing in the whole solemnity that has the least appearance of any such thing. Nor can our opposers themselves deny it. For whether they pour water on the head, or sprinkle the face, it is all the washing they pretend to perform. Consequently, on their own principles, it is not a circumstance; nor can they without absurdity consider it in that light, while they are obliged to acknowledge, that the circumstances of a thing are always different from the thing itself. That various particulars relating to baptism are merely circumstantial, we readily allow. For instance: the *age* of the candidate, provided he make a credible profession of repentance and faith. The *time* of administration: it may be in the morning, at noon, in the evening, or at midnight, as in the case of the Philippian jailor. The *place*: it may be in a river, a pond, or a baptistry. The *number* of spectators: they may be many or few. These, and other things of a similar kind, we look upon as indifferent; as, properly speaking, *circumstances*: because, not being included in the law of baptism, they make no part of the institution. These may greatly vary, while the qualifications of the candidates, the whole form of administration, and the gracious purposes to be answered by the ordinance, are essentially the same. But it is quite otherwise, as to the solemn use of water. For if that be omitted, baptism itself is wanting: if used contrary to divine order and primitive example, the ordinance is corrupted, so corrupted, as not to deserve its original name. See Chap. I. No. 15, and Reflect. V. These things being duly regarded, it will appear surprising that so many of our opposers inadvertently speak of immersion, pouring, and sprinkling, as if they were mere *circumstances* of the appointment under dispute: an idea, so contrary to scripture, to fact, and to common sense, that it may be considered as the last refuge of a desperate cause.

Sprinkling, pouring, and plunging, are PERFECTLY EQUIVALENT, EQUALLY VALID, says Mr. Horsey. "Those that are baptized, are either *plunged* into the water, or water is *poured* upon them, or they are *sprinkled* with water: now which soever of these three ways is observed, we ought

to believe baptism to be *valid*," says the Council of Trent.* If plunging, pouring, and sprinkling, be *equally valid*, it must be because they are *equally enjoined* by divine law. But they are three *different actions*, as before proved, and as all the world will acknowledge, in reference to any other affair. How then shall a single term, understood in its proper and primary sense, *equally* respect three different actions? yet an equal respect they must have from a single term of positive divine law, to render them "perfectly equivalent, equally valid." Before Mr. Horsey pretends to evince, that the word βαπτίζω has this plenitude of signification, we wish him to prove, that any term, in any language, either does or can equally and naturally signify three different actions. A word that has *three* senses, equally proper and natural to it, is indeed equivocal; nor has it, properly speaking, any determinate sense at all. It is a mere term without an idea, and deserves to be banished from the language to which it belongs. See Reflect. III. There have been many disputes concerning what is the *proper* and *true* sense of a word; but none, that I have read, about the *number* of true and proper senses which the same word bears, in the same connection. Disputes also have been multiplied, about the *real* meaning of such or such a clause in divine and human law; but theologians and civilians have seldom taken it into their heads to contend, whether the legislator had *three* meanings, or only *one*, in any enacting clause. It is pleasing, however, for us to reflect, that *plunging* is valid; for so it is, by the confession of Mr. Horsey, and by that of the whole Council of Trent, whatever becomes of sprinkling or pouring. But though Mr. Horsey assures us, that plunging is perfectly equivalent, equally valid, with pouring or sprinkling; and though he has done it in emphatical *capitals*, yet he quickly insinuates, that there is great *severity* in plunging; that it must be often *inconsistent* with the mild genius of the Christian religion; and that it is *harsh, painful, and terrifying*.† He repents, alas! he repents of his honest concession. He no sooner grants us the sanction of his opinion, than he resumes it with eagerness, by endeavoring to deprive us of all its authority. But does this worthy author imagine that plunging is valid, independent of divine authority? Or, that Jesus Christ would exert his authority to sanction a rite that is *inconsistent* with his own religion? This, I confess, appears to me as incompatible and unaccountable, as our great Legis-

* Catechism of the Council of Trent, part II. Of Bap. § 17.

† Infant. Bap. Stated, p. 20.

lator having *three* meanings in the same enacting term of his positive law.

Sprinkling, pouring, and plunging, perfectly equivalent, equally valid! As, by plunging, Mr. Horsey means an immersion of the whole body; and as we have no reason to think, that he is for sprinkling or pouring water *all over* the human frame; so, by his not mentioning any particular part, on which the water should be poured or sprinkled, we are led to conclude that, in his opinion, it is quite indifferent on what part the water may fall. Here, then, the administrator has full scope for his inclination to operate; and he may sprinkle any part, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, just as his sovereign will direct. How contrary this to the whole analogy of positive divine law in the Old Testament! If Mr. Horsey be right, the law of baptism is a leaden rule, that will bend and take any form; rather, it is *no* law; it is *no* rule; and with regard to the use of water, every one may do that which seems right in his own eyes. But as it is absurd to suppose, that the primary sense of the same word will equally apply to three different objects; so it must be incongruous for any to imagine, that the same enacting clause or term of a law, can equally require three different actions, and at the same time be completely satisfied with any one of them. Before Mr. Horsey had inadvertently fixed an imputation of this kind on a positive law of Jesus Christ, he should have well considered, whether the whole history of legislation (sacred, civil, or ecclesiastical) could have furnished him with a single instance of such a fact. That many tyrants and fools have given laws to secular kingdoms, and have even presumed to legislate for Jesus Christ himself, is a fact; that some of their laws have been marked with tyrannical subtlety, and others with egregious folly, is also a fact; but that any of them ever were so crafty, as to contrive a law which, by a single enacting term, equally required *three different* acts of obedience; and yet were so compliant, as to feel themselves perfectly satisfied with having *any one* of those acts performed, I do not believe.

Vary the mode of administration according to circumstances! Refer the manner of performance to the private judgment of the person or persons concerned! Strange positions, from the pen of a Protestant Dissenter! How inimical to the grand principle of Nonconformity, and to that of the Reformation! Surely, no law of either God or man was ever so condescending to the will of the subject, as the law of baptism. It is reported, indeed, that those who sit as judges in the court of Inquisition, may interpret the laws against heretics, if

there be any thing doubtful in them, according to their own pleasure.* Nor do I wonder at it. But that a Protestant Dissenting brother, should first pronounce the divine law of baptism *obscure*, and then assure us that we may understand and act upon it, with regard to the use of water, *just as we please*, is very amazing! Mr. Williams, I presume, did not recollect the manner in which our great Legislator introduces the sovereign mandate, nor the words that immediately follow it. "ALL AUTHORITY (ἐξουσία) is given unto me in heaven and in earth," introduces the law under consideration. "Teaching them to OBSERVE ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER I HAVE COMMANDED YOU," are the immediately following words. If ever our Lord expressed himself in the high legislative tone, if ever he spake like one who in earnest demands an implicit and punctual obedience, it was on this occasion. Can it then be supposed, that the Lord Redeemer assumed such an air of divine majesty, and such a style of divine authority, in giving a law of religious worship, when he *intended* that his followers should administer the rite just as they pleased? We may say with Chillingworth, in another case, "He that *can* believe it, let him."

Vary the mode of administration according to circumstances! Refer the manner of performance to the private judgment of the administrator, or of the candidate! Incidental circumstances, then, or the caprice of those concerned, must be the rule of proceeding. On this principle, who can set bounds to that variety of administration which may be lawfully practised? The Council of Trent is of opinion that water should be applied, not to any part of the body, but to the *head*, because it is the seat of sensation.†—Mr. Cleaveland thinks the *face* is the most proper part, because it is always naked.‡—Deylingius is confident that sprinkling may be performed, once or thrice, on the *head*, the *forehead*, or the *breast*.§—The Eunomians, it is reported, "baptized only the upper parts of the body as far as the breast; and this they did in a very preposterous way, as Epiphanius relates, τοὺς πόδας ἀνω, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατω, with their heels upwards, and their head downward. Which sort of men are called *Histopedes*, or *Pederecti*."|| Now here is variety, great variety; yet Mr. Williams's principle will admit of a much larger latitude in the course of baptismal practice. It has indeed no other bounds than the caprice and fancies of men are pleased to

* Venema Hist. Eccles. secul. xiii. § 217.

† Catechism of the Council of Trent, part ii. Of Sac. of Bap. § 18.

‡ Infant Bap. from Heaven, pp. 88, 89.

§ De Prudent. Past. pars iii. c. iii. § 25.

|| Bingham's Origines Ecclesiast. b. xi. chap. xi. § 4.

affix. They only can say, *Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther.* Were an adult, therefore, or any parent on the behalf of his child, to request of Mr. Williams an application of baptismal water in any of these ways, he could not refuse without confronting his own principle. Or, were any one to prefer the use of water in imitation of the ancient episcopal unction; which was applied to the forehead, the eyes, the ears, the nose, the mouth, and the breast; he could not decline it without departing from his own rule.* Nor could Mr. Horsey, because it would be an application of water "in some form or other;" which is all, according to him, that the word βαπτίζω determines: "the mode of use" being as much a circumstance, as the number of communicants at the Lord's table is of the holy supper.—It is observed by the laborious and learned Chamier, "That no man in his senses will believe that to be the true religion, the law of which is no more fixed and certain, than the rule of conduct contained in these lines:

"Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more:
Cum fueris alibi, vivito sicut ibi."†

But, whatever this great opposer of papal usurpation and superstition might think about a rule of *true religion*, Messrs. Horsey and Williams have given what they consider as a rule of *true baptism*, which has little more fixedness or certainty in it, than that in the Latin distich, which the learned Frenchman holds in such contempt. For it is plain, that the application "of water in some form or other," will readily comply with the custom of any age, or of any country; and referring "the mode to the private judgment of the persons concerned," will politely oblige any inclination. This reminds me of what Cardinal Cusanus affirms. "The scripture," says he, "is fitted to the time, and variably understood: so that at one time, it is expounded according to the current fashion of the church; and when that fashion is changed, the sense of scripture is also changed. . . . No wonder if the practice of the church do take the scripture, one time one way, and another time another; for the sense of it keeps pace with the practice."‡ Were these our Dissenting brethren, however, to enter the lists of controversy with a sensible Roman Catholic, they would soon find themselves obliged, either to proceed on different principles, and speak in a different manner, or, in various articles, to give up the Protestant cause.

Were my judgment of the term *baptism* to be formed on those documents which Messrs. Horsey and Williams have given

us, I should be ready to say: It is the strangest and most unaccountable word in the world, when used respecting a divine institution. For, though I never heard that learned men were much at a loss to fix its meaning, when found in the Greek classics, in Josephus, or in ancient ecclesiastical authors; though cold bathing was abundantly practised by many nations in former times; and though, in our own country, it is frequently used by both sexes, for medical purposes and for amusement, without any suspicion of danger or of indecency; yet we no sooner consider the term as making a part of divine law, and as prescribing an act of Christian worship, than all is *darkness*, as to its meaning, and all is *terror*, if considered as enjoining immersion. If, when used in this connection, you desire to fix its meaning, commentators, critics, and lexicographers are searched in vain. It is a mere Proteus, or a chameleon; for it will assume almost any appearance. In general, however, it is quite complaisant; altering its color, or shape, just as you please. If you prefer *sprinkling*, it is your devoted servant; and you may sprinkle the head or breast, the hands or the feet, for it makes no objection. Have you a predilection for *pouring*? still it is at your service: for whether you pour much or little, on the face or the neck, on the fingers or the toes, it will sanction your deed. Are you for *washing*, such washing as cleanses from exterior pollution? you may dip a towel in the basin, instead of your fingers, and apply it to the face or the hands, or to any part of the body you please: for it will be quite satisfied if you do but apply the water in some form or other, and you are at your option. Nay, if you happen to be fond of water, and to prefer *plunging*, this good-natured word will stamp legality on the act; for plunging is *perfectly equivalent, equally valid*, with pouring and sprinkling. But here, alas! its complaisance takes leave of the plungers. For though it will sturdily defend the *perfect validity* of their practice against every opposer; yet they must shift for themselves as well as they can, if their conduct happen to be suspected of *severity*, of *harshness*, or of any thing *terrifying*. While, therefore, I cannot but admire the versatility of this identical word, *baptism*, I am constrained to lament, that it is not quite so impartial in its regards as one might have imagined; for its beautifully-varying aspect is chiefly turned towards our opponents.

Once more: Mr. Horsey is of opinion, that if our Lord had intended to confine his followers to the practice of immersion, he would probably "have used a word that is decided and limited in its import:" and he thinks, that βαπτίζω or καταβαπτίζω, δαπτω,

* Bingham's Origines Ecclesiast. b. xii. chap. ii. § 2.

† Panstrat. tom. i. l. ii. c. xiv. § 9.

‡ In Mr. Clarkson's Pract. Divinity of Papists, p. 379.

καταδύνω or καταδύω, or, finally, καταποντίζω, would have been "indisputably precise and exact," for such a purpose. Let us inquire, therefore, into the opinion of lexicographers, concerning the import of these expressions; and we will begin with the famous Henry Stephens. "Βυθίζω, to cast into a gulf, (the deep, or the sea,) to plunge down: καταβυθίζω, signifies the same, and is more commonly used."—Pasor: (Schoettgenii edit.) "To plunge down, to cast into the deep, (1 Tim. vi. 9; 2 Maccab. xii. 4; Luke v. 7)."—Hedericus: "To plunge; from βυθος, a whirlpool, a bottomless pit, or the deep. Καταβυθίζω, to cast into a gulf, or the deep, to plunge down; to throw down, to ruin." See also Mintert, Schwarzius, Leigh, and Parkhurst, under the word Βυθίζω.—Hedericus: "Δυντω, to go under, or into, water; to plunge."—Schrevelius: "To go under, or into, water; from which the English terms, *dip* and *dive*, seem to have been derived."—H. Stephens: "Καταδύνω, or καταδύω, to enter within, or into a more interior place; to enter into a gulf, or the deep."—Hedericus: "To go into a more interior place, to enter into a gulf, or the deep; to hide one's self, to lie hid; to be ashamed, to blush; to plunge down, to plunge under; to fall down; to put on."—Pasor: "To plunge, to destroy, to descend, (Amos ix. 3; Ezek. xxvi. 13; Exod. xv. 5.) Καταδύω, a descent; a cave in which idolators worshipped their god's, (1 Kings xv. 13)."—H. Stephens: "Ποντίζω, to plunge into the sea: καταποντίζω is most frequently used, and signifies to plunge down into the sea, to plunge under."—Hedericus: "To plunge down into the sea, to plunge under, (Matt. xviii. 6.) Καταποντιστής, is one who plunges others into the sea; a pirate, who, after making his capture, plunges the men under the water."—Schwarzius: "To plunge down." See Mintert and Parkhurst, under the word, καταποντίζω. Such, according to these learned authors, are the significations of the words before us: on which I would make the following remarks.

These chosen terms are far from being so univocal and precise in their import, in comparison with the word βαπτίζω, as Mr. Horsey represents them to be; for several of them have secondary senses, *more distant* from their primary acception, than sprinkling is from plunging. This, in a particular manner, is the case with καταδύνω or καταδύω. The natural sense of δυντω, and a secondary acception of others, nearly coincide with the acknowledged primary meaning of βαπτίζω; as the reader may easily observe. Were these terms perfectly well adapted precisely to express a total immersion, without any disagreeable idea attending it, as our opponent

supposes, it might be expected, that one or another of them would have been frequently employed by the seventy translators, in their version of the Mosaic institutes. But it does not appear, by the Concordance of Trommius, that any one of these verbs is ever used by them, to express those *bathings* which are so frequently mentioned in the Hebrew ritual. No; for as νιπτω is their usual word to enjoin washing the *hands* and the *feet*,* and as πλυνω is their term for washing of *garments*, so λουω is the verb they use for bathing the *whole body*. Of this, the following passage is a remarkable instance: "Whomsoever he toucheth that hath the issue, (and hath not rinsed, νενιπται, his hands in water,) he shall wash, πλυνει, his clothes, and bathe himself, λουασται το σωμα, in water."† Perfectly agreeable to which, is the observation of Dr. Duport: "The grammarians remark a difference between λουειν, and πλυνειν, and νιπτειν; that λουειν is spoken of the *whole body*, πλυνειν of *garments* and *clothes*, and νιπτειν of the *hands*."‡ Αουω and βαπτίζω are used by the Seventy as equivalent. For thus it is written: "Go, and wash, λουσαι, in Jordan seven times. Then went he down, and DIPPED himself, εβαπτισατο, seven times in Jordan, according to the saying of the man of God."§ As to βυθίζω, καταβυθίζω, and δυντω, according to Trommius, they are not so much as once used in the Septuagint; and as to καταδύνω and καταποντίζω, though used by the Seventy, yet in a sense quite foreign to the nature of a positive rite. For instance: "Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea: his chosen captains also are drowned (κατεσθησαν; but other copies read, καταποντισεν;) in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them: they SANK into the bottom, κατεδυσαν εις βυθον, as a stone."|| "Why wilt thou SWALLOW τρ, καταποντίζεις, the inheritance of the Lord? Far be it, that I should SWALLOW τρ, καταποντω, or destroy."¶ So, in the New Testament, καταποντίζω is used only in the sense of *sinking in the deep*, and of *drowning*. Thus, for instance, concerning Peter, when walking on the sea: "He was afraid; and beginning to SINK, καταποντίζεσθαι, he cried, saying, Lord, save me!" "It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned, καταποντισθῃ, in the depth of the sea."** Βυθίζω is used likewise in the Apocrypha, and in the New

* Sometimes also the *face*, both in the Seventy and in the New Testament. See Gen. xliii. 31, and Matt. vi. 17.

† Lev. xv. 11; see also verse 5, 8, 13, 21, 22, 27; chap. xvi. 26, 28; and xvii. 15; Numb. xix. 7, 8, 19.

‡ In Mr. Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, under the verb Αουω. Vid. Mintert, sub voce Νιῶτω.

§ 2 Kings v. 10, 14.

|| Exod. xv. 4, 5.

* 2 Sam. xx. 19, 20. See Ps. lv. 9; Septuag. liv. 9; Laurent. ii. 2, 5; and many other places.

** Matt. xiv. 30, and xviii. 6.

Testament, for *sinking in the deep*, and for *drowning*. Thus an apocryphal author: "When they were gone forth into the deep, they **DROWNED**, *εβυθισαν*, no less than two hundred of them."* Thus an evangelist: "They came and filled both the ships, so that they began to **SINK**, *βυθίζεσθαι αὐτα*."† Thus the apostle Paul: "They that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which **DROWN**, *βυθίζουσι*, men in destruction and perdition."‡ And thus Clemens Romanus: "Pharaoh and his host, and all the rulers of Egypt—were **drowned**, *εβυθισθησαν*, in the bottom of the Red Sea, and perished."§ Hence it appears, that all those Greek verbs which are selected by Mr. Horsey, except *δυνατω*, manifestly convey the idea of danger, of injury, or of destruction to the subject upon which an agent performs the action that is naturally expressed by them; yet of these terms, he thinks it probable that our Lord would have chosen one or another, had he designed to confine his followers to the practice of immersion! As if no word could be decidedly for *dipping*, if it did not, in its primary acceptation, denote *sinking in the deep*, or *drowning*! With much greater critical propriety might he have mentioned *λουω*, than any of the words proposed; because that is the verb which, above all others, the seventy translators adopted, to signify the bathing of the whole body. Yet here, alas! the old exception would have recurred; for *λουω* signifies to *wash*; and washing, they would have said, may be performed by pouring or sprinkling. From what the learned assert, concerning the native and obvious acceptation of *βαπτίζω*, *εκχεω*, *βαπτίζω*, and most of the terms Mr. Horsey has mentioned, there seems to be much the same difference between them, as there is between *sprinkling*, *pouring*, *dipping*, and *drowning*, in our own language.

But what would Mr. Horsey and others have said, had any of his chosen terms, except *δυνατω*, been used by our Lord to express that immersion about which we contend? They would soon, I suppose, have exclaimed: "What, will nothing satisfy our opposers, but plunging a candidate for the appointed rite into a *gulf*, or the *sea*? Nothing short of what will put life itself into the most imminent danger! Must we always go to the sea, or to some abyss of water, to administer the ordinance! Severe, harsh, terrifying! The very thought shocks our feelings and plunges us in horror. Impossible, that the law of our gracious and condescending Lord should be

rightly understood by these dismal and cruel plungers. It *must* have another meaning; for common sense requires it." Here a secondary and remote acceptation of the word in question (suppose *καταδυω*, or *καταδύω*,) would have been sought. In which case, two copies of the Septuagint version of Psalm cxix. 136, would have furnished them with an instance much to their purpose: for there the word *κατεδυσα* is used to express a *copious flow and fall of tears*; which might have been very happily applied to prove, that the term, among other acceptations, means to *sprinkle*.* Nay, they might have pleaded the use of the word by the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, Basil the Great, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Damascene, and other ecclesiastical Greek writers, as tantamount to the term *βαπτίζω*.† For, as no one doubts but they had a tolerable acquaintance with their own language; as nobody dreams of their administering baptism, by plunging people into the depths of the sea; and as Mr. Horsey thinks he has proved that the word *baptize* signifies to sprinkle; so it follows, by an easy consequence, that the verb *καταδυω*, stubborn and terrifying as it may appear, would have been quite as pliable and obliging to our opponents as the term *βαπτίζω*. There is reason to think, however, that it would be a much easier task for any one to prove, that *βαπτίζω* signifies, in certain connections, to *sink in the deep*, or to *drown and destroy*; than that it is ever used by Greek authors to express the idea of pouring or of sprinkling a few drops of water on the head or the face. See No. 52, 55, 64, and the note subjoined to No. 82. Agreeable to which is the language of Damascene, and of Tertullian. By the former, Noah's flood is called a *baptism*; and by the latter, the *baptism of the world*.‡

Mr. Horsey, when pleading the want a word more decidedly expressive of plunging than *βαπτίζω* is, reminds me of an evasion sometimes used by Arian subscribers to the Thirty-nine Articles of the English church. "Had the compilers, or imposers," they say, "intended to have been more determinate upon any point, they ought to have been more *explicit and particular*."§ Now, as it is not so much a want of precision in the Articles and Liturgy of the national establishment which occasioned this exception, as a dislike to the doctrines they contain; so I suspect, that it is not so much a defect of *meaning* in the word

* See Bos's Septuagint.

† See No. 1 of this Chap. Suiceri Thesaur. Eccles. sub voce, *Αραδύω*; and Spanhemii Dub. Evang. pars. iii. dub. xxiv. p. 70.

‡ Apud Suicerum. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. i. p. 623.

§ In Dr. Waterland's Supplem to Case of Arian Subscrip. p. 34.

* 2 Maccab. xii. 4.

† Luke v. 7.

‡ 1 Tim. vi. 9.

§ Epist. ad Corinth. § 51.

βαπτίζω, to signify immersion, as a disapprobation of that *very immersion*, which was the reason of our opponent's remark. It may, on our part, with reason be asked, if our Lord intended, and if the apostles practised pouring or sprinkling, why was not such or such a word used, which, in its *obvious* and *primary* acceptation, signifies to pour or to sprinkle? But it is quite foreign to the purpose, and proves nothing so much as the want of better arguments, to think of another word to express the idea of immersion, when that is the radical and obvious meaning of the term βαπτίζω. The following observation of Mr. Alsop will therefore apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the case before us. "If λυτρον, ἀντιλυτρον, and ἀντιλυτρον ὑπέρ, will not evince a *proper price* paid by way of ransom for another, we must despair of ever expressing truth with that clearness, but it shall be liable to misconstruction, by the possibility of another meaning: and it is in vain to seek a remedy against that evil for which there is no help in nature."^{*}

Reflect. X. Before I conclude this chapter, I will present the reader with a pertinent quotation from Dr. Waterland. "In all manner of controversy which depends upon interpretation of dead writings, he that undertakes to prove a point, or to establish a doctrine, lies under this disadvantage; that, as long as there appears any *possibility* of a different interpretation, an adversary may still demur and demand farther evidence. Now, considering the great latitude and ambiguity of words and phrases, in all languages, (if a man would search into all the senses they are possibly capable of,) and that even the most full and *express* may be often eluded by having recourse to tropes and figures, or to some other artificial turn of wit or criticism; I say, considering this, there may be always something or other plausibly urged against any thing almost whatever."[†] Now, though every person of reading and observation must acknowledge this remark to be just, yet we may venture to affirm, that if the preceding authorities produced from the Quakers, whose hypothesis is not effected by any particular sense of the term in dispute, from the most learned Pædobaptists themselves, whose cause is deeply interested in the meaning of the word; and, by some of our opposers, from Greek authors; ‡ do not sufficiently warrant our sense of the word under consideration, we may justly challenge our brethren to fix and authenti-

cate the meaning of any expression in the original scriptures, against any opponent whatever. Nay, if the term baptism do not determinately signify that the ordinance should be administered by immersing the subject in water, we should be glad of information what other expression *could* have conveyed that idea, without being liable to similar exceptions with those against which we now contend. It may therefore be safely concluded, that if there be nothing in the design of the ordinance, nor in the apostolic practice, inconsistent with the notion of dipping, we do not deserve reproach for insisting, that *baptism* and *immersion* are terms equivalent.

CHAPTER III.

The Design of Baptism; or the Facts and Blessings represented by it, both in regard to our Lord and his Disciples.

WITSIUS. "OUR Lord would be baptized, that he might conciliate authority to the baptism of John; that he might manifest himself to be equally the head of those who are baptized, as of those who are circumcised; that he has communion with both, and came that of both he might make one; that by his own example, he might commend and sanctify our baptism equally as other sacraments to which he submitted; that men might not be loth to come to the baptism of the LORD, seeing the Lord was not backward to come to the baptism of a servant; that by his baptism he might represent the future condition both of himself and his followers—first humble, then glorious; now mean and low, then glorious and exalted; *that* represented by immersion, *this* by emersion; that by the use of this sacrament, the promises of the covenant, which was between himself and the Father, might be confirmed to him, concerning the entire expiation of those offences which he took on himself, the justification and sanctification of those persons whom he represented, and concerning a glorious resurrection, by which he should soon emerge out of the waters of tribulation, (Psalm cx. 7;) and, finally, to declare, by his voluntary submission to baptism, that he would not delay the delivering up of himself to be immersed in the torrents of hell, yet with a certain faith and hope of emerging. . . Immersion into the water is to be considered by us, as exhibiting that dreadful abyss of divine justice, in which Christ for our sins, which he took on himself, was for a time as it were absorbed; as in David, his type, he complains, (Psalm lxix. 3.) More particularly, seeing such

^{*} Antisozzo, p. 644.

[†] Eight Sermons, Pref. pp. 4, 5, edit. 2nd.

[‡] To the authorities produced from Greek authors, No. 31, 45, 52, 55, 64, and 82, a multitude of others might be added; as the reader may see by consulting Dr. Gale's Reflections upon Dr. Wall's Hist. of Infant Bap. lett. iii.

an immersion deprives a person of light, and of other things pertaining to this world, it excellently represents the death of Christ, while his continuance under water, however short, denotes the burial of Christ, and the lowest degree of his humiliation; when, being laid in a sepulchre that was sealed and guarded by the Roman soldiers, he was considered as entirely cut off. Emersion out of the water, exhibits an image of his resurrection, or of the victory which, being dead, he obtained over death in his own dark domains, that is, the grave. All these things the apostle intimates, (Rom. vi. 3, 4.) Besides, baptism also represents those benefits, both present and future, which believers obtain in Christ. Among the present benefits, the principal is, communion with the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ; and, which is consequent upon it, the mortification and burial of our old, and resurrection of the new man, in virtue of the blood and Spirit of Christ. For immersion into the water, represents the death of the old man, in such a manner as shows, that he can neither stand in judgment to our condemnation, nor exercise dominion in our bodies, that we should obey his lusts. In respect of the former, the death of the old man pertains to our justification; in regard to the latter, it belongs to our sanctification. The continuance under the water, represents the burial of the body of sin, by which all hope of its revival is cut off; so that it shall never be able afterwards, either to condemn the elect, or to reign over them."—*Miscel. Sac.* tom. ii. exercit. xv. § 63. *Æcon. Fæd.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 25—29.

2. Dr. Robert Newton. "Baptism was usually performed by immersion, or dipping the whole body under water, to represent the death, and burial, and resurrection of Christ together; and therewith to signify the person's own dying to sin, the destruction of its power, and his resurrection to new life. St. Paul plainly refers to this custom, (Rom. vi. 4.)"—*Pract. Exposit. of Catechism*, pp. 297, 298.

3. A. H. Frankius. "The baptism of Christ represented his sufferings, (Matt. xx. 22,) and his coming up out of the water, his resurrection from the dead."—*Programmata, program.* xiv. pp. 343, 344.

4. Mr. Rich. Baxter. "In our baptism, we are dipped under the water, as signifying our covenant profession, that as he was buried for sin, we are dead and buried to sin. . . . They [your lusts] are dead and buried with him, for so your baptism signifieth; in which you are put under the water, to signify and profess, that your old man is dead and buried. . . . We are raised to holiness by his Spirit, as we rise out of the water in baptism—(Col. ii. 11, 12, 13,

where note,)—that the putting of the body under the water did signify our burial with Christ, and the death, or putting off of our sins. And though we now use a less quantity of water, yet it is to signify the same thing, or else we should destroy the being of the sacraments: so also our rising out of the water signifieth our rising and being quickened together with him. Note also, that it is not only an engagement to this *hereafter*, but a thing presently done. They were in baptism buried with Christ; and put off the body of sin, and were quickened with him: and this doth all suppose their *own present* profession to put off the body of sin, and their consent to be baptized on these terms."—*Paraphrase on the New Test. at Rom.* vi. 4; Col. ii. 12; 1 Pet. iii. 21. *Disput. of Right to Sacram.* p. 58.

5. M. Saurin. "Paul says, 'We are buried with him by baptism into death;' that is, the ceremony of wholly immersing us in water, when we were baptized, signified, that we died to sin; and that of raising us again from our immersion signified, that we would no more return to those disorderly practices, in which we lived before our conversion to Christianity."—*Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 171. *Mr. Robinson's Translat.*

6. Dr. T. Goodwin. "The eminent thing signified and represented in baptism, is, not simply the blood of Christ, as it washeth us from sin; but there is a farther representation therein of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection, in the baptized's being first buried under water, and then rising out of it; and this is not in a bare conformity unto Christ, but in a representation of a communion with Christ, in that his death and resurrection. Therefore it is said, 'We are BURIED with him in baptism;' and, 'Wherein you are RISEN with him.' It is not simply said, *like as* he was buried and rose, but *with him*. So that our communion and oneness with him in his resurrection, is represented to us therein, and not only our conformity or likeness unto him therein. And so baptism representeth this to us, that Christ having once in himself sustained the persons of all the elect, in his burial and resurrection; that now, upon the party himself who is baptized, is personally, particularly, and apparently reacted the same part again in his baptism; thereby showing what his communion with Christ before was, in what was then done to Christ; that he then was buried with Christ, and rose with him; and upon that ground is now, in this outward sign of baptism, (as in a show, or representation) both buried and also riseth again."—*Christ set forth*, sect. iii. chap. vii. pp. 82, 83.

7. Turretinus. "The passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, wonderful-

ly agrees with our baptism, and represents the grace it was designed to express. For as, in baptism, when performed in the primitive manner, by immersion and emersion, descending into the water, and again going out of it, of which descent and ascent we have an example in the eunuch, (Acts viii. 33, 39;) yea, and what is more, as by this rite, when persons are immersed in water, they are overwhelmed, and as it were buried, and in a manner buried 'together with Christ;' and again, when they emerge, seem to be raised out of the grave, and are said to rise again with Christ, (Rom. vi. 4, 5; Col. ii. 12;) so in the Mosaic baptism, we have an immersion, and an emersion; that, when they descended into the depths of the sea; this, when they went out and came to the opposite shore. The former, was an image of death; the latter of a resurrection. For, passing through the bottom of the sea, were they not near to death? And escaping to the opposite shore, were they not as if revived from the dead? . . . As in former times, the persons to be baptized were immersed in the water, continued under the water, and emerged out of it, (Matt. iii. 16; Acts viii. 38;) so the old man died in them and was buried, and the new man arose, (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12.) As now, persons to be baptized, are sprinkled with water; so they are sprinkled with the blood and Spirit of Christ, to the washing away of sin, (Acts xxii. 16; Ephes. v. 26, 27; Heb. ix. 14.)* —*Disputat. de Bap. Nubis et Maris*, § 24. *Institut. Theolog.* tom. iii. loc. xix. quæst. xi. § 14.

8. Bp. Patrick. "They [the primitive Christians] put off their old clothes, and stripped themselves of their garments; then they were immersed all over, and buried in the water, which notably signified the 'putting off the body of the sins of the flesh,' as the apostle speaks, and their entering into a state of death or mortification after the similitude of Christ; according to the same apostle's language elsewhere, 'We are baptized into his death—We are buried with him in baptism.' Though we by going into the water profess that we are willing to take up the cross and die for Christ's sake; yet, on God's part, this action of going into and coming out of the water again, did signify that he would bring such persons to live again," at the general resurrection.—*Discourse of the Lord's Supper*, pp. 421, 422, 436, edit. 5th.

9. Mr. Polhill. "Where baptism is in the right use, there is a seal of union with Christ. . . . They have the power of his

death in mortification, and the power of his resurrection in a divine life: the one, is notably adumbrated in the baptismal immersion into the water; the other, in the eduction out of it."—*Mystical Union*, chap. vii. pp. 202, 203.

10. Mr. Scudder. "Baptism—doth lively represent the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, together with your crucifying the affections and lusts; being dead and buried with him unto sin, and rising with him to newness of life, and to hope of glory. (Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5; Col. ii. 11, 12, 13.)"—*Daily Walk*, chap. v. p. 95.

11. Gerhardus. "As plunging may signify that we are baptized with Christ into his death, (Rom. vi. 3;) and that our old man is drowned in baptism, (Rom. vi. 6;) so aspersion may signify that we are sprinkled in baptism with the blood of Christ, and cleansed from all sin, (1 Pet. i. 2; 1 John i. 8.)"—*Loc. Theolog.* tom. iv. *De Circumcis.* § 96.

12. Botsaccus. "Baptism is a sepulchre: 'We are buried with Christ, by baptism into death,' (Rom. vi. 4.)"—*Promptuarium Allegoriarum*, § 1295.

13. Mr. Marshall. "Baptism signifieth the application of Christ's resurrection to us, as well as his death; we are raised up with him in it to newness of life, as well as buried with him, (Rom. vi. 4, 5, 10, 11.)"—*Gospel Mystery of Sanct.* direct. iii. p. 50.

14. Mr. Alexander Ross. "Immersion into the water, represents to us the death and burial of Christ, and therefore our mortification: likewise the very emersion out of the purifying water, is a shadow of the resurrection of Christ, and of our spiritual quickening."—*Annotat. in Wollæbii Compend. Theolog.* l. i. c. xxiii. p. 150.

15. Chamierus. "They who are baptized represent the death of Christ, and at the same time their own, (Rom. vi. 3, 4.)"—*Panstrat.* tom. iii. l. xxvi. c. xix. § 12.

16. Buddeus. "Immersion, which was used in former times, was a symbol and an image of the death and burial of Christ; and at the same time it informs us, that the remains of sin, which are called the *old man* should be mortified."—*Dogmat. Theolog.* l. v. c. i. § 8.

17. Dr. Whitby. "'Therefore we are buried with him by baptism,' plunging us under the water, *into* a conformity to his death, which put his body under the earth; 'that like as Christ was raised up from the dead, by the glorious power of the Father, even so we also,' thus dead in baptism, 'should rise with him, and 'walk in newness of life.'"—*Paraphrase on Rom.* vi. 4.

18. Bp. Hall. "Ye are, in baptism, buried together with Christ, in respect of the mortification of your sins, represented by lying under the water; and in the same

* "I should think that man's reasoning very weak," says Mr. Bradbury, "who would pretend to prove sprinkling from [those words,] 'your hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience.' This is mere jingling upon words." Duty and Doct. of Bap. p. 152.

baptism, ye rise up with him in newness of life, represented by your rising up out of the water again, through that faith of yours which is grounded upon the mighty power of God, who hath raised him from the dead.”—*Hard Texts, on Col. ii. 12*, edit. 1633.

19. Pictetus. “That immersion into, and emersion out of the water, practised by the ancients, signify the death of the old, and the resurrection of the new man, (Rom. vi.; Col. ii.)”—*Theolog. Christ.* l. xiv. c. iv. § 13.

20. Bp. Davenant. “In baptism, the burial of the body of sin, or of the old Adam, is represented, when the person to be baptized is put down into the water; as a resurrection, when he is brought out of it.”—*Expos. Epist. ad Coloss. in cap. ii. 12*.

21. Dr. Boys. “The dipping in holy baptism has three parts: the putting into the water, the continuance in the water, and the coming out of the water. The putting into the water, doth ratify the mortification of sin by the power of Christ’s death, as Paul, (Rom. vi. 3,) ‘Know ye not that all we which have been baptized into Jesus Christ, have been baptized into his death, and that our old man is crucified with him?’ The continuance in the water, notes the burial of sin; to wit, a continual increase of mortification by the power of Christ’s death and burial, (Rom. vi. 4.) The coming out of the water, figured our spiritual resurrection and vivification to newness of life, by the power of Christ’s resurrection, (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12.)”—*Works*, p. 294, edit. 1629.

22. Mästricht. “As in the baptismal washing, especially when performed by immersion, we are plunged in water, abide in it a little while, and then emerge; so Christ was immersed for us in death, continued under its dominion the space of three days, and then emerged by his resurrection. . . . As in the baptismal washing especially when performed by immersion, we are planted in water; so we are planted both in the blood and body of Christ, when we are baptized into his mystical body, (1 Cor. xii. 13;) and as we, in a manner, put on water, so also do we put on Christ, (Gal. iii. 27.) Again: As Christ by that baptism of his own blood, (Matt. xx. 22,) died, was buried, and rose again; so we are planted in him, spiritually die with him to sin, are buried and rise again, (Rom. vi. 3—6. Col. ii. 11, 12, 13.) Further: As by water the body is cleansed, (1 Pet. iii. 21,) so by the blood and Spirit of Christ the soul is purified, (1 John i. 7.) Finally: As in baptism we emerge out of a sepulchre of water, and pass, as it were, into a new life; so also being delivered from every kind of death, we shall be saved to eternal life, (Mark xvi. 16.)”—*Theoret. Pract. Theolog.* l. vii. c. iv. § 10.

23. Grotius. “‘Buried with him by baptism.’ Not only the word *baptism*, but the very *form* of it, intimates this. For an immersion of the whole body in water, so that it is no longer beheld, bears an image of that burial which is given to the dead. So Col. ii. 12. . . . There was in baptism, as administered in former times, an image both of a burial and of a resurrection; which, in respect of Christ, was external; in regard to Christians, internal, (Rom. vi. 4.)”—*In Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12*.

24. Mr. Burkitt. “‘We are buried with him by baptism into death.’ The apostle alludes, no doubt, to the ancient manner and way of baptizing persons in those hot countries, which was by immersion, or putting them under water for a time, and then raising them up again out of the water; which rite had also a mystical signification, representing the burial of our old man, sin in us, and our resurrection to newness of life.”—*Expos. Notes on Rom. vi. 4*.

25. Vitrina. “To be immersed in water, and to be under water, represent the death and burial of our old man, in virtue of the death of Christ. To be washed with water, denotes our being justified and sanctified. To emerge out of the water, signifies our being saved from death, in virtue of Christ’s death; our being regenerated to a lively hope; and our being raised again to a new life, that shall never cease.”—*Aphorismi Sanct. Theolog. aphor.* 891.

26. Confession of Sueveland. “As touching baptism we confess, that which the scripture doth in divers places teach thereof, that we by it are buried into the death of Christ, made one body, and do put on Christ.”—*Chapter xvii. in Harmony of Confess.* p. 410. Cambridge, 1586.

27. Bucanus. Our Lord was baptized of John “to signify that he was sent to be baptized, that is, plunged in death; and that he might wash away our sins with his own blood. . . . Immersion into water, or aspersion, plainly denotes the sprinkling of the blood of Christ for the remission of sins, and the imputation of righteousness: and the continuance under water, however short, the death and burial of our native corruption, (in virtue of our Lord’s death and burial,) that is, the mortification of the old Adam, which is the first part of our regeneration; but emersion, the rising of the new man, or quickening and newness of life; and so, analogically, our future resurrection is, as it were, presented to view. (Rom. vi. 3, 4, and iv. 5, 13.)”—*Institut. Theolog.* loc. xlvii. pp. 621, 631.

28. Zanchius. “Baptism is a sign of the mortification and burial of the old man. . . . For immersion into the water, which was used of old, represented this mortification, death, and burial; in which infants

remain, as it were, under the water, when baptized. I speak agreeably to the ancient practice of the church. The apostle, therefore, says: 'We are crucified with Christ, and buried, by baptism into death.'—*Opera*, tom. iv. pp. 437, 438.

29. Limborch. "Baptism is a figure and mark of our spiritual burial. For by that immersion into water, and continuance under the water, which represent a burial, baptized persons express their being buried to sin."—*Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. ad cap. vi. 4.*

30. Castalio. "'Else what shall they do who are baptized for the dead?' That you may understand this place of Paul, consider the manner and nature of baptism as described, (Rom. vi.) in these words: 'As many of us as have been baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death.' And a little after, 'For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.' This, therefore, is the argument of Paul; when Christians are baptized, they are baptized for this purpose, that they may die with Christ, and then rise again."—*In 1 Cor. xv. 29.*

31. Schoettgenius. "The apostle forms a comparison between baptism and death. He that is baptized, is entirely under water, and no longer seems to live. When, therefore, we Christians are baptized, it is into the death of Christ; namely, that we should become imitators of his death. Baptism obligeth us to become like our Lord in his death and resurrection."—*Hore Hebraice, ad Rom. vi. 4, p. 515.*

32. Hoornbeekius. "The apostle, speaking of what was notorious and certain, says: 'Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death?' (Rom. vi. 3,) referring to what is performed in baptism; namely, the entrance into water, and the going out of it. For he immediately adds: 'Therefore, we are buried with him by baptism.' And, (Col. ii. 12,) 'Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him.' As, in respect of Christ, his death was followed by his resurrection from the dead, so our conformity to him consists in dying and rising again with him.' This is clearly presented to our view and sealed by that immersion and emersion which are in baptism."—*Theolog. Pract. l. ix. c. xxii. tom. ii. p. 388.*

33. Tilenus. "The ceremony in baptism is three-fold; immersion into the water, a continuance under the water, and a rising out of the water. . . . The internal and essential form of baptism is no other than that analogical proportion of the signs, already explained, with the things signified. For as it is a property of water to wash

away the filth of the body, so it represents the power of Christ's blood in the cleansing from sin. Thus immersion into the water declares, by the most agreeable analogy, the mortification of the old man; and emersion out of the water, the vivification of the new man. . . . The same plunging into the water exhibits to our view that dreadful abyss of divine justice, in which Christ, on account of our sins, was for a time in a manner swallowed up. Abiding under the water, however short the time, denotes his descent to hell; that is, as we have elsewhere declared, the lowest degree of abasement, when, in a sealed and guarded sepulchre, he was considered as one entirely cut off. Emersion out of the water, presents us with an image of that victory which he, though dead, obtained over death, even in his own pavilion; that is, the sepulchre. Thus, therefore, it is right that we who are *baptized into his death*, and buried with him, should also rise again with him, and walk in newness of life. (Rom. vi. 3, 4; Col. ii. 12.)"—*Syntag. Disputat. pars ii. disp. xli. § 15, 32, 34.*

34. Stapferus. "The apostle explains the sacrament of baptism, by communion with the death and resurrection of Christ, (Rom. vi. 3, 4; Col. ii. 12.)"—*Institut. Theolog. Polem. tom. i. cap. iii. § 1638.*

35. Burmannus. "The external rite, in baptism, having the image, as well of overwhelming and suffocation, as of washing, bears also a two-fold figure: and it signifies, partly, the death and burial of Christ, and our communion with them; partly, the washing away of sin, by the blood and Spirit of Christ, or the justification and sanctification of a sinner. (Rom. vi. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 20; Acts ii. 38; Tit. iii. 5.)"—*Synops. Theolog. tom. ii. loc. xliii. c. viii. § 3.*

26. Roell. "The signification of baptism is taught, (Rom. vi.) namely, that it is a sign and seal of the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, and of our communion with them. For he that is immersed in water, which has the power of suffocating, is considered as in a state of death; and likewise, as long as he continues immersed, he is there buried. But when he rises out of the water, he rises, as it were, from a state of death, and begins to live afresh. Of what kind this newness of life is, baptism also at the same time distinctly represents. For as water has the power of washing and purifying, it signifies that, in virtue of our Lord's death, the person baptized is cleansed from sin, and that he ought to live a new and a pure life without the pollution of sin. . . . When persons are baptized in faith, they are *buried with Christ*; to signify that they are no longer under the curse. They rise with Christ

or rather they are raised; as they that are baptized, after immersion into water, rise again out of the water. when they repent and so rise again from a death in sin. Thus also they rise again to a new life and are quickened: they live with Christ here in grace, and shall for ever live in glory.”—*Explicat. Epist. ad Ephes. in cap. iv. 5. Exegesis Epist. ad Coloss. in cap. ii. 13.*

37. Lampe. “Water, in the sacrament of baptism, represents the passive obedience and death of Christ, and the communion of believers with them.”—*Prolegon in Joan. i. l. c. ii. § 23.*

38. Abp. Leighton. “That baptism doth apply and seal to the believer his interest in the death and resurrection of Christ, the apostle St. Paul teaches to the full, (Rom. vi. 4.) ‘We are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.’ Where the dipping into water is referred to, as representing our dying with Christ; and the return thence, as expressive of our rising with him.”—*Comment upon 1 Pet. iii. 21.*

39. Braunius. “By baptism we are plunged under the water, and, as it were, buried; but we do not continue in a state of death, for we immediately rise again from thence: to signify that we, through the merits of Christ, and with Christ, mortify the old man, are buried with Christ, and with him arise to newness of life. ‘We are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead, to the glory of the Father, so we also should walk in newness of life.’ (Rom. vi. 4. 5.)”—*Doct. Fœd. pars. iv. cap. xxi. § 11.*

40. Dr. Manton. “‘We are buried with him in baptism into his death:’ the like expression you have, (Col. ii. 12.) ‘Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him.’ The putting the baptized person into the water, denoteth and proclaimeth the burial of Christ, and we by submitting to it are baptized [buried] with him, or profess to be dead in sin; for none but the dead are buried: so that it signifieth Christ’s death for sin, and our dying unto sin.”—*Sermon on Rom. vi. 4.*

41. Church of England. “As we be buried with Christ by our baptism into death, so let us daily die to sin, mortifying and killing the evil motions thereof. And as Christ was raised up from death by the glory of the Father, so let us rise to a new life, and walk continually therein.”—*Homily of the Resurrec.*

42. H. Altingius. “As in ancient times the persons to be baptized were immersed into water, continued under water, and

emerged out of the water, (Matt. iii. 16; Acts viii. 38;) so the old man in them died and was buried, and the new man rose again, (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12) As, now, the persons to be baptized are sprinkled with water, so they are sprinkled with the blood and Spirit of Christ, to the washing away of sin, (Acts xxii. 16; Ephes. v. 25, 26; Heb. ix. 14.)”—*Loci Commun. pars. i. loc. xii. p. 200. Explicat. Catechis Palat. pars ii. quæst. lxi. pp. 311, 312.*

43. Wolfius. “Immersion into water, in former times, and a short continuance under the water, practised by the ancient church, afforded the representation of a burial in baptism.”—*Cura, ad Rom. vi. 4.*

44. G. J. Vossius. “In our baptism, by a continuance under water, the burial of the body of sin, or the old Adam, is represented. The similitude consists in this: That as a corpse is overwhelmed and pressed by the earth; so, in baptism, a man is overwhelmed with water; and as a man is pressed with water, so the power of sin should be pressed in us and enervated, that it may no longer drive us whither it pleases, or hinder our salvation.”—*Disputat. de Bap. disp. iii. thes. 4.*

45. Dr. Cave. “As in immersion there are in a manner three several acts, the putting the person into water, his abiding there for a little time, and his rising up again; so by these were represented Christ’s death, burial, and resurrection; and in conformity thereunto, our dying unto sin, the destruction of its power, and our resurrection to a new course of life. By the person’s being put into water, was lively represented the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, and being washed from the filth and pollution of them. By his abode under it, which was a kind of burial in the water, his entering into a new state of death or mortification, like as Christ remained for some time under the state or power of death. Therefore, ‘as many as are baptized into Christ,’ are said to be ‘baptized unto his death,’ and to be ‘buried with him by baptism into death;’ that the ‘old man being crucified with him, the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth he might not serve sin;’ for that ‘he that is dead is freed from sin,’ as the apostle clearly explains the meaning of this rite. And then by his emersion, or rising up out of the water, was signified his entering upon a new course of life, differing from that he lived before; ‘that like as Christ was raised up by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.’”—*Primitive Christianity, part i. chap. x. p. 204, edit. 6th.*

46. Luther. “That the minister dippeth a child into the water, signifieth death; that he again bringeth him out of it, signi-

fieth life. So Paul explains it, (Rom. vi.) . . . Being moved by this reason, I would have those that are to be baptized, to be entirely immersed, as the word imports and the mystery signifies."—*In Dr. Du Veil, on Acts viii. 38. Vid. Lutheri Catechis. Minor.*

47. Bp. Fowler. "Christians being plunged into the water in baptism, signifies their obliging themselves, in a spiritual sense, to die and be buried with Jesus Christ, (which death and burial consist, in an utter renouncing and forsaking of all their sins,) that so, answerably to his resurrection, they may live a holy and godly life."—*Design of Christianity*, sect. i. chap. viii. p. 79, edit. 4th.

48. Dr. Sam. Clarke. "'We are buried with Christ by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life,' (Rom. vi. 4.) In the primitive times, the manner of baptizing was by immersion, or dipping the whole body into water. And this manner of doing it, was a very significant emblem of the dying and rising again, referred to by St. Paul, in the abovementioned similitude."—*Exposition of the Church Catechism*, p. 294, edit. 6th.

49. Cajetan. "'We are buried with him by baptism into death.' By our burying he declares our death, from the ceremony of baptism; because he who is baptized, is put under the water, and by this bears a likeness of him that is buried, who is put under the earth. Now because none are buried but dead men, from this very thing, that we are buried in baptism, we are assimilated to Christ when he was buried."—*In Mr. Hen. Laurence's Treatise of Bap.* pp. 71, 72.

50. Cornelius a Lapide. "We are baptized into a similitude of the death of Christ. For they who are put under the water, allegorically represent Christ dead and buried."—*In Mr. Hen. Laurence's Treatise of Bap.* pp. 73, 74.

51. Dr. Hammond. "It is a thing that every Christian knows, that the immersion in baptism refers to the death of Christ; the putting the person into the water, denotes and proclaims the death and burial of Christ."—*On Rom.* vi. 3.

52. Bp. Nicholson. "The ancient manner in baptism, the putting of the person baptized under the water, and then taking him out again, did well set forth these two acts; the first his dying, the second his rising again. . . . Into the grave with Christ, we went not; for our bodies were not, nor could be buried with his: but in our baptism, by a kind of analogy or resemblance, while our bodies are under the water, we

may be said to be buried with him."—*In Mr. Davye's Bapt. of Adult Believ.* p. 114.

53. Heideggerus. "Baptism signifies the death and burial, both of Christ and of believers, in the abolition of the old man, as well initial, in this life, as perfect, in laying down the body of the sins of the flesh; the resurrection and vivification, first of Christ, then of ourselves; the obedience of Christ, even to death, which has the power of justifying and of delivering from death; regenerating grace, and the Spirit, purifying our hearts; our union with Christ, and the communion of believers with him; and lastly, a resurrection to life."—*Historia Patriarch.* tom. i. p. 565.

54. Momma. "As baptism represents the death and burial of our Lord, so also his resurrection, and seals our communion with him. Paul therefore teaches, (Col. ii. 12,) that 'we are buried with him by baptism.' For the baptismal water, so far as it suffocates, is a manifest emblem of death; as it covers, of a burial; as it purifies, of a resurrection."—*De Statu Eccles.* tom. ii. c. v. § 199.

55. Rigaltius. "Dipping into the baptismal water, denotes the person to be deeply tinged with the Christian faith; his being overwhelmed, signifies his cleansing from moral stains and filth; and his rising up out of the water, his resurrection."—*In Mr. Stennett against Mr. Rus- sen*, p. 71.

56. Anonymous. "The apostle seems here (Rom. vi. 4,) to allude to the manner of baptism; indicating that this, as well as the words made use of at the time, signified a kind of death: for the body being wholly immersed in water at baptism, so that it no longer appeared, represented its being buried. . . . And the body rising from the water, after it had been wholly immersed in it, so as to be, as it were, buried under it, was in some degree a figure, or representation, of Christ's rising from the grave."—*Illustration of the Bible, on Rom.* vi. 4.

57. Dr. Wells. "St. Paul here alludes (Rom. vi. 4,) to immersion, or dipping the whole body under water, in baptism: which he intimates did typify the death and burial (of the person baptized) to sin; as his rising up out of the water did typify his resurrection to newness of life."—*On Rom.* vi. 4.

58. Mr. Hardy. "'Therefore we are buried with him by baptism.' He alludes to the rite of immersing, which bears an image of our Lord's burial. 'That like as Christ was raised.' For the rising again of the body out of the water, bore an image of that fact."—*Annotat. in Rom.* vi. 4.

59. Dr. Barrow. "The action is bap-

tizing, or immersing in water. The object thereof, those persons of any nation, whom his ministers can by their instruction and persuasion render disciples; that is, such as do sincerely believe the truth of his doctrine, and seriously resolve to obey his commandments. . . . The mersion also in water, and the emersion thence, doth figure our death to the former [worldly defilements,] and receiving [reviving] to a new life."—*Works*, vol. i. pp. 518, 520, edit. 1722.

60. Dr. John Edwards. "Some of the fathers hold, that the apostle's argument in the text (1 Cor. xv. 29,) is of this sort: *If there shall be no rising of the dead hereafter*, why is baptism so significant a symbol of our dying and rising again, and also of the death and resurrection of Christ? For those that were proselytes to the Christian religion, were interpreted to make an open profession of these, in their being plunged into the baptismal water, and in being there overwhelmed and buried, as it were, in the consecrated element. The immersion into the water, was thought to signify the death of Christ; and their coming out, denoted his rising again, and did no less represent their own future resurrection. On which account, the minister's putting in of the Christian converts into the sacred waters, and his taking them out thence, are styled by St. Chrysostom, 'The sign and pledge of descending into the state of the dead, and of a return from thence.' And thus because the washing and plunging of the newly admitted Christians was a visible proof and emblem, first of Christ's and then of their resurrection from the grave; the forementioned fathers have been induced to believe, that this passage of our apostle, which I am speaking of, hath a particular respect to that, and is to be interpreted by it. Nay, this seems to agree exactly with the language and tenour of our apostle himself, who may be thought to be the best interpreter of his own words: 'Know ye not,' saith he, 'that so many of us as have been baptized into Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism,' &c. Rom. vi. 3, 4."—*Inquiry into four Remarkable Texts*, pp. 143, 144.

61. Peter Martyr. "As Christ, by baptism, hath drawn us with him into his death and burial; so he hath drawn us out unto life. This doth the dipping into the water, and the issuing forth again, signify, when we are baptized."—*Oration concerning the Resurrection of Christ, subjoined to Comm. Places*, p. 11, edit. 1574.

62. E. Spanhemius. "As immersion signifies the death of the old man, and emersion the life of the new man; so sprinkling signifies and seals the sprinkling of

the blood of Christ, (1 Pet. i. 2.)"—*Disputat. Syntag. Disp. de Bap.* § 21.

63. Cocceius. "'We are buried with him by baptism into death,' (Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5.) We are baptized into death, by which the servitude of sin is laid aside; and thus a seal of our communion with him is bestowed on us, that we may be considered as buried with him. . . . In baptism there is a resemblance of our Lord's death."—*Summa Doct. de Fæd.* c. vi. § 209.

64. Bp. Taylor. "'We are buried with him in baptism,' saith the apostle. 'In aqua tanquam in sepulchro caput immergentibus vetus homo sepelitur et submergitur, deinde nobis emergentibus novus resurgit inde.' So S. Chrysostom: 'The old man is buried and drowned in the immersion under water; and when the baptized person is lifted up from the water, it represents the resurrection of the new man to newness of life.' In this case therefore, the contrary custom [of pouring, or sprinkling,] not only being against an ecclesiastical law, [of the church of England] but against the analogy and mysterious signification of the sacrament, is NOT TO BE COMPLIED WITH; unless in such cases that can be of themselves sufficient to justify a liberty in a ritual and ceremony, that is, a case of necessity."—*Ductor Dubitantium*, b. iii. c. iv. rule xv. p. 645.

65. Sir Norton Knatchbull. "The proper end of baptism ought not to be understood, as if it were a sign of the *washing away* of sin; but, properly, it is the sign of a *resurrection*, by faith in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, of which baptism is a very lively and expressive figure; as was also the ark of Noah, out of which he returned, as it were out of a sepulchre to a new life. . . . And so was the whale's belly, out of which Jonah arose, after a three days' burial; and the cloud and the Red Sea, in which the people of Israel are said to have been baptized; that is, not washed, but buried. For all these were types of the same thing with baptism; not of the *washing away* of sin, i. e. the *putting off the filth of the flesh*, but of the *death and resurrection* of Christ, and at the same time of ours. To this truth, apostles, fathers, schoolmen, and almost all interpreters, give their suffrage. The thing is indeed so manifest, that there is no need of testimonies to confirm it: but because there are not a few that otherwise teach, it will not be superfluous, (that I may not seem to speak without proper authority) out of innumerable testimonies to produce a few. We begin with St. Paul. 'Know ye not that so many as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was

raised from the dead by the Father of glory, even so we also should walk in newness of life,' (Rom. vi. 3, 4, and Col. ii. 12; as also 1 Cor. xv. 29.) 'Else what shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all?' As if he had said, 'If there be no resurrection, to what purpose are we baptized? In vain does the church use the sign of baptism, if the dead rise not. Similar testimonies frequently occur in the fathers. For instance: 'That believing on his death, by his baptism ye may be rendered partakers of his resurrection.' Ignat. Ep. ad Tral. 'Baptism was given,' or appointed, 'to set forth the death of our Lord.' Ep. ad Philadel. in the name of Ignat. 'In baptism we perform the signs of his passion and resurrection.' Just. Mart. 'We know one saving baptism, seeing there is but one death for the world, and one resurrection from the dead, of which baptism is a type.' Basil. Mag. 'Hear Paul speaking aloud, They passed through the sea, and were all baptized in the cloud and in the sea. He calls their passage through the sea, BAPTISM; for it was an escape from death accomplished by water.' Basil. Seleuc. 'To be baptized and plunged, then to return and emerge, are a sign of our descent to Hades, and of an ascent from it.' Chrysost. 'Baptism is a pledge and figure of the resurrection.' Ambros. 'Baptism is an earnest of the resurrection.' Lactan. 'Dipping bears the resemblance of death, and of a burial.' Bern. I might accumulate innumerable testimonies; but these, I think, are abundantly sufficient to prove, that baptism is properly a type of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; and also of all believers that are baptized into the faith of him, from a death in sin to newness of life; which if they do in this world, they have a most firm hope, that after death they shall, with Christ, arise to glory.'—*Animadvers. in Lib. Nov. Test. ad 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21*, pp. 178, 179, 180. *Oxon. 1677.*

66. Bp. Hoadly. "This latter expression [*buried with Christ and rising with him*] made use of by St. Paul, with relation to baptism, is taken from the custom of immersion in the first days, and from that particular manner of baptizing proselytes; by which they were first covered with water, and in a state, as it were, of death and inactivity, and then arose out of it into a sort of new state of life and action. And if baptism had been then performed as it is now amongst us, we should never have so much as heard of this form of expression, of *dying and rising again* in this rite."—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 890.

67. Dr. Scott. "Those phrases, 'buried with Christ,' are only the sense and signifi-

cation of that eastern custom in baptism, viz. of plunging the baptized person under water, and raising him up again—and the significancy of them, the apostle here (Rom. vi. 3. 4. 5,) plainly tells us, wholly refers to the death, and burial, and resurrection of Christ; and therefore the plunging under water must necessarily refer to Christ's death and burial, and the raising up again to his resurrection."—*Works*, vol. i. 446, edit. 1718.

68. Anonymous. "The water [of baptism] symbolically expresses, by immersing into it, the death of Christ, or—*being baptized*—into his death, (Rom. vi. 3;) emerging out of it, his resurrection, and our rising with him unto righteousness—the whole body of sin, with all its members, dying with him to sin by immersion, and by emersion rising with him to newness of life."—*Cure of Deism*, vol. i. chap. iv. pp. 120, 121, 124.

69. Mr. Doutrin. "What did this dipping in [in the administration of baptism] signify? By the dipping in, and remaining for a little space under, and rising up out of the water, was signified the communion of believers with Christ, in his death, burial, and resurrection. (See Rom. vi. 3, 6.)" *Scheme of Div. Truths*, chap. xxii. quest. 25.

70. Dr. Balguy. "Bapsum represents to our view a purification from sin. The apostle indeed carried his idea farther, and considered the act of immersion in water as signifying a *burial*; the termination of our sinful life: and the rising again from the water as a new birth; as an entrance, that is, on a life of piety and virtue."—*Discourses on Various Subjects*, p. 302.

71. Dr. Towerson. "One other particular there is, wherein I have said the water of baptism to have been intended as a sign; and that is in respect of that manner of application, which was sometime used, I mean the *dipping* or *plunging* the party baptized in it. A signification which St. Paul will not suffer those to forget, who have been acquainted with his Epistles. For with reference to that manner of baptizing, we find him affirming, (Rom. vi. 4,) that we are 'buried with Christ by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.' And again, (verse 5,) that 'if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.' To the same purpose, or rather yet more clearly, doth that apostle discourse, where he tells us, (Col. ii. 12,) that as we are 'buried with Christ in baptism,' so we do 'therein rise also with him through the faith of the

operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.' For what is this but to say, That as the design of baptism was to oblige men to conform so far to Christ's death and resurrection, as to die unto sin, and live again unto righteousness; so it was performed by the ceremony of immersion, that the person immersed might, by that very ceremony, which was no obscure image of a sepulchre, be minded of the precedent death; as, in like manner, by his coming again out of the water, of his rising from that death to life, after the example of the Institutor thereof? . . . The thing signified by the sacrament of baptism, cannot otherwise be well represented, than by an immersion; or, at least, by some more general way of purification, than that of effusion, or sprinkling. For though the pouring, or sprinkling of a little water upon the face, may suffice to represent an internal washing, which seems to be the general end of Christ's making use of the sacrament of baptism; yet can it not be thought to represent such an *entire* washing, as that of new-born infants was, and as baptism may seem to have been intended for, because represented as the *laver of regeneration*: That, though it do [not] require an immersion, yet requiring such a general washing at least, as may extend to the whole body; as other than which cannot answer its type, nor yet that general, though internal purgation, which baptism was intended to represent. The same is to be said yet more upon the account of our conforming to the death and resurrection of Christ, which we learn from St. Paul, to have been the design of baptism to signify. For though that might, and was well enough represented, by the baptized person's being buried in baptism, and then rising out of it, yet can it not be said to be so, or at least but very imperfectly, by the pouring out, or sprinkling the baptismal water on him. But, therefore, as there is so much the more reason to represent the rite of immersion, as the ONLY LEGITIMATE rite of baptism, because THE ONLY ONE that can answer the ends of its institution, and those things which were to be signified by it; so, especially if (as is well known, and undoubtedly of great force,) the general practice of the primitive church was agreeable thereto, and the practice of the Greek church to this very day. For who can think either the one or the other would have been so tenacious of so troublesome a rite, were it not that they were well assured, as they of the primitive church might very well be, of its being the ONLY INSTITUTED AND LEGITIMATE ONE?" — *Of the Sacram. of Bap.* part iii. pp. 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58.

72. Bengelius. "He that is baptized

puts on Christ, the second Adam; he is baptized, I say, into a whole Christ, and therefore also into his death: and it is like as if, in that very moment, Christ suffered, died, and was buried for such a man; and such a man suffered, died, and was buried with Christ."—*Gnomon, ad Rom.* vi. 3.

73. Bochartus. "The plunging performed in baptism, signifies a death to sin; and the emersion, a new life."—*Opera*, tom. i. p. 1029, edit. 1682.

74. Daille. "In the primitive church, the greater part of those that were baptized, being persons of age, were unclothed, and then plunged into the water, whence they immediately came forth; whereby they testified that they did put off the body of sin, the habit of the first Adam, and buried it in the saving waters of Jesus Christ, as in its mystical grave, and came forth thence risen up to a new life."—*Sermons on Epist. to Coloss.* chap. ii. 12, p. 245.

75. Venema. "It is generally agreed among divines, that the communion of a believer with Christ and the effects of his obedience, by which the guilt, the pollution, and the punishment of sin are taken away, and so the remission of sin, sanctification, and glorification are conferred, are presented to view in baptism; yet they do not sufficiently show the way and manner in which that representation is made, and frequently speak with but little consistency. If, in baptism, the appearance of nothing but *washing* offered itself to our consideration, the thing would be easy. For seeing we are delivered from sin by the obedience of Christ, that would be readily understood by every one, as the cause of our purification, and as represented by water, in which there is a cleansing virtue; especially, as the scripture usually comprehends it under the emblem of water. But washing is neither the only idea, nor, as I think, the principal one, of this sacrament; but more truly that of *suffocating*, and of bringing death on the flesh, an effect which water produces, seems here to be intended: as well, because the apostle asserts it in express words, (Rom. vi. 3, 4; Col. ii. 12,) as that baptism is elsewhere compared to the deluge and the Red Sea, (1 Pet. iii. 21; 1 Cor. x. 1, 2.) Why? Because in the former passage Peter calls baptism *αντιτυπον*, the *antitype* of the water of the deluge; which word there, in a special and peculiar sense, denotes a *parallel*; by which is declared, that the deluge and baptism depict the same spiritual thing, and in a mystical representation answer one another: and, lastly, because the apostle (1 Pet. iii. 21,) seems to derive the idea of washing, from that power of *killing* which there is in water. For the death of sin, and of the flesh

really and properly consists in the washing away of spiritual filth; and therefore is rightly comprehended under the appearance of *putting to death*. When, therefore, Peter had compared baptism to the deluge, and so had attributed to it power of cleansing; he immediately beholds in it *σάρκος ἀποδοιρῆσαι*, a *putting off the filth of the flesh*. Farther: That the idea of *washing* is not the first and the principal signification of baptism, plainly appears from the rite of *immersion*; in which way it used to be administered by the apostles and first Christians; for that leads us to think, not so much of *washing* as of *putting to death*. Once more: The phrase, *laver of regeneration*, which is used by Paul, (Tit. iii. 5,) does not so properly signify washing, as *renovation from death*.

"Let us try, then, in this way to unfold the mystery. The water, as is manifest, both from the immersion of Christ, and the comparison with the deluge and the Red Sea, denotes what is called, the *punishing justice* of God; by which a sinner is not acquitted, without the public sanctification of Jehovah's name, which is usually denominated the *wrath* of God. Into this justice Christ was immersed. He took it on himself, when he was perfected by sufferings and put to death; by which he not only bore, but placated the wrath of God. So that, being freed from the sins which were laid upon him, he rested in the sepulchre in peace; for the curse was then taken from the earth. But he obtained a more excellent sign of sin being expiated, and of justice being satisfied, in his resurrection from the dead; when he was not only justified, but also obtained the whole promised glory, which is his most complete emersion. This is the *baptism* of Christ, concerning which he speaks, (Matt. xx. 22;) and this was represented by the baptism of water, that was administered to him by John. This is the righteousness of Christ, accomplished by his obedience and death; by which, being released from a charge of guilt, he received a right to the promised blessings. Hence, farther, a judgment must be formed concerning the baptism of believers; seeing their communion, not only with the righteousness of Christ, but also with the manner of obtaining it, is, in a certain way, signified and sealed; in which the mystery of baptism consists.

"That this may a little more plainly appear, it must be maintained, that the aforesaid communion with Christ consists both in the imputation of his righteousness, as it is usually called in the schools, and in a real communication of it. The former, for the sake of Christ's righteousness, confers justification by the gracious sentence of

God, and implies that believers were comprehended in their Sponsor; so that whatever Christ suffered, they may be esteemed as having underwent. According to this benign interpretation, they are themselves reputed as immersed in the justice of God; and, in Christ, they also possess a right of acceptance in a more excellent manner than if they themselves had obtained it: which great mystery of our faith is first of all presented to view in baptism, and is made sure to believers by a seal and pledge. . . . This, if I may so speak, is our *imputative* immersion in the justice of God, and emersion out of it; our death and resurrection, which baptism exhibits to view."—*Dissertation. Sac. l. ii. c. xiv. § 9, 10, 11, 12. See also Dr. Watt's Hymns, b. i. No. 122. Mr. Marchant's Exposit. of New Test. on Col. ii. 12. Vander Waeyen Varia Sacra, in Gal. iii. 27. p. 84. H. Hulsii Comment. in Israel. Pris. Prærog. p. 801. Mr. T. Bradbury's Duty and Doct. of Bap. p. 83. Hist. of Popery, vol. i. p. 196.*

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. Baptism being a gracious appointment of God, it must have an important meaning; and as it is a positive ordinance, the whole of its design must be fixed by divine institution: for we have no more authority to invent a signification for any rite of holy worship than we have to appoint the rite itself. The design of baptism, therefore, must be learned from the New Testament, and from such parts of that sacred volume as have an immediate reference to it. *See Chap. I. No. 2, 16, 20.*

Were we divested of partiality and prepossessions, there is reason to conclude, that it would not be very difficult to discover the chief design of our Lord in his positive appointments. The following words of Dr. Owen are here worthy of notice. "This was a great part of the imperfection of legal institutions, that they taught the things which they signified and represented *obscurely*, and the mind of God in them was not learned but with much difficulty. . . . But all the ordinances and institutions of the gospel do give light into, and exhibit the things themselves unto the minds and faith of believers. Hereon they discern the reasons and grounds of their use and benefit; whence our whole worship is called our *reasonable service*. (Rom. xii. 1.)"*

That positive ordinances derive all their utility from divine institution, and that it is of great importance to know and comply with the revealed intention of God in their appointment, Pædobaptists have abundant-

* On Heb. vii. 11, vol. iii. p. 171.

ly taught. Thus Dr. Hunter, for instance: "Positive and arbitrary institutions derive all their value and use, from a right understanding of their meaning and the design of their author."*—Dr. Owen: "There is nothing in religion that hath any efficacy for compassing an end, but it hath it from God's appointment of it to that purpose. . . . God may in his wisdom appoint and accept of ordinances and duties unto one end, which he will refuse and reject when they are applied unto another. . . . To do a thing appointed unto an end, without aiming at that end, is no better than the not doing it at all; in some cases much worse."† Mr. Baxter: "We must not take liberty, upon our own fancies, to add new ends to God's ordinances;"‡ nay, he represents the annexing of a new design to the ordinance before us, as the inventing of *a new baptism*.§ To these declarations we cordially assent without the least hesitation.

Reflect. II. These learned authors are almost unanimous in considering baptism as principally intended by the great Legislator, to represent the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ; the *communion* his people have with him in those momentous facts; and their *interest* in the blessings thence resulting. To confirm and illustrate which, they agree in applying the declarations of Paul, recorded in Rom. v. 4; and Col. ii. 12. Now, if such be the chief design of the ordinance; if these passages of holy writ be pertinently applied; and if there be any correspondence between the sign and the things that are signified by it, immersion must be the mode of administration. Nay, supposing our *purification from sin* by the blood of Christ were the first and principal thing intended and suggested by baptism, yet the same consequence would naturally follow; for that purification must be either partial, or complete. Not the former, our opposers themselves being judges: it must, therefore be the latter. Of perfect purification, then, baptism is either an expressive emblem or it is not. If not, why such a ritual service appointed in preference to any other that might have exhibited the blessing in a far more striking point of light? To this reasoning Pædobaptist authors give attestation. Thus, for example, Stapferus: "Between an arbitrary sign and the thing signified, there may be an agreement, or similitude; which is the reason of one sign being chosen rather than another. And by how much the more a sign is fitted

to excite certain thoughts, and to represent the thing signified, by so much the better or more useful, it is. Whence it follows, that the illustration of an invisible thing, *depends on the LIKENESS there is between the sign and the SPIRITUAL OBJECT to be represented in the mind.*"*—Mr. Blake: "They [sacraments] are analogical signs, such as carry analogy and proportion with the thing signified; they have ever an aptness in them for resemblance. That of Austin is famous: 'If sacraments carry no resemblance of the things whereof they are sacraments, they are no sacraments at all.' "†—Jacob. Laurentius: "In all sacraments there ought to be some similitude, or analogy, between the sign and the thing signified."‡—Mastricht: "Similitude and analogy, between the sign and the thing signified, are necessarily supposed in every sacrament."§—Chamierus, when handling this particular, and having produced the saying of Austin that is mentioned by Mr. Blake, immediately adds: "In which all divines have acquiesced, as in an oracle."|| If in baptism, then, there be an expressive emblem of *perfect purification* from sin, immersion must be the mode of administration; because nothing short of that represents a total washing. I may here venture an appeal to the common sense of mankind; whether pouring or sprinkling a little water on the *face*, or an immersion of the *whole body*, be better adapted to excite the idea of an entire cleansing. See No. 71.

Reflect. III. Dr. Addington tells us, that "the supposition of Paul's alluding here (Rom. vi. 3, 4,) to the mode of immersion in baptism, as bearing a resemblance to the burial and resurrection of Christ, is entirely founded on a mistaken interpretation of the passage. Without referring in the least to that, or any other mode of administering the ordinance, Paul gives us an account of the nature and design of it; as figuring, not any scenes through which our Redeemer passed, but that great change on the heart of the true Christian convert, which is effected by the washing of regeneration."¶ If, then, the apostle gives "us an account of the *nature*" of baptism as well as of its design, he must speak of baptism *itself*; which cannot but include the mode of administration. This he does when representing it under the notion of a *burial* with Christ. Yet were we, in opposition to these numerous and respectable authors, to understand the passage as referring only to the design

* Sacred Biography, vol. iii. p. 215.

† Mortification of Sin, chap. iii. On Heb. x. 5—10, and on Heb. ii. 1.

‡ Plain Scrip. Proof, p. 301. edit. 4th.

§ Disputations of Right to Sac. p. 162.

* Institut. Theolog. Polem. tom. i. cap. iii. § 1625.

† Covenant sealed, p. 45.

‡ Dialog. Eucharist. cap. iv. § 51.

§ Theologia, l. vii. c. iii. § 8.

|| Panstrat. tom. iv. l. i. c. xi. § 29.

¶ Christian Minist. Reas. pp. 44, 45.

of the ordinance, immersion would still be the proper mode of administration. For supposing, though far from granting, that Paul means only to give an account of the ordinance, as figuring that great change on the heart of a real convert; yet, while it is allowed that he speaks of this important change under the notion of a death, a burial, and a resurrection; and while it is maintained that baptism is a *figure* of that change, we are naturally led to conclude, that immersion is the only suitable mode. What *figure*, what *resemblance* is there, of a death, a burial, and a resurrection, in sprinkling a few drops of water on the face of a person? or, if there be any similitude between the act and the things intended, it is of that kind which Dr. Addington himself describes, when he says: "A strong imagination, or a prejudiced mind, may find an object, and then point out a resemblance in many particulars; but no reader of judgment and caution will strain so obscure an allusion."* See Chap. II. No. 1, 33, 36, 71, 75. Mr. Henry having given a view of the passage similar to that of Dr. Addington, Mr. Jenkins replies: "A Quaker would thank him for the remark, that *our conformity to Christ lies not in the sign, but in the thing signified*; and prove from his own words, that this text does not intend water-baptism, but some inward work so expressed; as also, that the Lord's supper means no external ordinance, but an inward conformity to Christ's death."† The people called Quakers, when commenting on the passage before us, express themselves in the following manner. William Dell: "You see, that the same baptism of the Spirit that makes us die with Christ, doth also quicken us into his resurrection, and deprives us of our own life; not that we may remain dead, but that it may communicate to us a better life than our own, even the life of Christ himself."‡——John Gratton: "Can any man conclude, that Paul here speaks of water-baptism? Is it not plainly said, *into Christ*? Not into water but into Christ, into death."§——Robert Barelay considers Rom. vi. 3. 4; Gal. iii. 27; and Col. ii. 12, as expressing the *effects* of what he calls the baptism of the Spirit.¶ So nearly does the sense of the passage, according to Dr. Addington, coincide with that of the Quakers. We may therefore conclude, that whether baptism was intended to represent a purification from sin, by the blood of Christ; or the death of the old, and the quickening of the new man, by the Spirit of God; or the death, burial,

and resurrection of our divine Sponsor; immersion is the only proper way of its administration. By this mode of proceeding, all those ideas are fully and strongly expressed; which cannot be affirmed of pouring or sprinkling, because neither the one nor the other is adapted to the allusions in the sacred text. Besides, it is highly probable, as Bp. Hoadly has well observed that if pouring or sprinkling had been practised in the apostolic times, "we should never have so much as heard of *dying*, and *rising again*," in baptism. See No. 66.

Reflect. IV. Witsius has observed, that there is little or no analogy between *wafers*, which are used in the holy supper by Roman Catholics, and the *bread* which our Lord appointed for that purpose.* It has also been maintained, that real bread should not only be used, but *broken*, at the Lord's table, to preserve and exhibit the intended analogy. With reference to this, Heidegger says: "Between the *breaking* of bread and the *crucifixion* of the body of Christ, there is an analogy, or likeness; which analogy sufficiently demonstrates the necessity of breaking the bread in the sacred supper."† So, likewise, various eminent Pædobaptists have pleaded for the baptismal immersion, to prevent the gracious design of our Lord in the ordinance from being obscured and lost. Thus Wolfius: "There have been some learned Christians, who were of opinion, that the rite of plunging should be recalled into practice, lest the mystical signification of baptism *should be entirely lost*."‡ Sir Norton Knatchbull observes, that the true and genuine reason of baptism being appointed "*is almost lost*," by the change of immersion into pouring or sprinkling.§ The very famous Buddeus, after having given a summary view of the arguments for immersion, from Zeltnerus, adds: "He who accurately considers these things, will be of opinion, that they are by no means to be blamed, who, though they do not reject sprinkling, yet *wish that immersion had never been deserted*: or, if possible, that it might be restored: among whom is Spenerus, nay, Luther himself.... That all doubts and scruples may be removed, the advice of Zeltnerus, a very learned divine of Altorf, should certainly be received; who persuades to the use of a *larger affusion*, that by so doing the want of immersion may be compensated."|| Now, reader, what think you of these declarations from the pens of Pædobaptists, whose characters are high in the learned world, and in the Protestant churches? Could they have

* Ut supra, p. 37.

† Inconsistency of Infant Sprinkling with Christian Bap. p. 98.

‡ Select Works, pp. 404, 405.

§ Life of John Gratton, p. 171, edit. 1720.

¶ Apology, proposition xli. § 4.

* (Econ. l. iv. c. xvii. § 7.

† Corp. Theolog. loc. xxv. § 83.

‡ Curæ, ad Rom. vi. 4.

§ Annotat. ad 1 Pet. iii. 21.

|| Theolog. Dogmat. l. v. c. i. § v. p. 1055.

spoken more strongly in our favor, without pronouncing pouring and sprinkling a mere nullity? What but evidence of the strongest kind could induce persons of such a character implicitly to condemn their own practice, as insufficient to answer the design of baptism? The Papists, indeed, may as well pretend that the bread, or the wine, used alone at the Lord's table, fully represents the design of the ordinance, as for any to say that the intention of baptism is completely answered by pouring or sprinkling a few drops of water on any part of the body; as well might Francisus (a Sancta Clara) reconcile the Thirty-nine Articles to the canons of the Council of Trent,* as any of our brethren accommodate Rom. vi. 3, 4, and Col. ii. 12, to their own practice. Dr. Nichols, in defiance of common sense, when defending the custom of kneeling at the Lord's table, asserts, that the Dissenters themselves, "by their posture of *sitting*, no more represent a feast, than we [of the church of England] do by *kneeling*;"† and it is with equal propriety pretended by some, that a death, a burial, and a resurrection, are exhibited to view, as well by pouring or sprinkling, as by immersion.

Hence it is that some of those learned Pædobaptists, produced in the preceding pages, finding it hard, if not impossible, to reconcile the obvious and genuine meaning of Rom. vi. 3, 4, and Col. ii. 12, with the natural import of their own practice, manifestly speak, as if the ordinance of baptism represented one thing in the apostolic times, and another now. See No. 7, 42. What can be the reason of this? If there be only *one* baptism, as the apostle asserts; and if that institution be not altered since the time of Paul, it must have the very same signification, and that in the same degree; because it must represent the same objects, with an equal perspicuity, and in the same way, as when administered by that ambassador of Christ. It must be entirely the same, whether practised in Judea, or in Britain; in the first, or in the eighteenth century. How lamentable it is to think, that such great men as H. Alting, F. Turretin, and various others, should sacrifice thus to the love of hypothesis!

Reflect. V. Some of these eminent Pædobaptists, far from viewing the metaphorical baptism of which the apostle speaks, (1 Cor. x. 2,) as militating against the necessity of immersion; represent it as conveying the same leading idea with Rom. vi. 4, and Col. ii. 12; which latter passages

are undoubtedly much in our favor. See No. 7, 65, 75. To the opinion of Turretin, Knatchbull, and Venema, on 1 Cor. x. 2, we may add the sentiments of several others, whose characters are high in the learned world. Grotius, on the passage, expresses himself thus: "The cloud hung over the heads of the Israelites; and so the water is over those that are baptized. The sea surrounded them on each side; and so the water encompasses those that are baptized." Witsius, when remarking on the text, speaks to this effect: "How were the Israelites *baptized in the cloud, and in the sea*, seeing they were neither immersed in the sea, nor wetted by the cloud? It is to be considered, that the apostle here uses the term baptism in a figurative sense; yet there is some agreement even in the external sign. The sea is water, and a cloud differs but little from water. The cloud hung over their heads; and so the water is over those that are baptized. . . . The sea surrounded them on each side; and so the water, in regard to those that are baptized."* Braunius, in perfect agreement with No. 7, 65, 75: says: "The Israelites are said to be *baptized in the cloud and in the sea*; and it represented a death, and a resurrection (1 Pet. iii. 21; Rom. vi. 3, 4.)"† Still more fully Mr. Gataker: "The going down of the Israelites into the bottom and middle of the sea, and their coming up from thence to dry ground, have a great agreement with the rite of Christian baptism, as it was administered in the first times: seeing the persons to be baptized went down into the water, and again came up out of it; of which *going down* and *coming up*, express mention is made in the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, (Acts viii. 33, 39.) Nay farther, as in the Christian rite, when persons are baptized, they are overwhelmed, and, as it were, buried in water, and seem in a manner to be buried with Christ; and again, when they emerge, they arise as out of a sepulchre, and are represented as risen again with Christ, (Rom. vi. 4, 5; Col. ii. 12;) so the Israelites might seem, when passing through the waters of the sea, that were higher than their heads, to be overwhelmed, and, as it were, buried; and again to emerge and arise, when they escape to the opposite shore."‡—Mr. Poole's Continuator: "Others most probably think, that the apostle useth this term [baptism] in regard of the great analogy betwixt baptism, as it was then used; the persons going down into the waters, and being dipped in them, and the Israelites

* See Dr. Waterland's Importance of Doct. of Trinity, p. 211.

† In Mr. Peirce's Vindical. of Dissenters, part iii. p. 206.

* Œcon. Fœd. l. iv. c. x. § 11. Vid. ejusdem Miscell. Sac. tom. ii. p. 529.

† Doctrina Fœd. loc. xviii. c. x. § 7.

‡ Adversar. Miscel. cap. iv.

going down into the sea, the great receptacle of water: though the waters at that time were gathered on heaps, on either side of them, yet they seemed *buried* in the water, as persons in that age were when they were baptized."—Dr. Hammond; The cloud was "a concave body over their heads, and so coming down to the ground like wings enclosing and encompassing them on every side—and dry ground being left them in the midst of the channel, and the sea encompassing them on every side, before them, behind them, on the right hand, and on the left, and so the cloud environed them in like manner; the sea environed them also."—Dr. Whitby: "They were *covered with the sea on both sides*, (Exod. xiv. 22.) So that both the cloud and the sea had some resemblance to our being covered with water in baptism. Their going into the sea, resembled the ancient rite of going into the water; and their coming out of it, their rising up out of the water."—Hulsius: "Baptism, and indeed immersion in the sea, continued for a time; but they were baptized longer under the cloud."*—Bp. Patrick: "God, by the covering of the cloud, took them under his wings and protection, owning them for his people; and they, passing through the heart of the sea, the waters enclosing them round about, did profess to trust in God, and there to drown all the thoughts of Egypt, which sometimes they feared, and sometimes they loved over much."†—Mr. Burkitt: "The Israelites are here said to be *baptized in the cloud, and in the sea*: that is, the cloud which overshadowed them, did sometimes bedew and sprinkle them; and the Red Sea, through which they passed, had its waters gathered into two heaps, one on the right hand, and the other on the left, betwixt which the Israelites passed, and in their passage seemed to be buried in the waters; as persons in that age were put under the water, when they were baptized: and thus were Israel baptized in the cloud and in the sea."

Other learned Pædobaptists there are, who, when commenting on the text, do not seem to have the least suspicion of its being inimical to the necessity of immersion. For instance: Camero, on the passage says: "How were the Israelites baptized in the cloud and in the sea? for they were neither dipped in the sea, nor wetted by the cloud."—Bengelius: "They were baptized in the cloud, inasmuch as they were under it; and in the sea, seeing they passed through it: but neither the cloud nor the sea wetted, much less immersed them,

(though some conjecture, from Psalm lxviii. 9, and cv. 39, that a miraculous rain fell from the cloud,) nor is the appellation, *baptism*, extant in the narrative of Moses. Nevertheless, Paul very agreeably denominates it thus, because a cloud and the sea are both of a watery nature; therefore Paul says nothing of the fiery pillar: and because the cloud and the sea withdrew the fathers from sight and returned them, almost in a similar manner as the water does those that are baptized."*—Marckius: "The Israelites were covered with the cloud from above under the conduct of Moses, so that they were as if immersed in those heavenly waters: and this was intended, not to prefigure the future external baptism of water in the Christian church, as many, both ancients and moderns, have rashly thought; but to intimate the same grace of Christ which baptism now seals to us."† See Chap. IV. No. 20. Now, either these learned authors were extremely inadvertant, or they were very generous to their opponents, in giving up an argument well adapted to defend their own practice; or our opposers proceed on a gross mistake, when they plead this passage against us. Besides, as every one sees the term *baptized* is here used merely by way of allusion; and as the allusive acceptance of a word should never be made the standard of its literal and proper sense; it must be very incongruous to produce this passage in favor of sprinkling, and shows great poverty of argument in defence of the common practice. See Chap. II. Reflect. VIII.

Reflect. VI. If then so many of the most eminent Pædobaptists agree, that the term baptism, properly speaking, signifies immersion; and if, to so great a degree, they farther unite in declaring, that the principal facts represented by the ordinance are, the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, as the substitute of his chosen people; their communion with him in those facts, and their interest in the blessings produced by them; we have reason to conclude, on their own principles and concessions, that there neither is, nor can be, any valid plea for pouring or sprinkling, as a proper mode of administration. This must be the case, except it should appear on farther enquiry, that the apostles and first Christians did not practice what the name of the ordinance is allowed to imply, and the design of the institution seems to require. We must therefore consider, in the following chapter, what some of the most learned Pædobaptists have to say on that part of the subject.

* Comment. in Israel. Prisc. Prærog. dissert. ii. § 25.
† Discourse of the Lord's Supper, pp. 417, 418.

* Gnomon, in loc.
† Bib. Exercit. exercit. viii. § 12.

CHAPTER IV.

The Practice of John the Baptist, of the Apostles, and of the Church in succeeding Ages, in regard to the Manner of administering the Ordinance of Baptism.

[N. B. Candor demands we should here acknowledge, that though these numerous and learned authors have expressed themselves in the following manner; yet many of them insist upon it as highly probable, that the apostles did sometimes administer baptism by pouring or sprinkling.]

WITSIUS. "It is certain that both John the Baptist, and the disciples of Christ, ordinarily practised immersion; whose example was followed by the ancient church, as Vossius hath shown, by producing many testimonies from the Greek and Latin writers. Disp. I de Baptismo, thes. vi. and also Hoornbeek, de Baptismo Veterum, sect. iv."—*Econ. Fœd.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 13.

2. L'Enfant. "'In the water—in the Holy Ghost.' These words do very well express the ceremony of baptism, which was at first performed by plunging the whole body in water, as also the copious effusion of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost."—*Note on Matt. iii. 11.* Eng. transl.

3. Anonymous. "If we have regard to the manner in which the idea of baptism is naturally adapted to the situation of a guilty creature, zealous to express his abhorrence of sin; or to the general practice of the Jewish, as well as other eastern nations; to the example of our Lord, and of his disciples; and to the most plain and obvious construction of the Greek language; we shall be inclined to believe that infant *sprinkling* is not an institution of Christianity, but a deviation from the original rite, which was performed by dipping, or plunging into water. . . . The arguments by which the Pædobaptists support their practice and doctrine, appear to us to be so forced and violent, that we are of opinion, nothing but the general prevalence of infant sprinkling could have so long supported it."—*English Review for Nov. 1783.* p. 351.

4. Gurtlerus. "The action in this element of water, in immersion; which rite continued for a long time in the Christian church, until, in a very late age, it was changed into sprinkling: of which an example is hardly to be found in ancient history, except what relates to the clinics or sick persons, who, when confined to their beds, were to be initiated by the sign of the covenant of grace. Hence baptized

persons are said to have 'descended into the water,' and to be 'buried with Christ into death,' (Matt. iii. 16; Acts viii. 38; Rom. vi. 4;) for they who are immersed in water are covered with it, and as it were buried in it, until they arise out of it."—*Institut. Theolog.* cap. xxxiii. § 117, 118.

5. Bp. Davenant. "In the ancient church, they not only sprinkled, but immersed those whom they baptized."—*Expos. Epist. ad Colos.* in cap. ii. 12.

6. Pictetus. "As to the manner of administering baptism, it was usual in ancient times for the whole body to be immersed in water; as appears from Matt. iii. 6, 16; John iii. 23; and Acts viii. 38. This rite might be used in those warm countries; and it must be confessed, that such a rite most happily represented that grace by which our sins are, as it were, drowned, and we raised again from the abyss of sin."—*Theolog. Christ.* l. xiv. c. iv. § 17. Geneva. 1696.

7. Dr. Robert Newton. "It must be confessed, that in the primitive times, and in those hot countries where the gospel was first preached, baptism for the most part was administered by dipping or plunging the person baptized into water. . . . This ceremony of washing with water was the usual way among the Jews of receiving proselytes; and from thence it was introduced by our Saviour into his church."—*Pract. Exposit. of Catechism*, pp. 294, 295.

8. Piscator. "Ἰόρδαν πολλὰ, signifies many rivers; as ἰόρδαν, in the singular number, denoted the river Jordan. This is mentioned to signify the ceremony of baptism which John used; that is, immersing the whole body of a person standing in the river. Whence Christ, being baptized of John in Jordan, is said to *ascend out of the water*, (Matt. iii.) The same manner was observed by Philip, (Acts viii. 38.)"—*Ad Joh. iii. 23, in Mr. Henry Lawrence's Treatise of Bap.* chap. v. p. 64.

9. Abp. Secker. "Burying, as it were, the person baptized in the water, and raising him out of it again, without question, was anciently the more usual method: on account of which St. Paul speaks of baptism, as representing both the death, and burial, and resurrection of Christ, and what is grounded on them, our being dead and buried to sin, renouncing it, and being acquitted of it; and our rising again to walk in newness of life."—*Lectures on the Catechism*, lect. xxxv.

10. Mastricht. "The sign representing, or the element in baptism, is water; the sign applying, is washing; whether it be performed by immersion, (Matt. iii. 6, 16; John iii. 23; Acts viii. 38,) which ONLY was used by the apostles and primitive church-

es; because it is not only more agreeable in the warm eastern countries, but also more significant, (Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5;) or whether it be performed by sprinkling, which is not destitute of its foundation and analogy, (1 Pet. i. 2; Heb. x. 22; compare Isa. lii. 15, and Ezek. xxxvi. 25,) and is more agreeable in these countries."—*Theologia*, l. vii. c. iv. § 9.

11. Calvin. "From these words, (John iii. 23,) it may be inferred, that baptism was administered by John and Christ, by plunging the whole body under water. . . . Here we perceive how baptism was administered among the ancients; for they immersed the whole body in water. Now it is the prevailing practice for a minister only to sprinkle the body or the head."—*In Joan.* iii. 23; *Comment. in Act.* vii. 38.

12. Spanhemius, "To be baptized is denominated by Paul, a being *buried*, according to the ancient manner of baptizing. For immersion is a kind of burial; and emersion, a resurrection, to which the apostle alludes, Col. ii. 12. So Christ, being baptized, *went up out of the water*, (Matt. iii. 16.) The same is related concerning the Ethiopian eunuch, (Acts viii. 38.)"—*Dubiorum Evang.* pars. iii. dub. xxiv. § 2.

13. Vitringa. "The act of baptizing, is the immersion of believers in water. This expresses the force of the word. Thus also it was performed by Christ and the apostles."—*Aphorismi Sanct. Theolog.* aph. 884.

14. Bp. Patrick. "They [the primitive Christians] put off their old clothes, and stript themselves of their garments; then they were immersed all over, and buried in the water."—*Discourse of the Lord's Supper*, p. 421.

15. Marloratus. "From these words (John iii. 23,) it may be gathered, that baptism was performed by John and Christ, by plunging of the whole body."—*Comment. ad Joan.* iii. 23.

16. Mr. Stackhouse. "The observation of the Greek church, in relation to this matter [the baptism of Christ] is this: That he who ascended out of the water, must first descend down into it; and consequently, that baptism is to be performed, not by sprinkling, but by washing the body. And indeed, he must be strangely ignorant of the Jewish rites of baptism who seems to doubt of this; since, to the due performance of it, they required the immersion of the whole body to such a degree of nicety, that if any dirt was upon it, that hindered the water from coming to the part, they thought the ceremony not rightly done. The Christians, no doubt, took this rite from the Jews, and followed them in their manner of performing it. Accordingly,

several authors have shown, that we read no where in scripture of any one's being baptized, but by immersion; and from the acts of councils and ancient rituals have proved, that this manner of immersion continued (as much as possible) to be used for *thirteen hundred years* after Christ. But it is much to be questioned, whether the prevalence of custom, and the over fondness of parents, will, in these cold climates especially, ever suffer it to be restored."—*History of the Bib.* b. viii. chap. i. pp. 1234, 1235, Note. See also *Dr. Whitby*, on Matt. iii. 16.

17. Mr. Burkitt. "Observe the manner of the administration of baptism to the eunuch; he *went down into the water*, and was baptized by Philip. In those hot countries it was usual so to do, and we do not oppose the lawfulness of dipping in some cases, but the necessity of dipping in all cases."—*Expos. Notes on Acts* viii. 38.

18. Mr. John Wesley. "Mary Welsh, aged eleven days, was baptized according to the custom of the first church, and the rule of the church of England, by immersion. The child was ill then, but recovered from that hour. . . . 'Buried with him,' alluding to the ancient manner of baptizing by immersion."—*Extract of Mr. J. Wesley's Journal, from his embarking for Georgia*, p. 11, edit. 2nd; *Note on Rom.* vi. 4.

19. Confession of Helvetia. "Baptism was instituted and consecrated by God; and the first that baptized was John, who dipped Christ in the water, in Jordan."—*Harmony of Confess.* p. 395.

20. Zanchius. "The ancient church used to immerse those that were baptized. Thus Christ went down into Jordan and was baptized; as also others that were baptized by John. Of this thing, and of immersion, the passage of the people through the midst of the sea was a type; concerning which the apostle speaks, 1 Cor. x. 2. 'They were baptized,' says he, 'in the sea.'"—*Opera*, tom. vi. p. 217.

21. Hoornbeekius. "We do not deny that, in the first examples of persons baptized, they went into the water and were immersed."—*Socin. Confut.* l. iii. c. ii. sect. i. tom. iii. p. 268.

22. Daille. "It was a custom heretofore in the ancient church, to plunge those they baptized over head and ears in the water. . . . This is still the practice, both of the Greek and the Russian church, even at this very day."—*Right Use of the Fathers*, b. ii. p. 148.

23. Salmasius. "The ancients did not baptize otherwise than by immersion, either once, or thrice."—*Apud Witsium, Œcon Fæd.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 13.

24. Mr. Bower. "Baptism by immersion, was undoubtedly the apostolical prac-

tice, and was never dispensed with by the church, except in case of sickness, or when a sufficient quantity of water could not be had. In both these cases baptism by aspersion, or sprinkling, was allowed, but in no other."—*Hist. of the Popes*, vol. ii. p. 110. *Note*. See also p. 121, *Note*.

25. Mr. Poole's Continuators. "A great part of those who went to hear John were baptized, that is dipped in Jordan. . . . It is true, the first baptisms of which we read in holy writ, were by dippings of the persons baptized. It was in a hot country, where it might be at any time without the danger of persons lives; where it may be, we judge it reasonable, and most resembling *our burial with Christ by baptism into death*: but we cannot think it necessary, for God loveth mercy rather than sacrifice; and the thing signified by baptism, viz. *the washing away the soul's sins with the blood of Christ*, is in scripture expressed to us by pouring and sprinkling, (Ezek. xxxvi. 25; Heb. xii. 14; 1 Pet. i. 2.) . . . It is from this (John iii. 23,) apparent, that both Christ and John baptized by dipping the body in water; else they need not have sought places where had been a *great plenty* of water. . . . He [Paul] seems here (Rom. vi. 4.) to allude to the manner of baptizing in those warm eastern countries, which was to dip, or plunge the party baptized; and, as it were, to bury him for a while under water. See the like phrase, Col. ii. 12."—*Annotations on Matt.* iii. 6, and xxviii. 19, 20; John iii. 21; Rom. vi. 4.

26. Ravanellus. "In the first institution of baptism, when adult persons were chiefly baptized, and that in a warm country, immersion was used; as appears from Matt. iii. 16; Acts viii. 36, 38, 39; Rom. vi. 4, 5. But in the present age, in which infants are generally baptized, and that in cold countries, aspersion is practised, according to the law of charity, yet without any injury to the nature of the sacrament."—*Bibliotheca, sub voce, Baptismus*. *Genev.* 1652.

27. Marckius. "The action to be performed in the administration of baptism, is washing the body with water; which we think is rightly done, I. by immersion. 1. As in that act there is the greatest washing of the whole body. To signify which, the word is therefore (2) most frequently used. 3. It was commonly practised by John the Baptist, the disciples of Christ, (Matt. iii. 6, 16; John iii. 23; Acts viii. 33,) and the first Christians; and (4) to which reference is had, Rom. vi. 3, 4; Gal. iii. 27; Col. ii. 12."—*Compend. Theolog. Christ.* cap xxx. § 11. *Vid. ejusdem Bib. Exercitat.*, exercit. xxvii. § 2, 3.

28. Mosheim. "The exhortations of this respectable messenger [John the Baptist]

were not without effect; and those who, moved by his solemn admonitions, had formed the resolution of correcting their evil dispositions and amending their lives, were initiated into the kingdom of the Redeemer by the ceremony of immersion, or baptism, (Matt. iii. 6; John i. 22.) . . . The sacrament of baptism was administered in this [the second] century, without the public assemblies, in places appointed and prepared for that purpose, and was performed by immersion of the whole body in the baptismal font. . . . Those adult persons, that desire to be baptized [among the collegiants] receive the sacrament of baptism, according to the ancient and primitive manner of celebrating that institution, even by *immersion*."—*Æccles. Hist.* cent. i. part i. chap. iii. § 3; cent. ii. part ii. chap. iv. § 8; and cent. xvii. sect. ii. part ii. chap. vii. § 1.

29. Bp. Taylor. "The custom of the ancient churches was not sprinkling, but immersion; in pursuance of the sense of the word [baptize] in the commandment, and the example of our blessed Saviour. Now this was of so sacred account in their esteem, that they did not account it lawful to receive him into the clergy, who had been only sprinkled in his baptism, as we learn from the Epistle of Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch, apud Euseb, lib. vi. cap. xliii."—*Ductor Dubitantium*, b. iii. chap. iv. rule xv. p. 644.

30. Clignetius, "In the primitive times, persons baptized were entirely immersed in water. Thus Christ was baptized, as we are informed Matt. iii. 16, where it is said that Christ 'went up out of the water;' for a coming out, supposes a going in. To which form of baptizing Paul seems to have referred, (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12,) where he says, that 'we are buried with Christ by baptism;' for a death and burial are better expressed by immersion, than by sprinkling."—*In Thesaur. Disputat. Sedan.* tom. i. pp. 769, 770.

31. Mr. Doutrin. "How is this [baptismal] water administered to the baptized? Formerly it was done by dipping quite in; but in our climate only by sprinkling."—*Scheme of Div. Truths*, chap. xxii. quest. 24.

32. Mr. David Martin. "As baptism was performed by immersion, or plunging the entire person in a great depth of water, Jesus Christ has here (Mark x. 38, used this expression in the same sense as the prophets have mentioned gulfs and great waters, metaphorically to represent great afflictions."—*Note sur Marc.* x. 38.

33. Dr. Priestley. "This rite appears to have been generally, though probably not always, performed by dipping the whole body in water. . . . It is certain that

in very early times there is no particular mention made of any person being baptized by sprinkling only, or a partial application of water to the body."—*Hist. Corrupt.* vol. ii. pp. 66, 67.

34. Burmannus. "Immersion was used by the Jews, the apostles, and the primitive church, especially in warm countries. To this various forms of speaking used by the apostles refer, (Rom. vi. 3, 4; Col. ii. 12; Gal. iii. 27.) But in the west, and colder parts of the world, sprinkling prevailed."—*Synops. Theolog.* tom. ii. loc. xliiii. c. vi. § 9.

35. Mr. John Trapp. "There were, saith one, many ceremonies in baptism used in the primitive church; viz. putting off old clothes, drenching in water, so as to be buried in it, putting on new clothes at their coming out, to which Paul alludeth in these words."—*Commentary*, on Col. ii. 12.

36. Grotius. "That baptism used to be performed by immersion, and not by pouring, appears both from the proper signification of the word, and the places chosen for the administration of the rite, (John iii. 23; Acts viii. 38;) and also from the many allusions of the apostles, which cannot be referred to sprinkling, (Rom. vi. 3, 4; Col. ii. 12.)"—*Apud Polum, Synops.* ad Matt. iii. 6.

37. Castalio and Camerarius. "And were baptized; that is, they were immersed in water."—*Apud Poli Synopsin*, ad Matt. iii. 6.

38. Beza. "Ye have put on Christ: This phrase seems to proceed from the ancient custom of plunging the adult, in baptism."—*Annotat. ad Gal.* iii. 27.

39. Mr. Bingham. "The ancients thought that immersion, or burying under water, did more lively represent the death, and burial, and resurrection of Christ, as well as our own death unto sin, and rising again unto righteousness; and the divesting or unclothing of the person to be baptized, did also represent the putting off the body of sin, in order to put on the new man, which is created in righteousness and true holiness. . . . Persons thus divested, or unclothed, were usually baptized by immersion, or dipping of their whole bodies under water. . . . There are a great many passages in the epistles of St. Paul, which plainly refer to this custom; as this was the original apostolical practice, so it continued to be the universal practice of the church for many ages, upon the same symbolical reasons as it was first used by the apostles. . . . It appears from Epiphanius and others, that almost all heretics, who retained any baptism, retained immersion also. . . . The only heretics against whom this charge [of not baptizing by a total immersion] is brought, were the Eunomi-

ans, a branch of the Arians."—*Origin. Eccles.* b. xi. § 1, 4.

40. Buddeus. "Concerning baptism, it is particularly to be observed, that in the apostolic church it was performed by immersion into water: which, not now to mention other things, is manifest from this: The apostle seeks an image, in this immersion, of the death and burial of Christ, and of mortifying the old man and raising up of the new, (Rom. vi. 3, 4.) There are, indeed, some authors who think otherwise, and contend that sprinkling was practised in the apostolic church: to convince us of which, Dr. Lightfoot has left no stone unturned. But what may be said in answer to his arguments, has already appeared in my *Institut. Theolog. Dogmat.* l. v. c. i. § 5."—*Ecclesia Apostolica*, cap. vii. pp. 825, 826.

41. Heidanus. "That John the Baptist and the apostles immersed, there is no doubt, (Matt. iii. 6, 16; John iii. 23; Acts viii. 38;) whose example the ancient church followed, as is most evident from the testimonies of the fathers."—*Corp. Theol. Christ.* loc. xiv. tom. ii. p. 475.

42. Mr. Twells. "'Therefore we are buried with him, by being plunged into a sort of death. [So the author of the New Text and Version of the New Testament renders Rom. vi. 4.] What blundering explication is here! He should rather have said, by being plunged into a sort of grave, viz. the waters of baptism."—*Critical Examination*, part. i. p. 98.

43. Menochius and Estius. "The apostle, in Rom. vi. 4, alludes to the rite of immersion, when the body is, as it were, buried, and in a little while drawn out again, as from a sepulchre."—*Apud Poli, Synops. ad Rom.* vi. 4.

44. Lampe. "'Because there was much water there.' That plenty of water was necessary to the administration of baptism by immersion, to a very great multitude of people, is readily acknowledged."—*Comment. in Evangel. secund Joan.* ad cap. iii. 23.

45. Limborch. "Baptism, then, consists in washing, or rather immersing the whole body into water, as was customary in the primitive times. . . . The apostle alludes to the manner of baptizing, not as practised at this day, which is performed by sprinkling of water; but as administered of old, in the primitive church, by immersing the whole body in water, a short continuance in the water, and a speedy emersion out of the water."—*Complete Syst. of Divin. B.* V. chap. xxvii. sect. i. *Comment. in Epist. ad Rom.* in cap. vi. 4.

46. Sir Thomas Ridley. "The rites of baptism, in the primitive times, were per-

formed in rivers and fountains; and this manner of baptizing the ancient church entertained from the example of Christ, who was baptized of John in Jordan."—*In Thomas Lawson's Baptismalogia*, p. 105.

47. Mr. John Claude. "In his baptism, he [Christ] is plunged in the water."—*Essay on Compos. of Serm.* vol. i. p. 272.

48. H. Altingius. "This baptismal washing, in warm countries and ancient times, was performed by immersion into water, a continuance under the water, and an emersion out of the water; as the practice of John the Baptist, (Matt. iii. 6, 16; John iii. 23;) of Christ's apostles, (John iii. 22, and iv. 1, 2;) and of Philip, (Acts viii. 38;) and also the signification of these rites teach, (Rom. vi. 4.)"—*Luci Commun.* pars i. loc. xii. p. 199.

49. Hospinianus. "John the Baptist baptized Christ in Jordan, and Philip baptized the eunuch in a river, (Acts viii.) Lydia also, together with her household, seems to have been baptized in a river, near to Philippi, at which prayers were usually made, (Acts xvi.)"—*De Templis*, l. ii. c. iv. p. 80.

50. Curcellæus. "Baptism was performed by plunging the whole body into water, and not by sprinkling a few drops, as is now the practice. For 'John was baptizing in Ænon, near to Salim, because there was much water; and they came and were baptized,' (John iii. 23.) Nor did the disciples that were sent out by Christ administer baptism afterwards in any other way: and this is more agreeable to the signification of the ordinance, (Rom. vi. 4.) I am therefore of opinion, that we should endeavor to restore and introduce this primitive rite of immersing, if it may be done without offence to the weak; otherwise it seems better to tolerate this abuse, than to raise a disturbance in the church about it. . . . They are now ridiculed who desire to be baptized, not by sprinkling, but as it was performed by the ancient church, by an immersion of the whole body into water."—*Relig. Christ. Institut.* l. v. c. ii. *et apud Heidegg.* *Libert. Christ. a Lege Cib. Vet.* c. xiv. § 3.

51. Wolfius. "That baptismal immersion was practised in the first ages of the Christian church, many have shown from the writings of the ancients. . . . Some learned Christians therefore have judged, that the same rite of immersion should be recalled into practice at this day, lest the mystical signification of the ordinance should be lost. . . . Here the apostle alludes to immersion in baptism, practised of old."—*Cura, ad Rom.* vi. 4, *et Col.* ii. 12.

52. G. J. Vossius. "That John the Baptist and the apostles immersed persons whom they baptized, there is no doubt.

For thus we read: 'And they were baptized in Jordan. . . . And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water,' (Matt. iii. 6, 16.) It is also written, (John iii. 23,) 'John also was baptizing in Ænon, near to Salim, because there was much water there.' And (Acts viii. 38,) it is said: 'They went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch.' And that the ancient church followed these examples, is very clearly evinced by innumerable testimonies of the Fathers."—*Disputat. de Bap.* disp. i. § 6.

53. Sir Peter King. "To me it seems evident, that their [the primitive Christians'] usual custom was, to immerse, or dip, the whole body."—*Enquiry into the Constitut. of Prim. Church*, part ii. chap. iv. § 5.

54. Abp. Tillotson. "Anciently, those who were baptized, put off their garments, which signified the putting off the body of sin; and were immersed and buried in the water, to represent their death to sin; and then did rise up again out of the water, to signify their entrance upon a new life. And to these customs the apostle alludes, Rom. vi. 2—6; Gal. iii. 27."—*Works*, vol. i. serm. vii. p. 179, edit. Svo.

55. Frid Spanhemius, F. "This rite of immersion, and of bringing out of the baptismal water, was common and promiscuous in the apostolic age. Whence the apostle alludes to it, as a rite common to all Christians, Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12."—*Disputat. De Bap. pro Mortuis*, p. 16. *anexed by Dr. Du Veil, to his Literal Exposition of the Acts.*

56. Bp. Pearce. "I think the most probable meaning of the phrase [*baptized for the dead*], is to be fetched from Matt. xx. 22; Luke xii. 50; and Mark x. 38; in all which places βαπτισθαι signifies to die a violent death, by the hands of persecutors. It seems to have been a metaphor taken from the custom of those days in baptizing; for the person baptized went down under the water, and was (as it were) buried under it. Hence St. Paul says, (in Rom. vi. 4, and Col. ii. 12,) that they 'were buried with Christ by baptism.' So that this custom probably gave occasion to our Saviour to express his being to suffer death by the hands of the Jews, in the phrase of a *baptism* that he was to be baptized with. And St. Paul seems to have taken up the same phrase with a little variation, but still with the same meaning."—*Note on 1 Cor.* xv. 29.

57. Abp. Usher. "Some there are that stand strictly for the particular action of diving or dipping the baptized under the water, as the only action which the institution of the sacrament will bear; and our church allows no other, except in case of

the child's weakness; and there is expressed in our Saviour's baptism, both the descending into the water, and the rising up."—*Sum and Subs. of the Christ. Relig.* p. 413, edit. 6th.

58. Momma. "They were wont to go down into the water. Philip and the eunuch 'went down into the water,' (Acts viii. 38; compare verse 39.) Christ also, being baptized, *went up from the water*, (Matt. iii. 16;) therefore, he *went down into the water* to be baptized."—*De Statu Eccles.* tom. ii. c. v. § 193.

59. Theod. Hasæus. "Though, in the time of the apostles, the custom was not known which prevailed in the following ages; namely, that persons, immediately after their baptism, were clothed with white garments which they wore for a week afterward, and thence were called, *Albati, Candidati*; yet seeing they were entirely immersed in water, they could not be baptized without putting off, and again putting on, their clothes."—*Biblioth. Bremens.* class. iv. pp. 1042, 1043.

60. Mr. Rich. Baxter. "We grant that baptism then, [in the primitive times] was by washing the whole body; and did not the differences of our cold country, as to that hot one, teach us to remember, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' it should be so here. . . . It is commonly confessed by us to the Anabaptists, as our commentators declare, that in the apostles' times, the baptized were dipped over head in the water, and that this signified their profession, both of believing the burial and resurrection of Christ; and of their own *present* renouncing the world and flesh, or dying to sin and living to Christ, or rising again to newness of life, or being buried and risen again with Christ, as the apostle expoundeth, in the forecited texts of Col. iii. [Col. ii.] and Rom. vi. And though (as is before said) we have thought it lawful to disuse the manner of dipping and to use less water, yet we presume not to change the use and signification of it. . . . For my part, I may say as Mr. Blake, that I never saw a child *sprinkled*; but all that I have seen baptized had water *poured* on them, and so were washed."—*Paraphrase on the New Test. at Matt. iii. 6. Disputations of Right to Sacram.* p. 70. *Plain Script. Proof*, p. 134.

61. Bp. Burnet. "They [the primitive ministers of the gospel] led them into the water, and with no other garments but what might cover nature; they at first laid them down in the water, as a man is laid in a grave, and then they said those words: 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' Then they raised them up again, and clean garments were put on them; from whence came the phra-

ses of being 'baptized into Christ's death;' of our being 'buried with him by baptism into death;' of our being 'risen with Christ,' and of our 'putting on the Lord Jesus Christ;' of 'putting off the old man,' and 'putting on the new,' (Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5; Col. ii. 12; Col. iii. 1, 10; Rom. xiii. 14.) After baptism was thus performed, the baptized person was to be farther instructed in all the specialities of the Christian religion, and in all the rules of life that Christ had prescribed."—*Expos. Thirty-nine Articles*, pp. 374, 375.

62. Braunius. "Christ went down into Jordan, to be baptized by John, (Matt. iii.) The same thing seems to be intimated by the apostle, when he speaks of being 'buried by baptism,' (Col. ii. 12; Rom. vi. 3, 4; Gal. iii. 27.)"—*Doctrina Fæd.* pars. iv. cap. xxi. § 8.

63. Mr. De Courcy. "I grant, that the word [baptize] signifies to dip, and that the ordinance might have been administered by immersion in the ancient church."—*Rejoinder*, pp. 265, 266.

64. Mr. Weemse. "When [in the primitive times] they were baptized, they went down into the water, and were baptized all over the body."—*Eposit. of Laws of Moses*, b. i. chap. xlv.

65. Mr. T. Wilson. "Baptism was performed in the primitive times by immersion."—*Archæolog. Dict. article, Baptism*.

66. Assembly of Divines. "'Were baptized.' Washed by dipping in Jordan, (as Mark vii. 4; Heb. ix. 10.) . . . 'Buried with him by baptism.' (See Col. ii. 12.) In this phrase the apostle seemeth to allude to the ancient manner of baptism, which was to dip the parties baptized, and, as it were, to bury them under the water for a while, and then to draw them out of it, and lift them up, to represent the burial of our old man, and our resurrection to newness of life."—*Annotations on Matt. iii. 6*, and Rom. vi. 4.

67. Mr. Joseph Mede. "There was no such thing as sprinkling, or *παρρησιος*, used in baptism in the apostle's days, nor many ages after them."—*Discourse on Tit. iii. 5. Works*, p. 63, edit. 1677.

68. Dr. Cave. "The party to be baptized was wholly immersed, or put under water, which was the almost constant and universal custom of those times; whereby they did more notably and significantly express the three great ends and effects of baptism."—*Primitive Christianity*, part i. chap. x. p. 203.

69. Dr. Towerson. "What the practice of those [primitive] times was . . . will need no other proof than resorting to rivers, and other such like receptacles of waters, for the performance of that ceremony, and that too, 'because there was

much water there.' For so the scripture doth not only affirm concerning the baptism of John, (Matt. iii. 5, 6, 13; John iii. 23;) but both intimate concerning that which our Saviour administered in Judea (because making John's baptism and his to be so far forth of the same sort, John iii. 22, 23,) and expressly affirm concerning the baptism of the eunuch, which is the only Christian baptism the scripture is any thing particular in the description of. The words of St. Luke (Acts viii. 33,) being, that 'both Philip and the eunuch went down into a certain water,' which they met with in their journey, in order to the baptizing of the latter. For what need would there have been either of the Baptist's resorting to great confluxes of water, or of Philip and the eunuch's going down into this, were it not that baptism both of the one and the other, was to be performed by an immersion? A very little water, as we know it doth with us, sufficing for an effusion, or sprinkling."—*Of the Sacram. of Bap.* part iii. pp. 55, 56.

70. Bossuet. "The baptism of St. John the Baptist, which served for a preparative to that of Jesus Christ, was performed by plunging. . . . When Jesus Christ came to St. John, to raise baptism to a more marvellous efficacy in receiving it, the scripture says, that 'he went up out of the water' of Jordan, (Matt. iii. 16; Mark i. 10.) . . . In fine, we read not in the scripture that baptism was otherwise administered; and we are able to make it appear by the acts of councils, and by the ancient rituals, that for THIRTEEN HUNDRED YEARS baptism was thus administered throughout the whole church, as far as was possible."—*In Mr. Stennett against Russen*, pp. 175, 176.

71. Mr. Chambers. "In the primitive times this ceremony was performed by immersion; as it is to this day in the oriental churches, according to the original signification of the word."—*Cyclopædia*, article, *Baptism*, edit. 7th.

72. Mr. George Whitefield. "It is certain, that in the words of our text (Rom. vi. 3, 4,) there is an allusion to the manner of baptism, which was by immersion; which our own church allows, and insists upon it, that children should be immersed in water, unless those that bring the children to be baptized assure the minister that they cannot bear the plunging."—*Eighteen Sermons*, p. 297.

73. Dr. Doddridge. "And after Jesus was baptized, as soon as he 'ascended out of the water' to the bank of Jordan. . . . And John was also at that time baptizing at Ænon, which was a place near Salim, a town on the east side of Jordan; and he particularly chose that place, because there was a great quantity of water there, which

made it very convenient for his purpose. Nothing, surely, can be more evident, than that πολλά ὕδατα, *many waters*, signifies a large quantity of water; it being sometimes used for the Euphrates, (Jer. li. 13. Septuag.) To which I suppose there may be an allusion, Rev. xvii. 1. Compare Ezek. xliii. 2, and Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6; where 'the voice of many waters' does plainly signify the roaring of a high sea*. . . . Considering how frequently bathing was used in those hot countries, it is not to be wondered, that baptism was generally administered by immersion; though I see no proof that it was essential to the institution. It would be very unnatural to suppose that they [Philip and the eunuch] went down to the water, merely that Philip might take up a little water in his hand to pour on the eunuch. A person of his dignity had, no doubt, many vessels in his baggage, on such a journey through so desert a country; a precaution absolutely necessary for travellers in those parts, and never omitted by them. (See Dr. Shaw's Travels, Pref. p. 4.) . . . 'Buried with him in baptism.' It seems the part of candor to confess, that here [Rom. vi. 4.] is an allusion to the manner of baptizing by immersion, as most usual in those early times; but that will not prove this particular circumstance essential to the ordinance. . . . They who practise baptism by immersion, are by no means to be condemned on that account; since, on the whole, that mode of baptism is evidently favored by scripture examples, though not required by express precept."—*Fun. Expos. on Matt. iii. 16; John iii. 23; Acts viii. 38; Rom. vi. 4. Lectures, proposit. cliii. corol. 1.*

74. M. Jurieu. "The ancients used to plunge persons into the water, calling on the adorable Trinity."—*In Dr. Gale's Reflect. on Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap.* p. 193.

75. Mr. Le Clerc. "The manner of baptizing at that time, by plunging into the water those whom they baptized, was an image of the burial of Jesus Christ."—*In Dr. Gale's Reflect.* p. 193.

76. Venema. "It is without controversy, that baptism in the primitive church was administered by immersion into water, and not by sprinkling; seeing John is said to have baptized in Jordan, and where there was much water, as Christ also did by his disciples in the neighborhood of those places, (Matt. iii. and John iii.) Philip also going down into the water bap-

* Dr. Bentley has given the following criticism on the words εἰς τὸν ὕδατος τῶν πολλῶν, (Rev. xvii. 1.) Upon the many waters, "upon the vast, wide, and spacious waters: for it is known, that ὡλύς is often applied to continued quantity, as well as to discontinued; to magnitude and dimensions, as well as to number." Sermon upon Popery, p. 6. Camb. 1715.

tized the eunuch, (Acts viii.) To which also the apostle refers, Rom. vi. . . . Nor is there any necessity to have recourse to the idea of sprinkling in our interpretation of Acts ii. 41, where *three thousand souls* are said to be added to Christ by baptism; seeing it might be performed by immersion, equally as by aspersion, especially as they are not said to have been baptized at the same time. . . . The essential act of baptizing, in the second century, consisted, not in sprinkling, but in immersion into water, in the name of each Person in the Trinity. Concerning immersion the words and phrases that are used sufficiently testify; and that it was performed in a river, a pool, or a fountain. . . . To the essential rites of baptism, in the third century, pertained immersion, and not aspersion; except in cases of necessity, and it was accounted a *half-perfect* baptism. . . . Immersion, in the fourth century, was one of those acts that were considered as essential to baptism; nevertheless, aspersion was used in the last moments of life, on such as were called *clinics*, and also where there was not a sufficient quantity of water. . . . Beveridge, on the fiftieth *Apostolical Canon*, asserts, that the ceremony of sprinkling began to be used instead of immersion, about the time of Pope Gregory, in the sixth century; but without producing any testimony in favor of his assertion; and it is undoubtedly a mistake. Martene declares, (in his *Antiq. Eccles. Rit. l. i. p. i. c. i.*) that in all the ritual books, or pontifical MSS. ancient or modern, that he had seen, immersion is required; except by the Cenomanensian, and that of a more modern date, in which pouring on the head is mentioned. In the council of Ravenna also, held in the year thirteen hundred and eleven, both immersion and pouring are left to the determination of the administrator: and the council of Nismes, in the year one thousand two hundred and eighty-four, permitted pouring, if a vessel could not be had; therefore only in case of necessity. . . . The council of Celichith, in the beginning of the ninth century, forbade the pouring of water on the heads of infants, and commanded that they should be immersed in the font. Baptism was administered by immersion, in the twelfth century. . . . In the thirteenth century, baptism was administered by immersion, thrice repeated; yet so, that one immersion was esteemed sufficient, as appears from Augerius de Montfaucon. That was a singular synodal appointment under John de Zurich, bishop of Utrecht, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-one, which runs thus: "We appoint, that the head be put three times in the water, unless the child be weak, or sickly, or the season cold; then

water may be poured, by the hand of the priest, on the head of the child, lest, by plunging, or coldness, or weakness, the child should be injured and die."—*Hist Eccles. secul. i. § 138; secul. ii. § 100; secul. iii. § 51; secul. iv. § 110; secul. vi. § 251; secul. viii. § 206; secul. xii. § 45; secul. xiii. § 164.*

77. Altmannus. "In the primitive church, persons to be baptized were not sprinkled, but entirely immersed in water; which was performed according to the example of John the Baptist. Hence all those allusions: seeing, by immersion, they plainly signified a burial; by the following emersion out of the water, a resurrection; and agreeably to these ideas are those passages of scripture to be explained which refer to this rite. (See Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5; Col. ii. 12, and Gal. iii. 27.)"—*Meletem. Philolog. rit. tom. iii. exercit. in 1 Cor. xv. 29, § 8.*

78. Magdeburg Centuriators. "The Son of God was dipped in the water of Jordan, by the hand of John the Baptist. . . . Philip baptized the eunuch in a river, (Acts viii. 38.) It seems also, that Lydia and her household at Philippi were baptized in a river, at which prayers were usually made, (Acts xvi. 13, 16.)"—*Cent. i. l. i. c. iv. p. 118; l. ii. c. vi. p. 381.*

79. Dr. Hammond. "John baptized 'in a river, in Jordan, (Mark i. 5;) in a confluence of *much water*, (John iii. 23;) because as it is added, *there was much water there*: and therefore as the Jews, writing in Greek, call those lakes wherein they wash themselves *κολυμβηθραι*; so, in the Christian church, the *βαπτιστήριον*, or vessel which contained the baptismal water, is oft called, *κολυμβηθρα*, a *swimming* or *diving* place."—*Annotations on Matt. iii. 1.*

80. Chamierus. "Immersion of the whole body was used from the beginning, which expresses the force of the word *baptize*; whence John baptized in a river. It was afterwards changed into sprinkling, though it is uncertain when or by whom it commenced."—*Panstrat. Cathol. t. iv. l. v. c. ii. § 6.*

81. Bp. Fell. "The primitive fashion of Bp. immersion under the water, representing our death, and elevation again out of it, our resurrection, or regeneration."—*On the Epistles of Paul. Note on Rom. vi. 4.*

82. Dutch Annotators. "'Because there was much water there.' Because they that were baptized by John, went into the water with their whole bodies. (See Matt. iii. 16; Acts viii. 38.) (. . . . The apostle seems here [Rom. vi. 3,] to allude to the manner of baptizing, much used in those warm eastern countries; where men were wholly dipped into the water, and remained a little while under water, and afterwards

rose up out of the water: to show that their dipping into and remaining in the water, is a representation of Christ's death and burial; and the rising up out of the water, of his resurrection."—*On John* iii. 23, and *Rom.* vi. 3.

83. Bp. Stillingfleet. "Rites and customs apostolical are altered; therefore men do not think that apostolical practice doth bind: for if it did, there could be no alteration of things agreeable thereunto. Now let any one consider but these few particulars, and judge how far the pleaders for a divine right of apostolical practice do look upon themselves as bound now to observe them: as dipping in baptism, the use of love-feasts, community of goods, the holy kiss, by Tertullian called 'signaculum orationis':* yet none look upon themselves as bound to observe them now, and yet all acknowledge them to have been the practice of the apostles."—*Irenicum*, part ii. chap. vi. p. 345.

84. H. Hulsius. "Some interpret 1 Cor. xv. 29, concerning the baptism of *clinics*, or persons confined to their beds; but this baptism changed dipping into sprinkling, and was not practised in the time of Paul."—*Comment. in Israel. Pris.* p. 819.

85. Deylingius. "It is manifest, that while the apostles lived, the ordinance of baptism was administered, not out of a vessel, or a baptistery, which are the marks of later times; but out of rivers and pools: and that, not by sprinkling, but by immersion. . . . So long as the apostles lived, as many believe, immersion only was used; to which afterwards, perhaps, they added a kind of pouring, such as the Greeks practise at this day, having performed the trine immersion."—*Observat. Sac.* pars ii. observ. xlv. § 3; par iii. obs. xxvi. § 2.

86. Heideggerus. "Plunging, or immersion, was most commonly used by John the Baptist and by the apostles. . . . It is of no importance whether baptism be performed by immersion into water, as of old in the warm eastern countries, and even at

this day; or by sprinkling, which was afterwards introduced in colder climates."—*Corpus Theolog. Christ.* loc. xxv. § 35.

87. Mr. Edward Leigh. "The ceremony used in baptism, is either dipping, or sprinkling: dipping is the more ancient. At first, they went down into the rivers; afterwards they were dipped in the fountains. . . . Zanchius and Mr. Perkins prefer (in persons of age and hot countries, where it may be safe) the ceremony of immersion under the water, before that of sprinkling, or laying on the water, as holding more analogy to that of Paul, *Rom.* vi. 4."—*Body of Div.* b. viii. chap. viii. p. 665.

88. Mr. Hardy. "They were baptized; that is, they were immersed in water. That this rite was commonly performed by plunging, and not by pouring, is indicated both by the proper meaning of the word, and by the passages relating to the ordinance; for the custom of sprinkling seems to have prevailed somewhat later, in favor of those who desired to give up themselves to Christ, or to be baptized, when lying ill of disease; whom others called *clinics*. . . .

In baptism: The allusion is to the ancient custom of baptizing, when the body was immersed in water; and therefore putting off the clothes was required: whence those phrases, *putting off the old*, and *putting on the new man*, had their origin. This rite was a figure and an image, both of a burial and a resurrection; as well of Christ, which were conspicuous, as of what is internal, in Christians. (*Rom.* vi. 4.)"—*Annotat. in Matt.* iii. 6; *Col.* ii. 12.

89. Mr. Locke. "We Christians, who by baptism were admitted into the kingdom and church of Christ, were baptized into a similitude of his death: We did own some kind of death, by being buried under water, which being buried with him, *i. e.* in conformity to his burial, as a confession of our being dead, was to signify, that as Christ was raised up from the dead, into a glorious life with his Father, even so we, being raised from our typical death and

* I will here subjoin a quotation from that spirited writer, Mr. Vincent Alsop: "The *feasts of love* and the *holy kiss*," he replies, in his answer to Dr. Goodinan, "were not at all *institutions* of the apostles. All that the apostle determined about them was, that supposing in their civil congresses and converses they salute each other, they should be sure to avoid all levity, wantonness, all appearance of evil; for religion teaches us not only to worship God, but to regulate our civil actions in subordination to the great ends of holiness, the adorning of the gospel, and thereby the glorifying of our God and Saviour. I say the same concerning the *feast of love*. The apostle made it no ordinance, either temporary or perpetual; but finding that such a civil custom had obtained among them—he cautions them against gluttony, drunkenness, all excess and riot, to which such feasts, through the power of corruption in some, and the remainders of corruption in the best, were obnoxious; which is evident from 1 Cor. xi. 21. The apostle Paul, (1 Tim. ii. 8) commands that *men pray everywhere lifting up holy hands*: can any rational creature imagine, that he has thereby made it a duty as oft as we pray to *elevate our hands*? That was none of his design to that age, or

the present; but under a ceremonial phrase he wraps up an evangelical duty. As if he had said, Be sure you cleanse your hearts; and if you do *lift up your hands*, let them be no umbrage for unholy souls.

"Concerning *deaconesses*, I can find no such order or constitution of the apostles. It is true, they used in their travels and other occasions the services and assistances of holy women, who cheerfully administered to their necessities, and are thence called *διακοναί*, and said *διακονεῖν*. But how childish it is to conclude an order or institution from so slippery a thing as an *etymology*? The angels are called *λατρουγικά πνεύματα*, ministering spirits, (Heb. i. 14.) Will any from hence infer that they read the *liturgy*? Magistrates are styled *λατρουγγοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and *διακονοὶ Θεοῦ*, (*Rom.* xiii. 4, 6;) and yet it is no part of their office to *read divine service*. . . . In a word, the duty of saluting with a holy kiss; the order of all our feasts of love to God's glory; the ministering in our respective places to the necessities of the saints, are as much in force as ever, unless holiness be grown out of fashion."—*Sober Enquiry*, pp. 235,

burial in baptism, should lead a new sort of life.”—*Paraphrase on Rom. vi. 4.*

90. J. J. Wetstenius. “John baptized in the river Jordan, in Ænon, ‘because there was much water,’ (John iii. 23;) and Christ, when he was baptized, ‘went down into the water,’ (Matt. iii. 16.) And Christians, in baptism, are said to *put off their clothes*, (Gal. iii. 27;) to be *washed*, (Tit. iii. 5;) and to be *buried under the water*, (Rom. vi. 4;) all which are expressive, not of sprinkling, but of dipping.”—*Comment. ed Matt. iii. 6.*

91. Roell. “It is certain that immersion into water, and emersion out of it, were practised—in Christian baptism, in the beginning.”—*Exegesis Epist. ad Col. in cap. ii. 12.*

92. Mr. Walker. “Mr. Rogers was for retrieving the use of dipping, as witnessed to by antiquity, approved by scripture, required by the church, (as then it was, except in case of weakness,) and symbolical with the things signified in baptism: which I could wish as well and as heartily as he, in order to making of peace in the church, if that would do it. If I may speak my thoughts, I believe the ministers of the nation would be glad if the people would desire, or be but willing, to have their infants dipped, without fear of being destroyed.”—*In Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. p. 475.*

93. Dr. Whitby. “It being so expressly declared here, [Rom. vi. 4,] and Colos. ii. 12, that we are ‘buried with Christ in baptism,’ by being buried under water; and the argument to oblige us to a conformity to his death, by dying to sin, being taken hence; and this immersion being religiously observed by all Christians for THIRTEEN CENTURIES, and approved by our church, and the change of it into sprinkling, even without any allowance from the Author of this institution, or any licence from any council of the church, being that which the Romanist still urgeth to justify his refusal of the cup to the laity; it were to be wished, that this custom might be again of general use, and aspersion only permitted, as of old, in the case of clinici, or in present danger of death.”—*Note on Rom. vi. 4.*

94. Bp. Nicholson. “The sacrament of baptism was anciently administered by plunging into the water, in the western as well as the eastern part of the church; and that the Gothic word. . . . (Mark i. 8. and Luke iii. 7, 12,) the German word *Taufen*, the Danish word *Dobe*, and the Belgic *Doopen*, do as clearly make out that practice, as the Greek word βαπτίζω.”—*In Dr. Gale's Reflect. on Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap. pp. 121, 192.*

95. Quenstedius. “It is highly proba-

ble, if not certain, that John the Baptist and the apostles immersed the persons to be baptized into water. For thus we read, (Matt. iii. 6, 16,) ‘And they were baptized in Jordan.’ When Jesus was baptized, he immediately came up’ (or, as Grotius renders it, he had scarcely ascended) ‘out of the water.’ Our Saviour, therefore, when he was baptized, first went down into the river, was plunged into the water, and afterwards came up out of it. . . . That immersion into the water was practised by John, is gathered also from that reason of the evangelist, (John iii. 23,) ‘John was baptizing in Ænon near to Salim, because there was much water there.’ . . . With St. Paul, *to be baptized is to be buried*, (Rom. vi. 3, 4.) Immersion is, as it were, a burial; emersion, a resurrection; to which the apostle alludes, Col. ii. 12. It is written, (Acts viii. 38, 39,) that Philip *went down with the eunuch into the water*, and there baptized him; and it is added, that, the ordinance being administered, they both *came up out of the water*. . . . Both the eastern and western churches were very observant of the rite of immersion, for a great number of years. . . . Nor is there any instance among the more ancient writers, that I have observed, of baptism being administered by a simple aspersion.”—*Antiq. Bib. pars. i. c. iv. sect. ii. num. i. § 1, 2, 4.*

96. Dr. Wall. “Their [the primitive Christians'] general and ordinary way was to baptize by immersion, or dipping the person, whether it were an infant, or grown man or woman, into the water. This is so plain and clear by an infinite number of passages, that as one cannot but pity the weak endeavors of such Pædobaptists as would maintain the negative of it; so also we ought to disown and show a dislike of the PROFANE SCOFFS which some people give to the English Antipædobaptists, merely for their use of dipping. It is one thing to maintain, that that circumstance is not absolutely necessary to the essence of baptism; and another, to go about to represent it as ridiculous and foolish, or as shameful and indecent; when it was, in all probability, the way by which our blessed Saviour, and for certain was the most usual and ordinary way by which the ancient Christians did receive their baptism. . . . It is a great want of prudence, as well as of honesty, to refuse to grant to an adversary what is certainly true, and may be proved so. It creates a jealousy of all the rest, that one says. . . . It is plain that the ordinary and general practice of St. John, the apostles, and primitive church, was to baptize by putting the person into the water, or causing him to go into the water. Neither do I know of any Protestant who has

denied it; and but *very few* men of learning that have denied, that where it can be used with safety of health, it is the most fitting way. . . . John iii. 23; Mark i. 5; Acts viii. 38, are *undeniable proofs* that the baptized person went ordinarily into the water, and sometimes the Baptist too. We should not know by these accounts, whether the whole body of the baptized was put under water, head and all, were it not for two later proofs, which seem to me to put it out of question. One, that St. Paul does twice, in an allusive way of speaking, call baptism *a burial*; which allusion is not so proper, if we conceive them to have gone into the water only up to the armpits, &c. as it is if their whole body was immersed. The other, the custom of the near succeeding times. . . . As for *sprinkling*, I say as Mr. Blake, at its first coming up in England, *Let them defend it that use it*. . . . They [who are inclined to Presbyterianism] are hardly prevailed on to leave off that SCANDALOUS custom of having their children, though never so well, baptized out of a basin, or porringer, in a bed-chamber; hardly persuaded to bring them to church; much farther from having them dipped, though never so able to endure it."—*Hist. of Inf. Bap.* part ii. chap. ii. pp. 462, 463. *Defence of Hist. Inf. Bap.* pp. 129, 131, 140, 147.* See also *Dr. Robertson's Hist. Emp. Charles V.* vol. iii. p. 78. *Elderly Cateches. Racoviens. Profligat.* p. 98. *Milton's Parad. Lost*, b. xii. l. 438, 441, 442. *Encyclopæd. Britan. art. Baptism*, vol. ii. p. 995. *Thesaur. Theolog. Philolog.* tom. ii. p. 569. *Leydeckeri Idea Theolog.* l. vii. c. v. § 7. *Petavii Theol. Dogmat.* l. ii. de Pœnitent. c. i. § 11. *Episcopii Respons. ad Quest. xxxv.* Dr. Grabe's *Unity of the Church, and Expediency of Forms of Prayer, Preface.* *Cajetani Annotat. ad Matt.* iii. 16. *Cases to Recover Dissenters*, vol. iii. p. 31. *Dict. of the Bible*, (three vols. octavo) vol. ii. p. 709. *Brandt's Hist. Reform.* b. xlviii. vol. iv. p. 56. *Mr. Ostervald's Grounds and Principles of Christ. Relig.* p. 311, edit. 6th. *Scheuchzeri Physica Sacra*, tab. dclxiv.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. Here we have a great number of the most respectable characters for solid learning, and many of them for emi-

* The anonymous author of a book entitled, *Le Baptême Rétabli*, gives us the following remarkable anecdote respecting immersion, as performed by one of the Roman pontiffs. "Pope Benedict XIII. having occasion, more than once, to baptize adult persons, and among others, nine Jews and Turks at one time; he instructed them himself, and after that he immersed them. With a view to every thing being performed in its natural and proper order, he made use of the ancient rituals; which so much displeased the cardinals, that not one of them would assist at the ceremony. This is what I myself, as well as others, have read under the article Rome, in the public newspapers."—*Le Bap. Rétab.* part ii. pp. 92, 93.

nent piety. They appear to testify what they know and what they believe concerning an ancient fact; a fact, in an acquaintance with which, the purity of a divine institution, and obedience to the will of our Lord are not a little involved. The principal question on which they are cited to give their opinion, is: Whether John the Baptist, and the apostles of Christ, administered baptism by immersion? A question this, which regards both fact and right. Because, in whatever manner those venerable men, and lights of the world, performed that institution, we are bound to believe it was right; for they had too much knowledge and too much integrity to administer this branch of holy worship in a wrong way. Besides, they were not ignorant that their practice, in this respect, was to be viewed as a pattern, and to be considered as law, by the succeeding disciples of Christ. The character and profession of those authors, who appear to give their thoughts on this important subject, leave no room for suspicion that they were biased in favor of the Baptists: because partiality itself must confess, that if their judgment was under the influence of predilection, it most probably lay on the contrary side. Many of them also are beyond the reach of suspicion, in regard to their knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity.

Let us now see what our impartial friends, the Quakers, have to say on this part of the subject.

1. Thomas Lawson, "John the Baptist, that is, John the *dipper*; so called because he was authorized to baptize in water. . . . Such as *rhantize*, or sprinkle infants, have no command from Christ, nor example among the apostles, nor the first primitive Christians for so doing. . . . See the author of *rhantism*, that is, sprinkling; not Christ, nor the apostles, but Cyprian; not in the days of Christ, but some two hundred and thirty years after."—*Baptismalogia*, pp. 7, 75, 117.

2. Thomas Ellwood. "Philip went down with him [the eunuch] into the water, and baptized him; which was no sooner done, and they come up out of the water again, but the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip."—*Sacred Hist. of the New Test.* part ii. p. 335.

3. John Gratton. "Down into the water he [Jesus] goes, and fulfilled John's dispensation, or that righteousness required by it, and having fulfilled it, he went up straightway out of the water."—*Life of John Gratton*, p. 150. See Chap. II. Reflect. I. No. 1, 7. Such is the language of those who have no perceivable interest in the decision of this dispute.

On a brief review of the preceding quotations from learned Pædobaptist au-

thors, it appears, that immersion was practised by John the Baptist, by the apostles of Christ, and by the primitive Christians, No. 1—94; that our Lord himself was immersed by the venerable John, No. 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 19, 20, 26, 27, 29, 30, 37, 41, 46, 47, 52, 57, 58, 62, 70, 73, 76, 78, 90, 95, 96; that some of them expressly assert, and many of them implicitly allow, that the scripture no where speaks of any being baptized, but by immersion, No. 10, 16, 23, 31, 36, 50, 67, 69, 71, 76, 80, 83, 85; that the practice of immersion gave occasion for some very singular and emphatical phrases to be used by the apostles, No. 9, 12, 18, 30, 34, 36, 40, 45, 54, 55, 61, 66, 73, 82, 88, 89; that the baptism of the three thousand affords no objection to the universal practice of immersion in those times, No. 76; that plunging was the general and almost universal practice, for a long course of ages, No. 4, 70, 76, 93; that the churches of Helvitia acknowledge, and the church of England, in common cases, requires immersion, No. 19, 57, 93; that one of these authors knew of no Protestant, who had denied immersion to have been the general practice of apostolic times; and of but very few learned men, who denied its being the fittest, if a regard to health do not forbid, No. 96; that the custom of sprinkling is absolutely indefensible, *ibid.*; that they who ridicule the practice of immersion deserve censure, *ibid.*; that sprinkling of infants is not an institution of Christ, No. 3, 67; that it is uncertain when, and by whom, sprinkling was introduced, No. 80; and, that a restoration of the primitive practice is very desirable, No. 50, 51, 92, 93. See Chap. III. Reflect. IV. Such is the verdict which these Pædobaptists give on the cause before us.

Reflect. II. Now is it not strange, strange to astonishment, that so many eminent men should thus agree in bearing testimony to immersion, as the apostolic example; when it is notorious that their own practice was very different? Just so the Papists acknowledge, that the apostolic church communicated at the Lord's table in both kinds; while they themselves unite in a contrary practice. Thus Toletus, for instance: "It was an ancient custom in the church, from the times of the apostles, to communicate under both species. About this there is no controversy. This ancient custom is manifest from the words of Paul, 1 Cor. x. and xi."—Salmero: "No one denies that the Corinthians communicated under both species; yet we deny that custom to have the force of a divine precept."* At what these veterans in the cause of superstition may say, we have little reason

indeed to be surprised; but is it not a wonderful phenomenon in the religious world, that such a number of the most learned Lutherans, Calvinists, and Arminians, abroad; together with English Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents; should all unite in one attestation, respecting the primitive mode of administering this ordinance; even while they opposed the Baptists, for considering immersion as absolutely necessary to a compliance with the divine command; and while they greatly differed among themselves, in respect of several particulars relating to the subjects and the design of baptism? To what can this remarkable agreement with us, as to the primitive mode of proceeding, be ascribed? And what is the reason of their differing so much among themselves? The true reason, I take to be this: When they unite in declaring their views of the apostolic pattern, they have clear, strong, indubitable evidence, arising from the meaning of the name which the ordinance bears, and the inspired narrative of the first Christian churches. Each of them feels the ground on which he treads. Hence their union; and here they agree with us. On the other hand, when they differ among themselves, about the foundation of an infant's claim on the ordinance; concerning the degree of necessity and the utility of Pædobaptism; about sponsors, the sign of the cross, and so on; they argue on general principles and moral considerations. This kind of argumentation is quite foreign to the nature of positive rites; and yet, by a long train of deductions from such principles, they infer their various rules of proceeding in the administration of baptism. Hence they differ among themselves. Nor need we wonder. For as moral considerations are exceedingly various, and as the application of each to practice may be greatly diversified; so, according to the complexion of the principle adopted as the foundation of an argument, will the natural inference be, whether it regard the mode or the subject of any ordinance. Whenever ideas, therefore, of moral fitness, of expediency, or of necessity, usurp the place of divine precepts and apostolic examples, relating to positive institutions of the Christian church; the most learned and the best of men will always differ in their conclusions, and that in proportion as their notions of what is fitness, expediency, or necessity, vary. For it is notorious, that while one esteems this or the other thing extremely proper and highly useful to the cause of religion; another despises it as absurd, or detests it as injurious. But when our divine Lord, addressing his disciples in a positive command, says, "It *shall* be so;" or when,

* Apud Laurentium; Dialog. Eucharist. c. ii. § 62, 73.

speaking by an apostolic example, he declares, "It is thus;" all our own reasonings about fitness, expediency, or utility, must hide their impertinent heads. The finest powers of reason have nothing to do, in this case, but only to consider the natural, the obvious import of his language, and then submit. To reason any farther here, is only to seek a plausible excuse for rebellion against the sovereign majesty of Him who is king of Zion.

Reflect. III. It is, I think, a good rule which Dr. Owen gives, relating to divine institutions, when he says: "That which is *first* in any kind, gives the *measure* of what follows in the same kind."* With Dr. Owen, Abp. Tillotson perfectly agrees. He expresses himself thus: "This is reasonable, that the *first* in every kind should be the *rule* and *pattern* of the rest, and of all that follow after, because it is likely to be the most perfect. In process of time, the best institutions are apt to decline, and, by insensible degrees, to swerve and depart from their first state; and therefore it is a good rule to preserve things from corruption and degeneracy, often to look back to the *first institution*, and by that to correct those imperfections which almost unavoidably creep in with time."† To the judgment of these two eminent authors, I will add the suffrage of Mr. Henry, who speaks with a professed regard to baptism in the following manner: "When a question was put to our Lord Jesus, by the Pharisees, concerning marriage, he refers them to the institution and original law, (Matt. xix. 3, 4,) to teach us to go by the *same rule* in other ordinances. Run up the stream of the observation (which in a long course sometimes contracts filth) to the spring of the institution, and see *what it was from the beginning*."‡ These directions perfectly coincide with that maxim of unerring wisdom, to which Mr. Henry adverts: *From the beginning it was not so*. A maxim this of such importance, that whoever can is ready to avail himself of it. For, as Mr. Blake justly observes, "If we can but say, *From the beginning it was not so*: we have sufficient."§ To which I will add the suffrage of Dr. Ridgley: "The example of our Saviour and his apostles ought to be a rule to the churches in all succeeding ages."|| Consequently, if at the beginning of the Christian church baptism was immersion, as appears by the forego-

ing testimonies, it ought to be so now.* This must be the case, except there be evidence of our sovereign Lord having repealed his first order, and altered the original plan of proceeding: but no such pretence is made by our brethren. Perfectly agreeable to this, is the following language of a learned Pædobaptist in opposition to the church of Rome. "If so then, [in the apostolic times] why not now? Does not that reason still hold good? Who hath made this change? Who hath sown these new tares in the church? How crept in this false doctrine? How grew up this corrupt absurd practice? Certainly, from no other than that abominable root, which gives being to the whole body of Popery, viz. pride and usurpation."†

It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that though the numerous and learned authors just produced, consider immersion as practised by the apostles; yet many of them think it highly probable, that pouring or sprinkling was used on some occasions, in those primitive times. A supposition this, too much like that of the Roman Catholics, when they speak to the following effect: "Though wine was *commonly* used by those who partook of the holy supper, in the apostolic age; yet a participation of that element is not essential to the ordinance: nor is it demonstrable that the apostles always used it when they celebrated the death of their Lord. Nay, the contrary seems rather to be implied, when they call the administration of that solemn appointment, *Breaking of Bread*." Mr. Payne has justly observed, with regard to the holy supper, that it would have been very strange had the apostles acted contrary to its institution in the course of their practice, and in so short a time after its first appointment:‡ which observation may be applied to the subject before us. But we answer more directly, by asking: Whether the apostles and their associates did not administer baptism in obedience to divine law? Whether the commanding terms in every law, divine or human, should not be understood in their most commonly received sense; except there be some intimation of a different acceptation being intended? Whether the primary and most common meaning of the word *baptism*, be not immersion? And, whether the act of solemnly immersing a person does not more fully express the great design of the ordinance, than pouring or sprinkling? Now, if learning and impartiality unite in de-

* Enquiry into Orig. Nat. and Constitut. of Churches, Pref. p. 54.

† Works, vol. ii. p. 170, fol. 1722.

‡ Treatise on Bap. p. 18.

§ Covenant Sealed, p. 111. Vid. Vitring. De Synag. Vet. Prolegum, p. 75.

|| Body of Div. quest. 168, 169, 170. Vid. Dr. Owen, on Church Government, pp. 62, 92.

* Id esse verum quodcumque prius; id esse adulterum, quodcumque posterius, says Tertullian. That is, *Whatever was first, is true; Whatever was introduced afterwards, is a corruption.*

† Hist. of Popery, vol. i. p. 160.

‡ Preservative against Popery, title vii. p. 111.

manding an affirmative answer to these queries, as appears from quotations already produced; there is not the least reason to doubt, but the apostles always practised immersion.

Very few of our opposers, if I mistake not, have dared absolutely to deny, either the lawfulness of immersion, or that the apostles ever used it. But if lawful, it must be so in virtue of a divine command, or of some authentic example; because it is a positive rite, and when performed by us, it is as a religious duty. If, then, a divine precept require immersion, by what authority is pouring or sprinkling at all used? for that plunging, pouring, and sprinkling, are three different actions, will not admit of a doubt. Or, does our Lord, in the same enacting term of the same law, warrant *all* those different modes of proceeding, and compliment the human will with a liberty of choosing that which is most agreeable? Were that the case, it would be a strange law indeed, when considered as enacted by our divine Sovereign! Have we any instance of this kind in the sacred records? Nay, the majesty of a human legislator would be disgraced by such a conduct. On the other hand, if pouring or sprinkling be *naturally* inferrible from our Lord's command (and he must be of a perverse turn, who pleads for an inference confessedly *unnatural*;) and if the apostles, or the primitive church, ever practised the one or the other; it is hard to imagine how they came to use immersion at all: either of the former, considered simply in itself, being more easy, and more agreeable to human feelings, both in regard to the administrator and the candidate. So, had Abraham and his male posterity been left at their option to circumcise either a *finger*, or the *foreskin*, we might have safely concluded, without express information, which they would have preferred—so preferred, as never to have practised the other. It is far more natural therefore to conclude, that immersion was changed into *sprinkling*, than that sprinkling was laid aside for *immersion*: and of this Pædobaptists themselves will furnish us with sufficient evidence in a following chapter.

Farther: Had the apostles practised pouring or sprinkling, a *basin*, or something similar, must have been frequently used on the solemn occasion. Is it not then a wonder that the sacred historians, when recording so many instances of the ordinance being administered, no where *mention* such a domestic utensil, nor any thing like it, as employed by the administrator? Our brethren perhaps may say: "This was a trifling circumstance, and not worthy of particular notice." We find, however, that when our

Lord washed the feet of his disciples, as he made use of a basin, it is expressly mentioned.* Now that pedilavium being a single instance, not intended as an ordinance of divine worship, nor yet, in a literal sense, as a binding example on the followers of Christ; it is quite unaccountable that the inspired historic pen should so expressly mark the use of a basin on that occasion, and yet pass over in silence its very frequent service at the administration of baptism: for its use must have been frequent indeed, had the mode of proceeding adopted by our opposers been then practised. Besides, there would have been the greatest propriety in mentioning a circumstance of this kind, had pouring or sprinkling been the mode of administration; because it would have been a plain intimation, that the term *baptism* was not to be understood in its primary and obvious, but in a secondary and remote acceptance. Of what importance was it for us to know, that our Lord *poured water into a basin*, before he performed the condescending act: in comparison with an explicit account of something similar, if any thing similar there had been, prior to the administration of baptism, and preparatory to it? How comes it that these expressions, or others equivalent; "Peter, or Paul, or Philip (for instance) *poured water into a basin*, and *baptized such a one*, are entirely unknown to the New Testament? How came the inspired page to speak, not of *basins*, but of *rivers*; not of a *little*, but of *much water*; not of *bringing* water to the candidate, but of his *going to*, and *into* the water; not of *wetting*, but of *burying*; when the administration and the design of the ordinance are described? Were one of our opposers to publish a history of his own practice, in regard to baptism, he must either use different language from that of inspiration, respecting this matter; or expose himself to a violent suspicion of having deserted the cause he once espoused. His character would certainly appear problematical among his brethren, and his conduct bear a dispute, whatever he might intend. If therefore the sacred historians practised aspersion, their conduct as writers was extremely remarkable: for though on that supposition, they set the example which our opposers follow, as to the mode of administration; yet, in their narrations, they adopt such expressions, and mention such circumstances relating to baptism, as would make a very singular figure from the pen of an English Pædobaptist, when describing his own conduct and views in reference to that institution. Were my reader to peruse a narrative of baptismal

* John xiii. 5. see Exod. xii. 22, and xiv. 6.

practice, penned by a foreigner, or by any anonymous author, of whom he had no knowledge but what was obtained from his writings; were he to find him speak of choosing a place for the administration of baptism, in preference to others, because there was *much water* there; of his baptizing in a *river*; of *going down* with the candidate *into*, and *coming up out of the water*; were he to find him reminding baptized persons of their having been *buried* and *raised* with Christ in baptism; and were he to observe, that the author always uses a word for the ordinance, which, in its primary acceptance, signifies *immersion*, but never talks of *bringing water* to the candidate, or of using a *basin*, as preparatory to the administration; he would, I presume, be ready to say: "This author, whoever he be, writes like a *Baptist*. He speaks the language of one that considers baptism as nothing short of immersion. If, however, contrary to all appearances, he practise *aspersion*, and intended to inform the public of that particular, he has chosen a very singular method in which to do it, and has expressed himself in the most awkward manner imaginable." Now, supposing the apostles to have practised pouring, or sprinkling, it is highly reasonable for us to conclude, that the inspired penmen *intended* to inform us of it. But if so, how comes it that a serious and uniform adoption of their expressions, by an unknown author, respecting the administration and meaning of the sacred rite, is enough to raise an immediate suspicion that he approves of *immersion*? And how comes it, that our present opposers never talk of going to a place where there is *much water*, of going *into* the water, and of *coming up out of* the water, when they speak of performing the solemn service? A similarity of *practice*, in other cases, usually produces a similarity of *language*, when that practice is narrated. This, therefore, is a presumptive evidence, that the apostolic practice was different from theirs. For while they avoid the use of this remarkable apostolic language, it looks as if they were conscious that it would not properly express the facts to which it should be applied.

To illustrate the point and confirm the argument, it may be observed, that when Justin Martyr describes the manner of proceeding in his time, he speaks of the candidates being "*brought to a place of water*,"* that they might be baptized. A kind of language this which is not at all used, that I recollect, by Pædobaptists in our country. The ancient apologist, how-

ever, saw reason for such expressions. Was it, then, because he *designed* to inform the Roman emperor how baptism was practised in those times? Undoubtedly; and we have equal grounds to conclude, that the apostles *intended* to inform posterity how baptism was administered by John, and by themselves. Is this phraseology of Justin like that of the New Testament in similar cases? None, with any appearance of reason, can deny it; and hence it has been inferred, that religious practice, in this respect, was the same in the second as it was in the first century. What then has been the opinion of learned men concerning the mode of administration, as intimated in these remarkable words of the martyr? They have, I think universally understood him, as meaning to convey the idea of *immersion*. Mr. Reeves, for instance, in his Note on this very passage, has the following words. "It is evident, from this place of Justin, and that of Tertullian (De Cor. Mil. c. iii.) that *ponds* and *rivers* were the only baptisteries or fonts the church had for the first two hundred years."† But whether the apostles and Justin administered the ordinance by plunging or sprinkling, one thing is plain; Various remarkable expressions, found in the writings of those ancients relative to baptism, are seldom, if ever, used in the same connection by our opposers, though common enough among such as practice immersion. This reminds me of what is reported concerning some Popish priests in Scotland, who imagined that the New Testament was composed by Martin Luther.‡ A wild imagination, doubtless. It may be supposed to have arisen, however, from that similarity of sentiment and of expression, which they perceived to exist, between the apostolic writings and those of the great reformer. Now, as it is natural for persons to make use of language that is agreeable to their own religious practice; and as the obvious meaning, not only of Justin's expressions, but of inspired phraseology, relating to baptism, is much more agreeable to the practice of plunging, than to that of pouring or sprinkling a little water upon the face; I cannot but think, that both the apologist and the apostles constantly practised immersion.

That the principle of reasoning adopted in the two preceding paragraphs is not peculiar to us, appears by the following extract from Dr. Waterland; which, *mutatis mutandis*, will apply in the present case. "The Arians never use any expressions

* Mr. Reeves's Apologies, vol. i. p. 105. Vid. Buddei Theol. Dogmat. l. v. c. i. § 6.

* Mr. Reeves's Apologies, vol. i. p. 105. Vid. Buddei Theol. Dogmat. l. v. c. i. § 5.

† Mr. Clarkson's Practical Div. of Papists, p. 79.

like to some which they subscribe to. They will never say from the press, or from the pulpit, or in common conversation that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are *one God*; that they are *coequal, coeternal*, and so on. They allow of these expressions as often as they subscribe, but never else. . . . Should any man of them, in a treatise or sermon, throw out any such shocking assertions, (shocking, I mean, to them,) he would be looked upon as a deserter by the party, and a betrayer of the cause which he had undertaken to defend.”*

Reflect. IV. It has been sometimes objected, that there is no mention of any *change of raiment* at the administration of baptism; which must have taken place, and would probably have been mentioned had immersion been the common practice. Various learned and eminent Pædobaptists have taught us, however, that in the apostolic writings there are *plain allusions* to such change of raiment. See No. 54, 59, 61. But supposing no such allusive expressions to have been used, yet as the inspired writers inform us, that John baptized our Lord *in, or into Jordan*; that Philip and the eunuch *went down into the water*, and that the latter was *baptized*; we should not have wanted any farther information respecting that affair. Who can doubt whether the Syrian leper changed his garments, when, according to the order of the man of God, he *dipped himself seven times in Jordan*, though the sacred historian is silent as to that particular? Nor is any mention made of changing the raiment, that I recollect, either in the laws or in the history of legal purification by bathing, among the ancient Israelites; yet that mode of purification often occurs in the Old Testament.†

Reflect. V. To favor the cause of sprinkling, some Pædobaptists have given such a representation of the manner in which John performed the sacred rite, as is quite ludicrous. Dr. Guise, for instance, when speaking of the multitude baptized by our Lord's harbinger, says: “It seems therefore to me, that the people stood *in ranks near to, or just within the edge of the river*; and John, passing along before them, *cast water* upon their heads or faces, with his hands, or some proper instrument; by which means he might easily baptize many thousand in a day.”‡ Of this Mr. J. Wesley has been the humble transcriber;§ and Mr. Arch. Hall gives Dr. Guise's Note the sanction of his express approbation.|| Mr. Horsey also adopts the same view of the fact, when he says:

“I presume, that the multitude stood *in ranks* at the brink, or just within the edge of the river, while the administrator sprinkled or poured the running water upon them.”* Very different, however, is the following language of that eminent and learned Lutheran, Buddeus: “Though a great multitude was baptized by John, yet thence it does not follow that they could not be baptized by immersion; seeing nothing hinders but they might be baptized separately, one by one.”† That so grave an author as Dr. Guise should give such a puerile and farcical turn to the conduct of him who came in the spirit and power of Elijah, when administering a solemn ordinance of divine worship, is matter of wonder. Nor can I account for its being approved by others, but on a supposition, that they feel themselves embarrassed, when attempting to reconcile their own practice with the natural and obvious meaning of what the evangelists have said concerning John's administration of the rite. If, however, the credit of sprinkling cannot be supported without burlesquing the sacred history, and exposing in this manner one of the most exalted human characters to the ridicule of infidels, it ought for ever to sink in oblivion. But what will not the love of hypothesis do, when cherished by any writer! To justify my censure, let the following things be considered.

This account of the fact represents him who was more than a prophet, as less than a man; represents him, who was all severity in his manners, and all solemnity in his ministry, as acting the part of a playful boy. According to these authors, there was not half the solemnity in John's baptism, which there is in that annual festival of the Romish church, which is called *The Benediction of Horses*. Concerning the latter, Dr. Middleton says: “It is always celebrated with much solemnity in the month of January, when all the inhabitants of the city and neighborhood send up their horses, asses, and so on, to the convent of St. Anthony, near St. Mary the Great; where a priest in his surplice at the church-door *sprinkles with his brush* all the animals singly, as they are presented to him, and receives from each owner a gratuity proportionable to the zeal and ability. Amongst the rest, I had my own horses blest at the expense of about eighteen-pence of our money; as well to satisfy my own curiosity, as to humor the coachman.”‡ Whether Dr. Guise, and those who follow him in this particular, imagine the son of Zacharias to have used his naked hand, a scoop, a squirt, a brush,

* Case of Arian Subscription, p. 33.

† See Mr. Martin's Letters to Mr. Horsey, pp. 145, 146.

‡ Note on Matt. iii. 6.

§ Ibid. Compare No. 18.

|| Gospel Worship, vol. i. p. 271.

* Inf. Bap. Stated and Defended, p. 20.

† Theolog. Dogmat. l. v. c. i. § 5.

‡ In Conformity of Ancient and Modern Cerein. pp. 5, 6.

or a bunch of hyssop, I cannot say; though the last, I think, is most likely, on the principle of Mr. Hersey's reasoning.* This, however, is clear: The priest of superstition in his white surplice, appears to act with more care and more solemnity, than the servant of God in his hairy garment. The former, though paid for his labor at so much per head, cautiously *sprinkles the cattle one by one*: the latter, though mortified to secular gain, burning with zeal for God, and full of love to the souls of men, being all in a hurry to finish his business, casts water on half a dozen or half a score at a time. Of this haste, it may be supposed, the consequence was, that the water was very unequally divided among the candidates. How many *deep* the ranks were, our authors indeed have not informed us; but according to them there must have been more than *one* rank, because they speak in the plural. It is plain, therefore, that the front rank must have had the most copious application of the liquid element: while many individuals, we may justly suppose, that were farther distant from the administrator, had little or none at all. This presumed conduct of John, considered in one view, presents us with a *mercenary drudge* in the service of God, who cares not how slovenly the solemnities of holy worship are performed, provided they do but appear in full tale: in another, with a *wanton boy*, who makes himself sport by squirting water upon all that are near him: in every view, not only with something quite inimical to the character of John, but also to the solemn and gracious import of that ordinance which he administered. But, as the learned Châmier observes, "there is nothing so extraordinary, nothing so unusual, nothing so obscure, that is not urged by one or another against a divine appointment."† Dr. Hammond informs us, that the manner of immersing proselytes among the Jews "is said to be, that they should sit in water *up to the neck*," and in that situation, "learn some of the precepts

of the law, both hard and easy."* Now, after such a representation of John's baptism, who could have imagined these very authors to consider it as originating in the proselyte bathing; yet so it is!

The people stood in RANKS, near to, or just within the edge of the river; and John passing before them CAST water upon their heads or faces. But had this been a fact, there is reason to think it would have been mentioned: because, when our Lord miraculously fed five thousand men with a few loaves and fishes, we are expressly told that the hungry multitude were seated in ranks.‡ As John was the first administrator of baptism, and as his example in the use of water, was to be a pattern for the church in following ages; it was apparently of much more importance for us to have been informed, had it been a fact, that the people were *baptized* when standing in ranks, than it was to be told in what position the five thousand were placed, when they partook of miraculous food. Because the former concerned a standing ordinance of New Testament worship: the latter, it is plain, was an extraordinary and transient fact. Yet the sacred historians have not said a word about the people *standing* in ranks when John baptized them, though *sitting* in ranks be so plainly mentioned respecting the miracle. It may be observed also in regard to the latter case, that a great multitude were to be served by a few disciples, and to be fed when the day was far advanced. Expedition, therefore was highly necessary, that the people might be refreshed, and afterward go to their own habitations. In reference to this affair, the idea of *expedition* forces itself upon us; but not at all, in regard to John's baptizing a multitude, farther than was consistent with deep solemnity; for it is no where said, that he baptized them all in a day. What then would serious readers have thought, if Dr. Guise had represented Jesus Christ as giving his disciples the broken loaves and the divided fishes to fling among the ranks, and leave the hungry thousands to scramble for them? I cannot help supposing, that they would have execrated the representation as a vile impeachment of our Lord's conduct, and as worthy of a Woolston, rather than a Guise. My reader will apply this to the case before us.

Again: Do any of our opponents imagine that our Lord, standing in one of these ranks, was baptized by having a little water cast upon him in this random way? Or, do they suppose that John baptized him in a singular manner? Few, I think, will assert the former; and as to the latter,

* Mr. Gay has mentioned another instrument that is well fitted to sprinkle a multitude expeditiously. These are his words:

"When dext'rous damsels twirl the sprinkling mop." See Dr. Johnson's Dict. under the verb *sprinkle*. Whether this was the instrument used by John, we leave our opposers to judge. But how strange it is to hear of *casting* water on the head or face with an *instrument*! It leads one to think, rather of a pagan priest, than of the Messiah's harbinger—of ancient heathenism, rather than Christian baptism. For an account of the aspergilla, or instruments of sprinkling, used in the rites of paganism, Lomeierus De Vet. Gent. Lustrat. Syntag. cap. xxxv. may be consulted; but whether the reader must have recourse for intelligence concerning the aspergillum of John, or of any apostle, I confess myself entirely ignorant; because the only authors that mention it, have not condescended to give us the least description of it.

† Panstrat. tom. iv. l. viii. c. vi. § 28.

Note on Matt. iii. 1.

‡ Mark vi. 40.

there is no appearance of evidence. For, are we informed that the people of Judea and of Jerusalem were all baptized by John in the river Jordan? We are assured by the same authority, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan.* Such is the testimony of Matthew and of Mark; with which the language of sacred history in the Old Testament, as given by the Seventy, may be compared. Of Naaman, it is written: "Then went he down and dipped himself, βαπτισατο, seven times in Jordan."† With equal reason therefore might we suppose, that the Syrian general went only to the brink, or just within the edge of Jordan, and there cast water upon his head or his face; as adopt the imagination of these authors, respecting the manner of John's proceeding. When the Seventy interpreters express the idea of coming to Jordan, their words are, εως του Ιορδανου;‡ when they convey the notion of standing by Jordan, they use the terms, επι του Ιορδανου;§ and when they represent a person standing upon the brink, or just within the edge of Jordan, their language is, επι του χειλους του Ιορδανου.|| But when the evangelists mention Jordan, in connection with John's baptizing, they represent him as performing the rite, εν τω Ιορδανη, IN JORDAN; or as baptizing, εις τον Ιορδανην, INTO JORDAN.¶ As coming to the brink of Jordan, and being in that river, manifestly denote different situations; so they are plainly distinguished in the Septuagint. "When ye are come TO THE BRINK, επι μερους, of the water of Jordan, ye shall stand still εν Ιορδανη, IN JORDAN."** So, in the history of the Ethiopian eunuch, it is written, "As they went on their way, they came TO A CERTAIN WATER, επι τι υδωρ;" which is an approach to the brink: but when the act of baptizing was to be performed, "they went down both into the water, εις το υδωρ, both Philip and the eunuch;†† which, doubtless, expresses an idea somewhat different from the eunuch standing on the brink, or just within the edge of the water that Philip might cast a few drops upon his head or his face.

Or, if the sacred historians designed to inform us, that our Lord accompanied John into Jordan, that he might be baptized by having a little water, not cast in his face, but poured upon his head; how comes it that none of them says a word about that memorable, solemn, and significant pour-

ing? It is manifest they were not so sparing in their narratives on other occasions, though of much less importance to our instruction, and to the purity of a divine institution. Is ointment poured on the head of our Lord, once and again? it is expressly mentioned by those very evangelists who represent him as baptized in Jordan.* Yet none can doubt that it was of much greater moment for us to know, in what manner he was baptized; than it was precisely to be informed, how two godly women applied their costly ointment to his sacred person.

The people stood in ranks, near to, or just within the edge of the river; and John, passing before them, cast water upon their heads or faces. Such, according to these authors, was the truly primitive mode of proceeding! But if any of our opposers really believe this, why do they not imitate an example of such antiquity and so well recommended? Why, when called to administer baptism, do they not go to a river, or some collection of water, place the candidate on the brink, and then, standing in the liquid element, cast some of it upon his head or his face? This would be a compliance with what these authors consider as original practice. It may be observed, however, that their own representation of John's proceedings does not give us a very strong idea of his baptizing infants. For mere infants could not stand in ranks, either on the brink or just within the edge of Jordan. Were they then laid in ranks? our opposers, I think, will not assert it. They, it may be presumed, if present for the purpose of being baptized, must have been held in the arms; of which, nevertheless, there is no mention. Nor could the administrator take them into his arms one by one; for that, according to this representation, his expedition in baptizing multitudes would not permit. If, therefore, he sprinkled infants along with adults, it must have been while they were in the arms of their parents, or of their friends; of which there is no intimation, or shadow of probability. It is to be feared, therefore, that this remarkable anecdote of primitive sprinkling, of which some Pædobaptists are so fond, has a tendency to exclude infants from a share in the rite. However, be that as it may, for any of our Protestant Dissenting brethren to fix the idea of original example in opposition to us, and never to imitate that example, has but an awkward look; as it is too much like the conduct of Roman Catholics, respecting the holy supper. Whoever believes the divine mission of John, cannot have any just reason to be ashamed

* Mark i. 9; Matt. iii. 6.

† 2 Kings v. 14.

‡ 2 Sam. xix. 15; 2 Kings vi. 2, and vii. 15.

§ 2 Kings ii. 7.

|| 2 Kings ii. 13.

¶ Matt. iii. 6; Mark i. 9.

** Josh. iii. 8.

†† Acts viii. 38, 39.

* Matt. xxvi. 7; Mark xiv. 3.

of doing as he did, in regard to the use of baptismal water. Yet were I informed that Mr. Horsey, for instance, frequently goes *into a river*, merely to sprinkle an infant, or an adult; I should certainly impeach, either the *credibility* of my information, or the *intellects* of the administrator. Nor would a consideration of all I have read in Mr. Horsey's Discourse, concerning John's being *the son of a priest*, concerning *legal purifications*, and *running water*, at all relieve my anxiety about the punctuality of my informant, or the sanity of my friend. Because, when John baptized, it was, not as the son of a priest, but as the forerunner of Christ; not as influenced by Jewish customs, but as feeling the force of divine authority. Besides, were it granted that *mere* water was ever sprinkled with a view to legal purification, which nevertheless cannot be proved; it would be as hard to evince, that the Jewish priests went *into a river* to sprinkle the running water, as it would be to demonstrate that they purified any person by *plunging* him in water. Nor, among all the laws of ceremonial purification, do I recollect one, that enjoined pouring water on the *head*, or sprinkling it on the *face*: much less, that the officiating priest should thus apply the liquid element, when standing on the brink, or just within the edge of a stream.

It may perhaps be said: John chose a river for the purpose of sprinkling, not only because it was *running water*, but also on account of the *multitude* that came to his baptism; and therefore his example in entering a river does not, in common cases, oblige. So the Roman Catholics tell us, that in primitive times, when the sacred supper was administered to a small number of communicants, they might all partake of the cup without inconvenience; but afterward, when communicants became numerous, it was necessary to make an alteration in that particular. The futility of this plea will father appear, if it be considered, that a basin, or a pail, would have contained a sufficient quantity of water for the sprinkling of great numbers. See No. 69. Besides, we are informed, that when Philip baptized a single individual, both he and the candidate *went into the water*. Were Mr. Horsey, therefore, to act upon that representation of John's baptism which he has given, I cannot help thinking that serious Pædobaptist spectators would find themselves in a predicament not much different from that of the poet:

"To laugh were want of goodness and of grace;
And to be grave exceeds all power of face."

If our Lord's harbinger discovered no more solemnity and caution in hearing a profession of repentance made by the can-

didates, and in declaring by what authority and for what purpose they were to be baptized, than these our opponents represent him as having when he used the water; there was, we may venture to conclude, but little appearance of his baptism being *from heaven*, or of much devotion subsisting in his heart. The love of hypothesis must surely be very great, when it impels godly and sensible men to seek refuge for their cause in such extravagant fancies as these. But, as Mr. Alsop observes, "when men are pressed with express scripture, and yet are resolved (cost what will) to adhere to their own conclusions, it is advisable to cast about, to turn their thoughts into all shapes imaginable, to hunt for the extremest possibilities. If a word, a phrase, an expression, is but capable of another sense, let it be probable or improbable, true or false, agreeable to the scope of the place, or alien, all is a case; something must be said, that they may not seem to say nothing: and if they can say, *It is possible it may be otherwise*, (as who cannot?) though they do not believe themselves, they hug themselves for their ready wit, and applaud themselves for grave respondents."*

Reflect. VI. The baptism of the *three thousand*† has been frequently pleaded, as a presumptive evidence in favor of pouring, or of sprinkling. The Roman Catholics also imagine, that they find a warrant in the same fact, for persons who do not bear the ministerial character to administer baptism, when a supposed necessity urges; because they conclude that the apostles could not baptize so great a number in so short a time.‡ Agreeable to which is the following language of Mr. Ferdinando Shaw: "Many learned men are of opinion, that the believers, the brethren, lay-christians, assisted the apostles in baptizing them; without which it is hard to be conceived how it could be done in so short a time."§ One very learned sagacious, and impartial writer, already quoted, (No. 76,) frankly acknowledges, that the passage is far from affording an argument against immersion; to whom I will now add a few more Pædobaptists. Thus then, Mr. Marchant: "The only question is, how such a multitude of converts could be baptized in one day? To which some reply, that this rite of initiation into the Christian church was then performed by way of sprinkling, as it is among us: but whoever looks into history will find, that the form of baptism among the Jews was plunging the whole body

* Antisozzo, pp. 549, 550.

† Acts ii. 41.

‡ Forbesii Instruct. Hist. Theol. l. x. c. xiii. § 13.

§ Valid. of Bap. by Dissent. Ministers, p. 92, edit. 2nd.

under water; and that in conformity to them, the primitive Christians did, and the eastern church even to this day does administer that sacrament in this manner. There is no necessity, therefore, for us to suppose, that all those proselytes to the Christian faith were baptized in one day. St. Luke delivers in the gross, what might possibly be transacted at several times.”*

—Buddeus: “When those three thousand persons that were brought to repentance in one day, by the preaching of Peter, were to be baptized, they were led to another place; and might be baptized, [i. e. immersed] by the apostles, by others in company with them, and also by the seventy disciples. For though Luke has not mentioned this, yet we cannot thence infer that it is not a fact, seeing many circumstances are frequently omitted for the sake of brevity.”†—Bp. Wilson: “The same day, i. e. at that time, on account of that sermon; though they might not all be baptized in one day, but were at that time converted.”‡—Bp. Taylor: “Aquinas supposes the apostles did so, [that is, used sprinkling instead of immersion,] when the three thousand, and when the five thousand, were at once converted and baptized. But this is but a conjecture, and hath no tradition and no record to warrant it.”§—Bossuet: “It appears not, that the three thousand and the five thousand, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, who were converted at the first sermons of St. Peter, were baptized any other way [than by immersion;] and the great numbers of those converts is no proof that they were baptized by sprinkling, as some have conjectured. For, besides that nothing obliges us to say that they were all baptized on the same day; it is certain that St. John the Baptist, who baptized no less numbers, seeing all Judea flocked to him, baptized no other way than by dipping: and his example shows us, that to baptize a great number of people those places were chosen where there was abundance of water. Add to this, that the baths and purifications of the ancients rendered this ceremony easy and familiar at that time.”||

People who are but little accustomed to cold bathing, either for amusement, for medical purposes, or with religious views, may wonder how such multitudes could be accommodated, if they were immersed in water; but when it is considered that this was done at Jerusalem, where immersion was quite familiar, and must, by the laws of Judaism, be daily practised, not only there, but in all parts of the country,

their amazement will cease. For, as Bp. Patrick observes, “There are so many washings prescribed [in the law of Moses,] that it is reasonable to believe, there were not only at Jerusalem, and in all other cities, but in every village, several bathing places contrived for these legal purifications, that men might, without much labor, be capable to fulfil these precepts.”**

Thus also D’Outreinius: “Whoever considers the number of unclean persons, who daily had need of washing, and he who reads the Talmudic Treatises concerning purifications, and collections of water convenient for those purposes, will be easily persuaded, that Bethesda and other pools at Jerusalem subserved that design.”†

Again: We are informed by the sacred historian, that when king Solomon dedicated his magnificent temple, *he offered two and twenty thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep.* Now, supposing a Deist were to question the truth of this historical fact, on account of the great number of animals that were offered; it would soon be replied by our opponents themselves: “A great number of priests were employed; nor was the work performed in one day.”‡ Why then may not a similar answer suffice in the present case? All the Jewish males were enjoined, by divine law, to appear before the Lord in Jerusalem three times in a year. Now it may be asked, How could that metropolis contain such multitudes as came up from all parts of the country, at each of their grand festivals? Though far from thinking this difficulty insurmountable, yet I am persuaded, that it is full as easy to account for the three thousand being immersed in one day, as it is to conceive how such a prodigious concourse of strangers were accommodated with lodgings, in the city and suburbs of Jerusalem. But as, in the one case, there is no necessity of supposing that the strangers were turned into the fields to sleep with cattle;§ so, in the other, there is no occasion to imagine that plunging was converted into sprinkling.

Farther: Were the method of arguing adopted by our opposers with reference to this passage legitimate, and their inference valid, it might be rendered highly probable, that the first instance of circumcision was performed, not by *cutting off* the foreskin, but by making *a slight incision* in that pellicle. For Moses assures us, that Abraham circumcised himself and his son Ishmael, together with all the males that were born in his house and bought with his

* Exposit. in loc.

† Theolog. Dogmat. l. v. c. i. § 5.

‡ Note in loc.

§ Duct Dub. b. iii. chap. iv. p. 644.

|| In Mr. Stennett’s Answer to Mr. Russen, p. 175, 176.

* On Lev. xv. 12.

† Biblioth. Bremens. class. i. p. 614.

‡ See Mr. Marlin’s Letters to Mr. Horsey, pp. 150, 151.

§ See Dr. Jennings’s Jewish Antiq. vol. ii. pp. 163, 170.

money, on the very same day that he received the divine order.* We are also informed by the sacred historian, that long before Abraham received the command of circumcision, he had *three hundred and eighteen* male servants, who were *born in his own house*, and able to bear arms;† consequently, it is highly probable the whole number of males that were born in his house, and then living, was four hundred or upwards; besides those that were bought with his money, concerning the number of whom we have no information. Now is there any reason to think that his household was diminished, but rather increased, when he obeyed the heavenly mandate under consideration. Now if we may estimate the time required for circumcising four or five hundred persons, by the time spent, exclusive of devotional exercises, when the modern Jews perform the same rite upon an infant; we may safely consider the difficulty as much greater in the case of Abraham's circumcising his numerous household in one day, than that which attends the immersion of three thousand. For, by an instance of circumcision which the author saw performed, he cannot help thinking that the time employed in merely cutting off the foreskin, and taking care of the part with a view to its healing, would have sufficed for the solemn immersion of at least four persons.‡ It must indeed be admitted, as exceedingly probable, that the precautions used by Abraham to abate the pain and to heal the part, were different from those of the modern Jews in similar cases; but some care doubtless, must have been *immediately* necessary, supposing the præputium of each to have been cut off, especially with regard to grown persons in that hot country. But how to account for one man doing all this in a single day, I do not perceive. The difficulty will increase if it be admitted, as I think it ought, that Abraham set the first example in his own person, for, as there is no intimation of any thing miraculous on that occasion, the soreness and the pain must greatly incommode him, while performing the rite upon others. On the principal of reasoning here opposed, we might therefore infer, that the venerable patriarch did not cut off, but only made a trifling incision in the part specified. But, whatever difficulties may attend speculation upon the fact, I have not heard that any of the Jews ever doubted whether their great progenitor performed a real circumcision upon the males of his very numerous household; nor that they ever declined an imitation of the original exam-

ple, on account of any inconveniences which attend it. See Chap. II. Reflect. IX. It may perhaps be said; There is no necessity to conclude, that the hoary patriarch himself circumcised all the males of his numerous family; because he might be said to do what was performed by his order. To which it may be replied; The record of the fact expressly marks both the performer and the time; nor will it, I conceive, admit of such an interpretation; for it is written, "Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money, *every* male among the men of Abraham's house, and *circumcised* the flesh of their foreskin in the *selfsame day*, as God had said unto him." Now it is plain, that this language ascribes to Abraham the whole performance of the rite, exclusive of any assistant; for it was the patriarch himself who *took* Ishmael, and *every* male in his house, and *circumcised* them. That all this was performed by Abraham in one day, we have no doubt; because the fact rests upon divine testimony: but that speculation when employed upon it is embarrassed, except we admit of a trifling incision instead of circumcision, must I think be acknowledged. When our opposers, therefore, have clearly accounted for the aged patriarch's circumcising four or five hundred persons in one day, they will not be much at a loss to conceive of twelve apostles, and seventy disciples, immersing three thousand in the same space of time.

That three thousand should be solemnly immersed at such a place as Jerusalem, and at a time when, as the sacred historian remarks, the disciples *had favor with all the people*, even supposing them all to have been baptized in one day, is not half so strange as various accounts relating to facts of the same nature, that we find in the page of history. Thus, for example, Mr. Marchant: "Peter [and his companions in the ministry] baptizing in one day three thousand persons by immersion, need not be wondered at; since we read in the authentic life of Gregory, the apostle of the Arminians, that he baptized *twelve thousand* together, by immersion, in the river Euphrates: which Isaac, the patriarch of that nation, confirms in his first invective."^{*}—Mr. Bingham: "Palladius observes, in the life of St. Chrysostom, that at Constantinople *three thousand* persons were baptized at once, upon one of [their] greater festivals."[†]—Dr. J. G. King: "Wolodimer, a Russian prince, was baptized by the name of Basilius; and it is said *twenty thousand* of his subjects were baptized the same day."[‡]—

* Gen. xvii. 23, 24.

† Gen. xiv. 14.

‡ See Leo Modena's Hist. of the Rites and Customs of the Jews, part iv. chap. viii.

* Exposit. on Matt. iii. 7.

† Origines Eccles. b. xl. chap. vi. § 9.

‡ Rites and Cerem. of Greek Church, p. 4.

Mr. John Fox informs us, that Austin, the monk, "baptized and christened *ten thousand* Saxons, or Angles, in the West river, that is called Swale, beside York, on a Christmas day."*—Dr. Robertson: "A single clergyman baptized in one day above *five thousand* Mexicans, and did not desist till he was so exhausted by fatigue, that he was unable to lift up his hands."† Nay, Salmero asserts, (with what credibility the reader will judge,) that Francis Xavier, among the Indians, baptized *fifteen thousand* in one day." Upon which the learned Chamier pertinently asks, "Could fifteen thousand be baptized by one person; and might not three thousand be baptized by many?"‡ Respecting the administration of baptism, Dr. Doddridge says: I think "the office was generally assigned to *inferiors*, as requiring no extraordinary abilities, and as being attended with some trouble and inconvenience, especially where immersion was used, as I suppose it often, though not constantly, was."§ That persons much inferior to the apostles in office and gifts were sometimes employed by them to baptize those who professed faith, we have no doubt: but that it was because of any trouble or inconvenience which attended the administration, we do not believe; nay, we consider such an idea as unworthy the character of those laborious and self-denying ambassadors of Christ.

Our opponents, however, seem to forget that the principal difficulty, in regard to *time*, does not lie in such a multitude being *baptized*, whether by plunging or otherwise; but in their making a *satisfactory* profession of repentance and faith. For the three thousand were adults; and our opposers agree, that all adults, previous to baptism, should make such a profession. It is much easier to conceive of their being immersed in the course of a day, by such a number of administrators, and with such conveniences as were then at Jerusalem; than is it to imagine how those administrators could receive a profession of faith in the Son of God, from each of the candidates, in an equal space of time. I may here venture an appeal to Pædobaptist ministers, Whether, when adults apply for baptism, they do not spend more time in hearing a declaration of the grounds of their faith and hope, than they themselves would think necessary for the solemn immersion of such candidates, a river, a pond, or a baptistery being at hand? The passage before us, therefore, might be adduc-

ed with much more appearance of argument, in opposition to the necessity of personally professing faith previous to baptism, than it can in favor of pouring or sprinkling. But why should our opposers raise an objection, which, as Mr. Martin observes if it have any force, militates against the idea of pouring, as well as of plunging? For, as but one person could be baptized at once, and as the same form of words must have been used at the baptism of each, the difference in respect of time between their being plunged, and having water poured or sprinkled upon them, must be considered as very small. Besides, according to another branch of that hypothesis which we oppose, it seems as if many of these three thousand must have had their children sprinkled in the same space of time; which will greatly increase the number, and more than counterbalance the extra time required for immersion. Should it be objected, There is no occasion for supposing that the children of those believers were baptized on the *same* day: it may be replied, Neither does Luke say that the three thousand were *baptized*, but *added* to the church, the same day. Besides, an objection of that kind would be a departure from their usual way of stating the matter; for they have often told us, that infants were baptized *along with their parents*; and it is full as likely that those children whose parents were among the three thousand should be baptized at the same time, as that the jailor's infants, if he had any, should have their sweet repose disturbed by being baptized at *midnight*. Yet this their argument, from the latter of these facts, implies. I will add a remark of Mr. Ditton's: "If the evidence be good," says he, "by all the laws of human nature, I do not care for ten thousand difficulties, if they were ever so insuperable, provided they are not such as infer simple impossibility, or palpable absurdity."*

Once more: Supposing it appeared with indisputable evidence, that the three thousand were baptized by pouring or sprinkling; yet, according to Protestant Pædobaptists, it would not prove the lawfulness of such an administration in common practice, except it appeared to agree with divine law, or to have been the appointment of Christ. For this was undoubtedly an *extraordinary* case; and learned Pædobaptists assure us, when disputing with Roman Catholics about the sacred supper, That a scriptural example in an extraordinary instance, must not be considered as the rule of general conduct. Thus Mr. Steele: "The relation of an example in an extraordinary case, [is not] sufficient to

* Acts and Mon. under A. D. 602.

† Hist. of South America, vol. ii. p. 334, quarto.

‡ Panstrat. tom. iv. l. v. c. xiv. § 39.

§ Note on I. Cor. i. 16. Vid. Turrett. Institut. loc. xix. quæst. xiv. § 11.

* Discourse on the resurrection of Christ, part iii. sect. lxix.

cancel a direct precept and clear example with it."*—Chemnitius thus: "A general rule must not be taken from extraordinary examples; for that should be derived from the institution of the sacraments."†

—Mr. Payne, in answer to an argument of the Papists for communion in one kind, which is drawn from supposed instances of such a practice in the ancient church, thus reasons: "What will this signify, [could it be proved] to the justifying the *constant* and public communions in one kind, when there are no such particular or extraordinary reasons for it? . . . The doing this, is as if the Jews, because whilst they were in the wilderness they could not so well observe the precept of circumcision, and so were at that time, for a particular reason, excused from it, should ever after have omitted it as unnecessary. This, sure, had been making too bold with a positive precept, although there might be a particular case, or instance, wherein it was not so exactly to be observed. . . . David's eating the show-bread, which it was not lawful but for the priests ordinarily to eat, is approved by our Saviour; not upon the account of tradition, or the judgment of the high-priest, but the extreme hunger which he and his companions were then pressed with, and which made it lawful for them to eat of the hallowed bread, when there was no other to be procured. But did this make it lawful afterwards for the high-priest, or the Sanhedrim, to have made the holy bread always common to others when there was no such necessity?"‡

Reflection VII. If the numerous and learned authors, in the beginning of this chapter, be not under a gross mistake, with regard to apostolic practice, my reader has reason to be surprised, offended, shocked, at the following reflection which is cast on immersion; because he cannot but perceive it to fall on some of the most venerable and excellent persons that ever appeared in the world. "To baptize *naked*, or *next* to naked, (which is SUPPOSED, and GENERALLY practised in immersion) is against the law of modesty; and to do such a thing in public solemn assemblies, is so far from being tolerable, that it is abominable, to every chaste soul: and especially to baptize *women* in this manner."§

When, in perusing the treatise, I came to these words, I paused, I was astonished, I was almost confounded. What, thought I, is this the language of the amiable and excellent Mr. Henry? Does immersion suppose the subject of the ordinance NAKED,

OR NEXT to naked? Is this *practised*, GENERALLY *practised*, *practised* in PUBLIC SOLEMN ASSEMBLIES, and that upon WOMEN too? Where have you been, ye sons of sensuality! that you have not crowded around our baptisteries, when we have immersed any of the fair sex? How many fine opportunities have you missed, of feasting your lascivious eyes, and exulting in the wonderful sight! And what are you about ye infidels; ye who laugh at every thing sacred, and take a malignant pleasure in exposing Christianity to ridicule! what, I again ask, are ye about, that you have not published our praise for gratifying your enmity to the religion of Jesus Christ! For on the word of an author, who has long been held in a high degree of esteem by the religious public, we have often committed the most enormous outrage; I will not say, on the *solemnities of religion*, because you do not regard them—but, on the *laws of decorum*, and on the *modest feelings* of the tender sex; even while professing to act by the authority and example of Christ. What, are ye silent, all silent on such an interesting occasion; while the pen of a Christian minister, of a sacred expositor, and of a Protestant Dissenting BROTHER, is thus officiously employed? *This*, ah! this—but I forbear; and shall only add a salutary prohibition, a gentle reprehension, and a candid extenuation. THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOR; is the prohibition of JEHOVAH, the God of Israel. "We ought to DISOWN and show a DISLIKE of the PROFANE SCOFFS which some people give to the English Antipædobaptists, merely for their use of DIPPING;" is the reprehension of Dr. Wall, the Episcopalian. See No. 96. *I wot that THROUGH IGNORANCE ye did it*; is the extenuation of Peter the apostle, when the most unjustifiable conduct was under his notice.

I will now subjoin the remark of a Pædobaptist writer upon this passage of Mr. Henry. "This *calumny* against immersion," says one of the Monthly Reviewers, "might possibly have had some grounds in the practice of a few enthusiasts in the last age. Mr. Baxter uses almost the same words, when speaking of the indecency, as well as the danger, of administering baptism by immersion, as Mr. Henry; and indeed the latter appears to have copied from him. The reflection, however, should by no means be extended to the general practice of the Antipædobaptists, especially those of modern times. We almost question if it *ever* had a foundation: we are *certain* it hath none at present."*—It has, indeed, been supposed by many of the

* Morning Exercise against Popery, p. 774.

† Exam. Council. Trident. p. 216. Vid. p. 327.

‡ Preserv. against Popery, title vii, pp. 124, 149.

§ Mr. Matt. Henry's Treatise on Baptism, pp. 138, 139.

* Monthly Review, for Sep. 1781, p. 237.

learned, and there seems to be some evidence of it, that the ancients did sometimes administer the ordinance to persons of both sexes, *in puris naturalibus*: against this however, the famous Voetius has entered his protest, as a mistake of the moderns, and a misrepresentation of ancient practice.* But, admitting the fact, all whom I have observed agree, that a becoming decorum was constantly observed, as far as the nature of the case would permit. Thus, for instance, Dr. Wall: "They took great care for preserving the modesty of any woman that was to be baptized. There was none but women came near, or in sight, till she was undressed, and her body in the water: then the priest came, and putting her head also under water, used the form of words. Then he departed, and the women took her out of the water, and clothed her again in white garments."†

Those who have read the writings of Dr. Featley, and of Messrs. Baxter, Wills, Rus- sen, Burkitt, and various others, in vindication of Pædobaptism, cannot be ignorant, that the Baptists have been frequently treated in the most illiberal manner. I will here present the reader with an extract from the famous Mr. Baxter, and leave the impartial to judge, whether it be the language of calm reason, of authenticated fact, and of Christian charity; or the clamor of prejudice, the distortion of misrepresentation, and the raving of a persecuting temper. Thus, then, Mr. Baxter: "My sixth argument shall be against the usual manner of their baptizing, as it is by dipping over head in a river, or other cold water. . . . That which is a plain breach of the sixth commandment, *Thou shalt not kill*, is no ordinance of God, but a most heinous sin. But the ordinary practice of baptizing over head in cold water, as necessary, is a plain breach of the sixth commandment. Therefore it is no ordinance of God, but an heinous sin. And as Mr. Cradock in his book of *Gospel Liberty* shows, the magistrate ought to restrain it, to save the lives of his subjects. . . . That this is *flat murder*, and no better, being ordinarily and generally used, is undeniable to any understanding man. . . . And I know not what trick a covetous landlord can find out to get his tenants to die apace, that he may have new fines and heriots, likelier than to encourage such preachers, that he may get them all to turn Anabaptists. I wish that *this device* be not it that countenanceth these men. And covetous physicians, me-

thinks, should not be much against them. Catarrhs and obstructions, which are the two great fountains of most mortal diseases in man's body, could scarce have a more notable means to produce them where they are not, or to increase them where they are. Apoplexies, lethargies, palsies, and all comatous diseases, would be promoted by it. So would cephalalgies, hemicranies, phthises, debility of the stomach, crudities, and almost all fevers, dysenteries, diarrhoeas, colics, iliac passions, convulsions, spasms, tremors, and so on. All hepatic, splenic, pulmoniac persons, and hypocondriacs, would soon have enough of it. In a word, it is good for nothing but to despatch men out of the world that are burdensome, and to ranken churchyards. . . . I conclude, if murder be a sin, then dipping ordinarily in cold water over head, in England, is a sin: and if those that would make it men's religion to murder themselves, and urge it on their consciences as their duty, are *not to be suffered* in a commonwealth, any more than *highway murderers*; then judge how these Anabaptists, that teach the necessity of such dipping, are to be suffered. . . . My seventh argument is also against another wickedness in their manner of baptizing, which is their dipping persons *naked*, as is *very usual* with many of them; or *next* to naked, as is usual with the modestest that I have heard of. . . . If the minister must go into the water with the party, it will certainly tend to his *death*, though they may escape that go in but once. . . . Would not vain young men come to a baptizing to see the nakedness of maids, and make a mere jest and sport of it?"* Were this representation just, we should have no reason to wonder if his following words expressed a fact: "I am still more confirmed, that a visible judgment of God doth still follow Anabaptistry, wherever it comes."† Compare Chap. III. No. 4, and No. 60, of this Chapter. It was not without reason, I perceive, that Mr. Baxter made the following acknowledgment: "I confess my style is *naturally keen*."‡ I am a little suspicious also, that Dr. Owen had some cause for speaking of his writings as follows. "I verily believe, that if a man who had nothing else to do, should gather into one heap all the expressions which in his late books, Confessions and Apologies, have a *lovely* aspect towards himself, as to ability, diligence, sincerity, on the one hand; with all those which are full of *reproach* and *contempt* towards others, on the other; the

* Apud. Witsium, Œcon. l. iv. c. xvi. § 11.

† Hist. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. § 3. Vid. Vossium. Disputat. de Bap. disput. i. thes. vi. vii. viii. and Mr. Bingham's Origines Ecclesiast. b. xi. chap. xi. § 1, 2, 3.

* Plain Scripture Proof, pp. 134—137.

† Ut supra, p. 68.

‡ Ibid. p. 246.

view of them could not but a little startle a man of so great modesty, and of such eminency in the mortification of pride, as Mr. Baxter is.* Hence we learn that Baptists are not the only persons who have felt the weight of Mr. Baxter's hand; so that, if a recollection of others having suffered under his keen resentment can afford relief, the poor Baptists may take some comfort: and it is an old saying,

Solainen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

Besides, there is a precept of Horace which occurs to remembrance, and is of use in the present exigence. *Amara lento temperet risu*, is the advice to which I refer; and under the influence of this direction, we are led to say: Poor man! He seems to be afflicted with a violent hydrophobia! for he cannot think of any person being immersed in cold water, but he starts, he is convulsed, he is ready to die with fear. Immersion, you must know, is like Pandora's box, and pregnant with a great part of those diseases which Milton's angel presented to the view of our first father. A compassionate regard, therefore, to the lives of his fellow creatures, compels Mr. Baxter to solicit the aid of magistrates against this destructive plunging, and to cry out in the spirit of an exclamation once heard in the Jewish temple: 'Ye men of Israel, help!' or Baptist ministers will depopulate your country. Know you not, that these plunging teachers are shrewdly suspected of being *ensioned* by avaricious landlords, to destroy the lives of your leige subjects? Exert your power; apprehend the delinquents; appoint an *Auto da Fe*; let the venal dippers be baptized in blood, and thus put a salutary stop to their pestiferous practice." What a pity it is, that the celebrated History of Cold Bathing, by Sir John Floyer, was not published half a century sooner! It might, perhaps, have preserved this good man from a multitude of painful paroxysms, occasioned by the thought of immersion in cold water. Were I seriously to put a query on these assertions of Mr. Baxter, it should be, with a little variation, in the words of David: "What shall be given unto thee, or what be done unto thee, thou FALSE pen?" Were the temper which dictated the preceding caricatura to receive its just reproof, it might be in the language of Michael: "The Lord rebuke thee!"

Before I dismiss this extraordinary language of Mr. Baxter, it is proper to be observed, that the charge of shocking indecency, which he lays with such confidence against the Baptists of those times, was not suffered by them to pass without animadversion. No, he was challenged to

make it good: it was denied, it was confuted by them. With a view to which Dr. Wall says: "The English Antipædobaptists need not have made *so great an outcry* against Mr. Baxter, for his saying that they baptized *naked*; for if they had, it had been no more than the primitive Christians did." But surely they have reason to complain of *misrepresentation*; such misrepresentation, as tended to bring the greatest *odium* upon their sentiment and practice. Besides, however ancient the practice charged upon them was, its antiquity could not have justified their conduct; except it had been derived from divine command, or apostolic example, neither of which appears. Whether Mr. Henry, in the passage already marked, proceeds on the authority of Mr. Baxter, in regard to that outrage on decency with which we are charged, or what induced him to record such things, is not for me to determine; but I cannot forbear wondering that Mr. Robins should *publish* the obnoxious sentence; as it appears from his own declaration,† that he has *very much abridged* the treatise. He hopes, indeed, that very few expressions will be found in the work, that are "*offensive* to serious and candid readers of any denomination:"‡ but whether the expressions to which I advert be not *justly offensive*; whether the offence given to many of his brethren, who, I trust, have some degree of candor and seriousness, be not owing to *his* labors, as the editor; and whether both candor and seriousness do not oblige him to imitate the following confession of Mr. Baxter, I leave to my reader's judgment. "Upon the review of my arguments, upon the controversy about infant baptism," says the famous Nonconformist, "I find that I have used too many provoking words, for which I am heartily sorry, and desire pardon of God and him,"§ i. e., of Mr. Tombes.

Now, as it appears by the concessions, declarations, and reasonings of so many learned Pædobaptists themselves, that the natural and proper idea of the term baptism, the design of the institution, and the example of the apostles, are all in favor of immersion, and all agree with our practice; we do not, we cannot want any thing more to justify our conduct, either before God or man. This must be the case, except the united testimony of such a cloud of witnesses, and the reasons of it, can be confronted with superior evidence. We have, however, a few more testimonies and concessions to review, relating to this branch of the subject.

* Hist. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. § 3.

† Advertisement, p. 7.

‡ Ut supra, p. 8.

§ In Mr. Crosby's Hist. Bap., vol. iii. Pref. p. 55.

* Of the Death of Christ, p. 5, subjoined to his Mystery of the Gospel vindicated.

CHAPTER V.

The present Practice of the Greek and Oriental Churches, in regard to the Mode of Administration.

HASSELQUIST. "THE Greeks christen their children immediately after their birth, or within a few days at least, dipping them in warm water; and in this respect they are much wiser than their brethren the Russians, who dip them into rivers in the coldest winter."—*Travels*, p. 394.

2. Anonymous. "The Muscovite priests plunge the child three times over head and ears in water."—*Encyclopæd. Britan.* vol. ix. p. 6910.

3. Venema. "In pronouncing the baptismal form of words, the Greeks use the third person, saying, 'Let the servant of Christ be baptized, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit;' and immerse the whole man in water."—*Hist. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 660.

4. Deylingius. "The Greeks retain the rite of immersion to this day; as Jeremiah the patriarch of Constantinople declares."—*De Prudent. Pastoral.* pars. iii. c. iii. § 26.

5. Mr. Millar. "In baptism they [the Muscovites] dip their children in cold water."—*Propagation of Christ.* vol. ii. chap. vi. p. 115.

6. Buddeus. "That the Greeks defend immersion is manifest, and has been frequently observed by learned men; which Ludolphus informs us is the practice of the Ethiopians."—*Theolog. Dogmat.* l. v. c. i. § 5.

7. Witsius. "That immersion may be practised in cold countries, without any great danger of health and life, the Muscovites prove by their own example; who entirely immerse their infants three times in water, not believing that baptism can be otherwise rightly administered. Nor do they ever use warm water, except for those that are weak or sickly."—*Æcon. Fæd.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 13.

8. Sir Paul Ricaut. "The modern Greek church defines baptism to be, 'A cleansing, or taking away of original sin, by thrice dipping or plunging into the water;' the priest saying at every dipping, 'In the name of the Father, Amen; and of the Son, Amen; and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.' This thrice dipping, or plunging into the water, this church holds to be as necessary to the form of baptism, as water to the matter."—*Present State of the Greek Church*, p. 163.

9. Dr. J. G. King. "The Greek church uniformly practises the trine immersion, undoubtedly the most primitive manner."—*Rites and Cerem. of the Greek Church in Russia*, p. 192.

10. Dr. Wall. "All the Christians in Asia, all in Africa, and about one third part of Europe, are of the last sort, [i. e. practise immersion;] in which third part of Europe are comprehended the Christians of Græcia, Thracia, Servia, Bulgaria, Rascia, Walachia, Moldavia, Russia, Nigra, and so on; and even the Muscovites, who, if coldness of the country will excuse, might plead for a dispensation with the most reason of any."—*Hist. of Inf. Bap.* part ii. chap. ix. p. 477.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. As it appears from the preceding chapter, that immersion was the general and almost universal practice for a long course of ages; and, as various of those learned authors assert, for THIRTEEN CENTURIES; so it is manifest from these quotations, that it has been uninterruptedly continued as the general mode of proceeding, in all the Greek and oriental churches. Now these churches, as Dr. Wall informs us, comprehend "very near one half the Christians in the world."* Nay, Dr. King tells us, that they have "a greater extent than the Latin, with all the branches which are sprung from it."† Consequently, though we are far from considering the numbers that adopt a sentiment, or a practice, as the criterion of truth, or of right; yet we may confidently assert, that our practice of immersion, as essential to the ordinance, is neither that novel, not yet that singular thing, which many of our opponents are very desirous of making their neighbors believe it to be. Nor can I forbear to wonder at their inadvertency, when they act in this manner: and as to ministers of the English establishment, it requires an uncommon degree of ignorance, of prejudice, of prevarication, or of assurance, for any of *them* to treat immersion as a novel, an indecent, or an unjustifiable practice; because the rubric of their liturgy, that rubric which they have solemnly professed to believe and approve, even that very rubric which they have engaged to treat as the *law* of their proceedings, in the administration of baptism, as well as in other cases, expressly requires it; except the sponsors inform the priest, that the child cannot well bear to be dipped. To which the catechism of the same establishment plainly adverts, when it instructs the catechumen to say: "Water, *wherein* the person is baptized." For the idea of pouring, or of sprinkling, cannot be applied here without rendering the language absurd. "Upon the review of the Common Prayer-book at the restor-

* See Vol. II. Chap. V. No. 7, of this work.
† Rites and Cerem. of the Greek Church, p. 3.

ation," says Dr. Wall, "the church of England did not think fit (however prevalent the custom of sprinkling was) to forego their maxim; *That it is most fitting to dip children that are well able to bear it.* But they leave it wholly to the judgment of the godfathers and those that bring the child, whether the child may well endure dipping or not. The difference is only this: By the rubric, as it stood before, the priest was to dip, unless there were an averment or allegation of weakness: now he is not to dip, unless there be an averment or certifying of strength sufficient to endure it."* Agreeable to this, is the former confession of Helvetia: "Baptism, according to the institution of our Lord, is the font of regeneration; in which holy font we do therefore dip our infants."† The confession of Saxony, thus: "Baptism is an entire action; to wit, a dipping, and the pronouncing of those words, 'I baptize thee in the name,' and so on."

Reflect. II. In respect of the *trine* immersion, practised by the Greek Church and the eastern Christians, though it be undoubtedly of great antiquity; and though it appear to have originated in a strong but misapplied regard to that capital article of the Christian creed, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; yet as there is no intimation in the New Testament, that it was either enjoined by Christ, or practised by his apostles, we cannot agree with Dr. King, when he calls it, "the most primitive manner." See No. 9. An apostle indeed mentions the *doctrine of baptisms*; but, as a Pædobaptist author observes, "That the trine immersion was the occasion of the expression, there is no ground to believe, because so much later than that time."‡ It was, however, practised even here, in the time of Edward the Sixth; for, according to his first Common Prayer-book, "the minister is to dip the child in the water *thrice*; first dipping the right side; secondly, the left; the third time, dipping the face towards the font."§

Mr. Henry, when pleading the cause of aspersion, says: "I believe that immersion, yea *trine* immersion, or plunging the person baptized three times, was commonly used in very early ages; and that, as far as *POPERY* prevailed, a great deal of stress was laid upon it."|| Would this ingenious author, then, persuade us that immersion, whether once or thrice, originated in Popery, and that it was peculiar to such professors of Christianity as acknowledged the Papal authority? If so, he labors to

possess his readers of a gross mistake. For as to immersion, it appears, I think with sufficient evidence, by quotations already produced from the most eminent Pædobaptists, that it has the sanction of divine authority in the apostolic practice. And as to the *trine* immersion, it is manifest from Tertullian, that it was commonly used, long before the supremacy of the bishop of Rome was either claimed by himself, or acknowledged by others; yet the term *Popery* signifies a system of religious principles and practices, in which an acknowledgment of that supremacy makes a distinguishing and capital figure. "By *Popery*, says that excellent polemical author, Stapferus, we understand that religion which considers the Pope as the visible and principal head of the church; whence also it has its own name."* Besides, it appears that the Greek and oriental churches, which include one half of the Christian world, have always practised immersion; and that, for a long course of ages, the trine immersion has been their general custom: yet they never acknowledged the Papal power; nor, so far as I have observed, was their profession of Christianity ever called *Popery*. How unfair then is the insinuation contained in these words: "As far as *Popery* prevailed!" As if the Papists in former times had been the only persons that pleaded for the baptismal plunging; and as if our practice had been derived from them! That an author of Mr. Henry's learning, reading, and character should insinuate such things, is amazing. We are indeed so far from having derived immersion from Popery, that quite the reverse is the fact; for learned Pædobaptists themselves assure us, that pouring and sprinkling, as a common practice, have an exclusive claim to the honor of such an original. See Chap. VII. No. 21, 23, and Reflect. V.

CHAPTER VI.

The Design of Baptism more fully expressed by Immersion, than by Pouring or Sprinkling.

WITSIUS. "It must not be dissembled, that there is in immersion a greater fruitfulness of signification, and a more perfect correspondence between the sign and the thing signified; as we shall show, when we come to that part of our subject."—*Æcon. Fæd.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 13.

2. Alstedius. "The rite of immersion, which is intimated by the very word bap-

* Hist. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. p. 473.

† Harmony of Confessions, pp. 337, 404.

‡ Cure of Deism, vol. i. chap. iv. pp. 131, 132.

§ Encyclopædia Britan. article Baptism.

|| Treatise on Bap. p. 137.

* Institut. Theolog. Polen. cap. xiv. § 1.

tism, certainly bears a greater analogy to the thing signified."—*Lexicon Theologicum*, cap. xii. p. 223.

3. Mr. John Rogers. "I dare not deny my judgment to teach thus far for dipping, above the other forms of sprinkling or pouring; that were it as orderly in our church, and used, and no offence to weak souls, I would sooner be induced to dip one that was never before baptized, than to sprinkle one; for to me it would be more significant, and full, and pregnant with former practices."—*In Mr. Crosby's Hist. Bap.* vol. iii. Pref. p. 53.

4. Heideggerus. "Though the rite of immersion be more ancient, and on account of its more fully representing a death and burial, more expressive, (Rom. vi. 4;) yet it appears, from what has been said, that aspersion makes no alteration in the essence and mystery of baptism."—*Corpus Theolog.* loc. xxv. § 35.

5. Estius. "Though the ceremony of immersion was anciently more common, as appears from the unanimous language of the fathers, as often as they speak about baptism; and in a more expressive manner represents the death, burial, and resurrection of our Lord, and of us; whence St. Thomas affirms, that the rite of dipping is more commendable; yet there have been many reasons, for which it was sometimes convenient to alter immersion into some other kindred ceremony. Hence, therefore, the ceremony of *pouring*, as a medium between dipping and sprinkling, was much used; which custom, Bonaventure says, was in his time much observed in the French churches and some others; though he confesses that the ceremony of immersion was the more common, the more fit, and the more safe, as St. Thomas teaches."—*Apud Knatchbull. Animadvers. in Lib. Nov. Test.* p. 181.

6. Dr. Clark. "In the primitive times, the manner of baptizing was by immersion, or dipping the whole body into the water. And this manner of doing it was a very significant emblem of the dying and rising again, referred to by St. Paul, Rom. vi. 4."—*Expos. of Church Catechism*, p. 294.

7. Mr. W. Perkins. "A question may be made, whether washing of the body in baptism must be by dipping, or by sprinkling? Answer: In hot countries, and in the baptism of men in years, dipping was used, and that by the apostles; and to this Paul alludes, Rom. vi. 3: and dipping doth more fully represent our spiritual washing than sprinkling."—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 256.

8. Pietetus. "It was usual in ancient times for the whole body to be immersed in water; and it must be confessed, that such a rite most happily represented that grace by which our sins are, as it were,

drowned, and we raised again from the abyss of sin."—*Theolog. Christ.* l. xiv. c. iv. § 17.

9. Maastricht. "Immersion was used by the apostles and primitive churches, because it is not only more agreeable in the warm eastern countries, but also more significant, (Rom. vi. 3. 4. 5.)"—*Theologia*, l. vii. c. iv. § 9.

10. H. Alttingius. After briefly stating the arguments for plunging, and for sprinkling, he adds: "We confess, first, that immersion was the prior rite; because it was first used by John the Baptist and the apostles. Secondly, it is also more expressive, on account of the distinct acts, (Rom. vi.)"—*Theolog. Problem.* Nov. loc. xiv. prob. xi. p. 657.

11. M. Morus. "Baptism was formerly celebrated by plunging the whole body in water, and not by casting a few drops of water on the forehead; that representing death and the resurrection much better than this."—*In Mr. Stennett's Answer to Mr. Russen*, p. 149.

12. Vossius. "All the particulars that we have mentioned, concerning the signification of baptism, will appear with sufficient perspicuity in the rite of immersion; but not equally so if mere sprinkling be used. It should not be supposed, however, that all analogy is destroyed by it."—*Disputat. de Bap. disp.* iii. § 10.

13. Daille, speaking of a twofold effect of baptism, says: "In the primitive church, this double effect of baptism was more clearly represented in the external action of the sacrament (by immersion) than it is at this day."—*Serm. on Epist. to Coloss.* on chap. ii. 12. p. 245.

14. Buddeus. "Though immersion is to be preferred, yet baptism administered by sprinkling, or pouring, is not therefore to be accounted unlawful . . . Immersion, which was used in former times, as we have before declared, was a symbol and an image of the death and burial of Christ: by which we are taught, that the remains of sin, which are called the *old man*, should also be put to death; that is, as Paul elsewhere speaks, our *flesh, with its affections and lusts*, should be crucified. For in that way, we, as it were, die and are buried with Christ; which Paul expressly shows, Rom. vi. 4. An emersion out of the water follows, (Matt. iii. 16,) which exhibits a most beautiful image of the resurrection of Christ; and at the same time it affords matter of instruction concerning that spiritual resurrection, which is effected by daily renovation, (Rom. vi. 4.) Now though all these things are a little more clearly exhibited by immersion, than by pouring or sprinkling; yet, nevertheless in the latter some likeness of them is beheld: seeing,

even by pouring, especially if it be performed by a remarkably large quantity of water, the infant is in a manner covered and buried in water; like as it emerges thence, when the water poured upon it is all run off."—*Theolog. Dogmat.* l. v. c. i. § 5, 8.

15. Dr. Cave. "The party to be baptized was wholly immersed, or put under water; whereby they did more notably and significantly express the three great ends and effects of baptism."—*Primitive Christianity*, part i. chap. x. p. 203.

16. Dr. Wall. "I had the disadvantage [in defending the common practice] to plead for a way of baptism, of which the best I could say was, That it is sufficient for the essence of baptism; but could not deny the other (except in the case of danger of health) to be the fittest . . . The immersion of the person, whether infant or adult, in the posture of one that is buried and raised up again, is much more solemn, and expresses the design of the sacrament and the mystery of the spiritual washing much better, than pouring a small quantity of water on the face. And that pouring of water, is much better than sprinkling, or dropping a drop of water on it. If it be done in the church, in, or at the font, and the congregation do join in the prayers there used; it is much more solemn than in a bedchamber, out of a basin, or pipkin, a tea-cup, or a punch-bowl; and a bed chamber is perhaps not quite so scandalous as a kitchen or stable, to which things look as if they would bring it at last . . . We have reason to give God thanks, that the present orders and rubrics of our church are all calculated for the reforming of these abuses, and preserving the dignity of this holy sacrament; and that there wants nothing but the due execution of them, and our conscientious performing of that which we solemnly promised before God and the bishop, when we had the charge of souls committed to us, that *we would conform to the Liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established* . . . I know that some midwives and nurses do, on the christening day, (which they think is observed, not so much for the sacrament itself, as for their showing their pride, art, and finery,) dress the child's head so, that the face of it being hid deep under the lace and trimming which stands up so high on each side the minister cannot come at the face to pour water on it, so as that it may run off again; but what water he pours, will run in among the head-cloths, which really is likely to do the child more hurt than dipping would have done."—*Defence of Hist. Inf. Bap.* p. 404—403.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. 1. From these quotations we

learn, that immersion, compared with pouring or sprinkling, has the honor of priority, in respect of time, No. 4, 10, 14; that it is more significant, No. 1—16; that it is more safe, or certain of being right, No. 5; and that one of these learned authors, who had well studied the subject, felt by painful experience the disadvantage under which a Pædobaptist labors, and the arduous task he has to perform when he undertakes to defend any mode of administration short of dipping; because the best he can say of it is, that the essence of baptism is not wanting. No. 16. See Chap. III. Reflect. IV.

Reflect. II. I can hardly forbear supposing that the attentive reader anticipates my reflections here, and is ready to exclaim: What! practise a mode of administering baptism, that is rejected by one half of the world; while you cannot but acknowledge, that antiquity, significancy, and safety of being right, may be all fairly pleaded against it? As if they professedly imitated the Roman Catholics, in regard to the invocation of saints! For Chemnitius tells us, "Many among the Papists acknowledge, that it is better, more agreeable to rule, more certain, and more safe to invoke God himself in the name of Christ, than to address prayer to saints."* Strange that there should be such charms in a religious custom, which is a confessed variation from the examples of the apostles, of martyrs, of Christians almost universally for the long time of thirteen hundred years, and of so great a part of those who bear the character of Christians at this day! Strange, indeed, that any who are the friends of Christ, should confessedly impoverish the significancy of a sacred rite; and then labor, and strive, and toil, in order to prove that they have not annihilated the essence of it! Very singular conduct this, relating to an ordinance of God, a branch of divine worship, and a means of human happiness! But is it commendable, is it justifiable, is it rational, that the professed followers of Jesus Christ should study to find out the exact boundaries of *essence*, in a positive institution; that they may be able to determine with precision, how far they may vary from the natural import of our Lord's command, his own example, and the practice of his ambassadors, without intrenching on what is essential to the appointment? Let candor, let common sense determine. Dr. Mayo has well observed, that "all great errors and evils in the Christian church had small beginnings; we are, therefore, not to make light of those things in religion, which yet may not be of the essence thereof."†

* Exam. Council. Trident. p. 613.

† Apology and Shield, p. 166.

How much is the conduct of these authors like that of the Roman Catholics in another case! The latter, we know, administer the Lord's supper to the people in one kind; even while they cannot but acknowledge that Christ appointed the use of wine, as well as of bread; that the apostles administered both kinds; that the church for many centuries received the sacred supper in both kinds; and that the representation of our Lord's death is more complete, by the administration of both kinds; after all these concessions pretending, that they do not intrench on the *essence* of the ordinance, by administering the ordinance, by administering the bread only! But, strange as their procedure is, it must be with an ill grace that any of the writers here produced object against that mutilation of the holy supper. For though they do not explicitly avow, they seem entirely to approve the reasoning of Bellarmine, when he speaks in the following manner: "Though more grace and advantage be received by partaking of both kinds, than only of one, it is not therefore necessary that all should communicate of both species; because of two evils; the less ought always to be chosen. Now, it is a less evil that some persons should want a benefit which is not necessary, than that the sacrament should be exposed to the evident danger of being irreverently used."* It is *danger* of irreverence, we see, that is pleaded by Papists for their mutilation of the holy supper: it is also *danger* of indecency, or of health, which urges Pædobaptists to lay aside immersion, as the reader may learn from the following chapter. How lamentable to reflect, that, respecting the administration of positive appointments, there should be such a coalition between the subjects of the tripple crown and professed Protestants!

Besides, the best evidence yet produced, that pouring or sprinkling contains the essence of baptism, has always been treated, by a very large part of the Christian world, as extremely doubtful. In proof of this assertion, I appeal to the authorities produced, Chap. IV. and V. and to those which follow in the next. Being taught, therefore, by so many respectable Pædobaptists, that the radical idea of the term, baptism, the chief design of the ordinance, the apostolic example, the present practice of one half of the Christian world, and the emphasis of signification, are all in favor of immersion; we must stand acquitted of blame, and our conduct in regard to dipping deserve imitation. It cannot indeed be otherwise, except it should hereafter appear, that substantial reasons may be

assigned for altering the practice of immersion to that of pouring or of sprinkling: and substantial they must be to answer so important an end, in the face of all these concessions and all this evidence. It would be the height of precipitancy, and little short of religious madness to desert, without the most cogent reasons, a practice thus recommended, for one that appears in such embarrassment. What those reasons are, that have been thought sufficient by many of the most learned Pædobaptists; what their force, and what regard they deserve, must be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

The Reasons, Rise, and Prevalence of Pouring, or Sprinkling, instead of Immersion.

DEYLINGIUS. "So long as the apostles lived, as many believe, immersion only was used:* to which afterward, perhaps, they added a kind of affusion, such as the Greeks practise at this day, after having performed the trine immersion. At length after the apostles were dead, the baptism of clinics was known; when disease, or extreme necessity in any other respect, forbade immersion, sprinkling and pouring began to be introduced; which in a course of time were retained, plunging being neglected. For in following times, when adult persons were very seldom baptized, infants were initiated into the Christian church by pouring and by sprinkling."--*Observat Sac. pars. iii. observ. xxvi. § 2.*

2. Salmasius: "The clinics only, because they were confined to their beds, were baptized in a manner of which they were capable; not in the entire laver, as those who plunge the head under water, but the *whole body* had water poured upon it. As Cypr. iv. epist. vii. Thus Novatus when sick, received baptism; being (*περιχυθεὶς*) *besprinkled*, not (*βαπτισθεὶς*) *baptized*. Euseb. vi. Hist. cap. xliii.—*Apud Witsium Œcon. Fœd. l. iv. c. xvi. § 13.*

3. Mr. Formey. "Putting off their clothes, they were dipped three times in water; but when they administered baptism to the clinics, i. e. to those who were confined to their beds from illness, they made use only of simple sprinkling."—*Abridg. Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 33.*

4. Turretinus. "Immersion was used in former times and in warm climates, as

* Of this opinion is Mr. Picart, who says: "Baptism by ablution, or aspersion, was not known in the first century of the church, when immersion was only used; and it is said it continued so till St. Gregory's time" Relig. Cerem. vol. ii. p. 82.

* Apud Chamierus, Panstrat. tom. iv. l. ix. c. x. § 6.

we are taught by the practice of John the Baptist, (Matt. iii. 6, 16;) of Christ's apostles, (John iii. 22, and iv. 1, 2;) and of Philip, (Acts viii. 38.) But now, especially in cold countries, when the church began to extend itself towards the north, plunging (καταποντισμος) was changed into sprinkling, and aspersion only is used."—*Institut. Loc.* xix. quæst. xi. § 11.

5. Mr. W. Perkins. "The ancient custom of baptizing was to dip; and, as it were, to dive all the body of the baptized in the water, as may appear in Paul, Rom. vi. and the councils of Laodicea and Neocæsarea; but now, especially in cold countries, the church useth only to sprinkle the baptized, by reason of children's weakness; for very few of ripe years are now-a-days baptized. We need not much to marvel at this alteration, seeing charity and necessity may dispense with ceremonies, and mitigate in equity the sharpness of them."—*Works*, vol. i. p. 74. edit. 1603.

6. Dr. Manton. "You will say, If the rite [of immersion] hath this signification, [Christ's death for sin, and our death to sin] why is it not retained? I answer, Christianity lieth not in ceremonies: the principal thing in baptism is the washing away of sin, (Acts xxii. 16;) that may be done by pouring on of water, as well as dipping."—*Serm. on Rom.* vi. 4.

7. Walæus. "In warm countries, the ancients practised an immersion of the whole body; but in colder climates, they generally used aspersion: because, a ceremony that is free ought always to give way to charity."—*Enchiridium, de Bap.* p. 425.

8. Pamelius. "Whereas the sick, by reason of their illness, could not be immersed or plunged (which, properly speaking, is to be baptized,) they had the salutary water poured upon them, or were sprinkled with it. For the same reason, I think, the custom of sprinkling now used, first began to be observed by the western church; namely, on account of the tenderness of infants, seeing the baptism of adults was now very seldom practised."—*Apud Forbesium, Instruct. Hist. Theolog.* l. x. c. v. § 57.

9. Hoornbeekius. "In the eastern churches baptism was more anciently administered by immersing the body in water. Afterward, first in the western churches, on account of the coldness of the countries, bathing being less in use than in the east, and the tender age of those that were baptized, dipping or sprinkling was admitted."—*Miscell. Sac.* l. i. c. xvii. sect. iv. § 1.

10. Grotius. "The custom of pouring or sprinkling seemes to have prevailed in favor of those that were dangerously ill, and were desirous of giving up themselves to Christ; whom others called *clinics*. See

the Epistle of Cyprian to Magnus."—*Apud Poli Synopsis, ad Matt.* iii. 6.

11. H. Altlingius. "The baptismal washing, in warm countries and ancient times, was performed by immersion; but now, especially in cold countries, it is performed by only sprinkling . . . The cause of the alteration is, that immersion, which was used in the warm eastern and southern countries, is less convenient in the cold western and northern climates; where there is danger of health from immersion, especially of infants. And therefore that rule is here in force; 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.'"—*Loci Commun.* pars i. loc. xii. pp. 198, 199. *Theolog. Problem.* Nov. loc. xiv. prob. xi. p. 657.

12. E. Spanhemius. "In these northern and colder countries, out of regard to the tender age of infants, we use aspersion in the place of immersion; which, of old, was usually practised, either in open rivers or in private baptisteries, and vessels filled with water."—*Disputat. Syntag. Disp. de Bap.* § 16.

13. Quenstedius. "When occasion was but seldom given of baptizing adults, and very frequently of baptizing infants, the church consulted their weakness; whence, by little and little, aspersion was introduced, till at length, immersion being laid aside, it prevailed. Of which change there was a threefold reason; the *tenderness* of infants—*shame*, especially in regard to female catechumens—and because, even in the very act of baptizing, *natura cursum suum tenet*; sicut contigit magnis inpp. in orient Constantino Copronymo cognominato, et in occidente Wenceslao; qui cum immergerentur, *aquam baptismalem macularunt*."*—*Antiq. Bib.* c. iv. sect. ii. num. i. § 4. p. 319.

14. Riisenius. "Though in warm countries immersion was practised in former times, yet now, especially in colder climates, aspersion may be rightly used."—*Summa. Theolog.* loc. xvii. § 31.

15. Keckermannus. "Though the term baptism properly signifies immersion, and though also in the ancient church, through the eastern countries, when baptism was administered, it was, not by sprinkling, but by immersion; yet in the colder parts of Christendom, aspersion is used instead of immersion, on account of infants: because charity and necessity may dispense with ceremonies, and temper them with gentleness, so far as may be done without injuring the analogy."—*System. Theolog.* l. iii. c. viii.

16. Piscator. "Whether the whole body

* Had any Baptist assigned such a reason for immersion's being laid aside, he would, I suspect, have been charged with *gross indelicacy*, and loaded with censure, by many of our opposers; even though they could not have disproved the fact. This, however, proceeds from an eminent Lutheran, who was no friend to the Baptists. See *Hist. of Popery*, vol. i. p. 141.

be dipped, and that thrice, or once; or whether water be only poured or sprinkled on the party; this ought to be free to the churches, according to the difference of countries."—*Aphorismi Doct. Christ.* loc. xxiv. aph. 9

17. Mr. Rich. Baxter. "We grant that baptism then [in the primitive times] was by washing the whole body; and did not the difference of our cold country, as to that hot one, teach us to remember, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' it should be so here."—*Paraphrase on the New Test. at Matt.* iii. 6.

18. Bp. Burnet. "The danger of dipping in cold climates, may be a very good reason for changing the form of baptism to sprinkling."—*Exposition of Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 426.

19. Venema. "Sprinkling was used in the last moments of life, on such as were called clinics; and also where there was not a sufficient quantity of water."—*Hist. Eccles.* tom. iv. secul. iv. § 110.

20. Dr. Towerson. "The first mention we find of aspersion in the baptism of the elder sort, was in the case of the *clinici*, or men who received baptism upon their sick beds; and that baptism is represented by S. Cyprian as legitimate, upon the account of the necessity that compelled it, and the presumption there was of God's gracious acceptance thereof because of it. By which means the lawfulness of any other baptism than by an immersion will be found to lie in the necessity there may sometimes be of another manner of administration of it."—*Of the Sacram. of Bapt.* part. iii. pp. 59, 60.

21. Sir John Floyer. "The church of Rome hath drawn short compendiums of both sacraments. In the eucharist, they use only the wafer, and instead of immersion they introduced aspersion. . . . I have now given what testimony I could find in our English authors, to prove the practice of immersion from the time the Britons and Saxons were baptized, till king James's days; when the people grew peevish with all ancient ceremonies, and through the love of novelty, and the niceness of parents, and the pretence of modesty, they laid aside immersion; which never was abrogated by any canon but is still recommended by the present rubric of our church, which orders the child to be dipped discreetly and warily."—*Hist. of Cold Bathing*, p. 15, 61.

22. Dr. R. Wetham. "The word baptism signifies a washing, particularly when it is done by immersion, or by dipping, or plunging a thing under water, which was formerly the ordinary way of administering the sacrament of baptism. But the church, which cannot change the least article of the Christian faith, is not so tied up

in matters of discipline and ceremonies. Not only the Catholic church, but also the pretended Reformed churches, have altered this primitive custom in giving the sacrament of baptism, and now allow of baptism by pouring or sprinkling water on the person baptized. Nay, many of their ministers do it now-a-days by filiping a wet finger and thumb over a child's head, or by shaking a wet finger or two over the child, which it is hard enough to call a baptizing in any sense."—*Annotation on the New Test. at Matt.* iii. 6.

23. Dr. Wall. "In the case of sickness, weakness, haste, want of quantity of water, or such like extraordinary occasions, baptism by affusion of water on the face, was by ancients counted sufficient baptism. I shall out of many proofs of it produce two or three of the *most ancient*. Anno Dom. two hundred and fifty one, Novation was, by one party of the clergy and people of Rome, chosen bishop of that church in a schismatical way, and in opposition to Cornelius, who had been before chosen by the major part, and was already ordained. Cornelius does in a letter to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, vindicate his right, showing that Novation came not canonically to his orders of priesthood, much less was capable of being chosen bishop; for that 'all the clergy and a great many of the laity, were against his being ordained presbyter, because it was not lawful (they said) for any one that had been baptized in his bed in time of sickness, [*τον εν κλινη δια νοσου περιχυθεντα*] as he had been, to be admitted to any office of the clergy'. . . . France seems to have been the first country in the world where baptism by affusion was used ordinarily to persons in health, and in the public way of administering it. . . . It being allowed to weak children [in the reign of queen Elizabeth] to be baptized by aspersion, many fond ladies and gentlewomen first, and then by degrees the common people would obtain the favor of the priest to have their children pass for weak children too tender to endure dipping in the water. Especially, as Mr. Walker observes 'if some instance really were *or were but* fancied or framed, of some child's taking hurt by it'. . . . Calvin had not only given his dictate in his Institutions, that 'the difference is of no moment, whether he that is baptized be dipped all over, and if so, whether thrice or once; or whether he be only wetted by the water poured on him:' but he had also drawn up for the use of his church at Geneva, and afterwards published to the world, A form of administering the Sacraments; where, when he comes to order the act of baptizing, he words it thus: 'Then the minister of baptism pours water on the infant,' saying, 'I baptize thee,' and so

on. There had been—some synods in some dioceses of France, that had spoken of affusion without mentioning immersion at all, that being the common practice; but for an office or liturgy of any church, this is, I believe, the first in the world that prescribes aspersion absolutely. . . . And for sprinkling, properly called, it seems it was, at sixteen hundred and forty-five, just then beginning, and used by very few. It must have begun in the disorderly times after forty-one. . . . But then came The Directory, and says: ‘Baptism is to be administered, not in private places, or privately; but in the place of worship, and in the face of the congregation,’ and so on. ‘And not in the places where fonts, in the time of Popery, were unfitly and superstitiously placed.’ So, they reformed the font into a basin. This learned Assembly could not remember, that fonts to baptize in, had been always used by the primitive Christians, long before the beginning of Popery, and ever since churches were built; but that sprinkling, for the common use of baptizing was really introduced (in France first, and then in other Popish countries,) in times of Popery. And that accordingly, *all those countries in which the usurped power of the Pope is, or has formerly been owned, have LEFT OFF dipping of children in the font: but that all other countries in the world, which had never regarded his authority, do still use it; and that BASINS, except in case of necessity, were never used by Papists, or any other Christians whatsoever, TILL BY THEMSELVES. . . .* What has been said of this custom of pouring or sprinkling water in the ordinary use of baptism, is to be understood only in reference to these western parts of Europe; for it is used ordinarily no where else. The Greek church, in all the branches of it, does still use immersion; and they hardly count a child, except in case of sickness, well baptized without it: and so do all other Christians in the world, except the Latins. That which I hinted before, is a rule that does not fail in any particular that I know of; viz. All the nations of Christians that do now, or formerly did submit to the authority of the bishop of Rome, do ordinarily baptize their infants by pouring, or sprinkling. And though the English received not this custom till after the decay of Popery, yet they have since received it from such neighbor nations as had begun it in the time of the Pope’s power. *But all other Christians in the world, who never owned the Pope’s usurped power, do, AND EVER DID, DIP THEIR INFANTS IN THE ORDINARY USE.*—*Hist. of Inf. Bap.* part ii. chap. ix. pp. 463, 467, 470, 471, 472, 477.

24. Anonymous. “The custom of sprinkling children, instead of dipping them in

the font, which at first was allowed in case of the weakness or sickness of the infant, has so far prevailed, that immersion is at length quite excluded. What principally tended to confirm the practice of affusion or sprinkling was, that several of our Protestant divines, flying into Germany and Switzerland during the bloody reign of queen Mary, and returning home when queen Elizabeth came to the crown, brought back with them a great zeal for the Protestant churches beyond sea, where they had been sheltered and received; and having observed that, at Geneva, and some other places, baptism was administered by sprinkling, they thought they could not do the church of England a greater piece of service than by introducing a practice dictated by so great an oracle as Calvin. This, together with the coldness of our northern climate, was what contributed to banish entirely the practice of dipping infants in the font.”—*Encyclopæd. Britan. article, Baptism*, vol. ii. p. 996.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. By the quotations here produced from eminent Pædobaptists, we are taught, that the most ancient instance on ecclesiastical record, which is yet adduced, of pouring or sprinkling, is that of Novatian, in the year two hundred and fifty-one, No. 23; that the reason of it, both then and afterwards, was not any real, nor even pretended command or example, in the New Testament; but a supposed necessity arising, either from bodily disease, a want of water for immersion, or some other similar circumstance, No. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 16, 20; that even then, the water was applied by pouring upon or sprinkling, not the face, but the whole body, No. 2; that it was considered as an imperfect administration of the ordinance; so imperfect, as rendered the subject of it ineligible to the ministerial office, and was denominated *sprinkling*, not *baptizing*, No. 2, 23; that pouring, or sprinkling, as a common practice, originated in the apostate church of Rome, and that the Protestant churches thence derived it, No. 21, 23; that this mode of proceeding commenced among the English in the time of Queen Elizabeth, but that immersion was the prevailing practice till the reign of James I., No. 21, 23; that the reasons of this alteration in England were, the love of novelty, niceness of parents, pretence of modesty, and a high regard for the character of Calvin, No. 21, 23, 24; that Calvin’s form of administering the sacraments was probably the first in the world, that prescribed pouring absolutely, No. 23; that sprinkling,

strictly so called, did not commence in England, till the year sixteen hundred and forty-five, and was then used by very few, *ibid.*; that the assembly of divines at Westminster, converted the font into a basin; and that basins, unless in case of necessity, had never been used by Papists, or any other Christians whatever, till by the members of that assembly, *ibid.*; that Roman Catholics ridicule some of the Protestant ministers, for using only a few drops of water, No. 22; that the reasons assigned for this novel mode of proceeding are, coldness of climate, No. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18; tenderness of infants, No. 5, 8, 13; Christianity's not consisting in ceremonies, No. 6; that sacred maxim, "God will have mercy and not sacrifice," No. 11, 12; the authority of the church to alter ceremonial appointments, No. 22; and (most delicately to crown the whole) because in the very act of baptizing, it was observed that *natura cursum suum tenet*, No. 13; finally, that ALL the Christians in the world, who never owned the Pope's usurped power, now do, and ever did, dip their children in the common course of their practice, No. 23. Such is the information which these learned authors give.

Reflect. II. According to this representation, the practice of pouring and sprinkling makes but a poor figure in the eyes of a consistent Protestant; for, if this be a just account, it had no existence till many corruptions had taken deep root in the church; it originated in dangerous error; was fostered by the mother of abominations; and under the powerful influence of her authority and her example, it became the general custom in all those parts of the world to which her tyranny ever extended; BUT NO WHERE ELSE. It seems to have been under the combined operation of different errors that the practice took its rise. For though, as Mr. Henry justly observes, "Many in the primitive times, upon a mistaken apprehension of the unpardonableness of sin committed after baptism, deferred it long, some even till the dying moment;"* yet they imagined the ordinance necessary to their salvation. When, therefore, they were seized with affliction, confined to their beds, and apprehensive of death, the expedient of pouring, or of sprinkling, was devised in the pressing emergency, as a happy succedaneum for immersion. That laborious and learned enquirer, Dr. Wall, could find no instance, of the kind, prior to the case of Novatian; which case is thus described in Eusebius; "He fell into a grievous distemper, and it being supposed that he would die immediately, he received baptism, being *besprink-*

led with water on the bed whereon he lay, if that can be termed baptism."* On which passage Valesius observes: "This word, *περιχύεις*, Rufinus very well renders *perfusus*, *besprinkled*. For people which were sick and baptized in their beds, could not be dipped in water by the priest, but were sprinkled with water by him. This baptism was thought imperfect, and not solemn, for several reasons. Also they who were thus baptized, were called ever afterwards *CLINICI*; and, by the twelfth canon of the Council of Neocæsarea, these *clinici* were prohibited priesthood." Yea, so imperfect was this baptism esteemed, that Bp. Taylor tells us: "It was a formal and solemn question, made by Magnus to Cyprian, Whether they are to be esteemed right Christians who were only sprinkled with water, and not washed or dipped? He [Cyprian] answers, that the baptism was good, when it was done in the case of necessity; God pardoning, and necessity compelling. And this," adds the bishop, "is the sense and law of the church of England: not that it be indifferent, but that all infants be dipped, except in cases of sickness, and then sprinkling is permitted."† Now, that this clinical baptism had no existence in the apostolic times, we are led to conclude, not only by considering the erroneous foundation on which it rests, and the total silence of the New Testament concerning it, but also by the testimony of some learned Pædobaptists. Witness Altmannus, who says, "it has not yet been proved, that the baptism of clinics was used in the time of the apostles; nor, certainly, can any passages be produced from the apostolic writings, nor from those of the first fathers, from which it may be concluded that it is a rite of such great antiquity."‡ See Chap. IV. No. 84.

It is worthy to be remarked, that a gross mistake about the necessity of baptism, not only introduced sprinkling instead of immersion; but, in some instances, has operated so far as entirely to exclude water from any concern in the ordinance. The following examples have occurred to observation, in the course of my reading. Nicephorus informs us, that a certain Jew, performing a journey in company with Christians, and being suddenly seized with a dangerous illness, earnestly desired baptism at the hands of his fellow travellers. They, not having a priest in their company, and being destitute of water, were at first reluctant! but, he conjuring them not to deny him the favor, they yielded to his request. On which, taking off his clothes, they sprinkled him thrice with sand instead

* Eccles. Hist. b. vi. chap. xliii. Cambridge, 1683.

† Ductor Dubitantium, b. iii. chap. iv. rule 15.

‡ Meletem. Philolog. Critic. tom. iii. p. 131.

* Treatise on Baptism, p. 27.

of water; adding, that they "baptized him, in the name of the Father," and so on.* Deylingius furnishes another example of a singular kind. He tells us, that near the beginning of the Reformation, a certain midwife in Thuringia, under the fair pretext of necessity, baptized some sickly children without water, merely by pronouncing these words; "I baptize thee in the name," and so on. The same learned author, from Seckendorf, mentions others who taught that baptism might be administered without water.† To BAPTIZE by sprinkling a few drops of water; to BAPTIZE by sprinkling of sand, without any water; to BAPTIZE by merely pronouncing a form of words; what misnomers they are! and what an improvement on the institution of Christ! I will here add the following words of Dr. Willett: "We condemn the foolish and ungodly practices and inventions of heretics, that either exclude water altogether, as the Manichees, with others; or do use any other element, as the Jacobites, that, instead of water, burned them that were to be baptized with an hot iron; or as the Ethiopians, which are called Abissines, that used fire instead of water; misconstruing the words of the gospel, (Matt. iii. 11.)"‡

Reflect. III. The reasons assigned by these Pædobaptists for pouring or sprinkling, may be compared with the arguments of Roman Catholics, in defence of withholding the cup from the people; the answers returned by Protestants to their futile reasonings; and these, with the replies that Baptists make to the reasonings in favor of sprinkling. Do the Roman Catholics argue, That the *whole essence* of the Lord's supper is contained in one kind? So do Protestant Pædobaptists, that the entire essence of baptism is retained in pouring or sprinkling. Do the former maintain, that they who have the thing *signified*, need not contend about the *sign*? So do many of the latter. Do the votaries of Rome tell us, there is no *spiritual benefit* enjoyed by receiving both bread and wine which is not possessed by those who par-

take only of the bread? So do our Protestant brethren argue, in reference to pouring and sprinkling, compared with immersion. Do the subjects of the triple crown endeavor to persuade the Reformed, that there were various *types* and *figures* of the holy supper, in the Old Testament, which favor the receiving it in one kind? Do they plead for this end the paschal lamb, the manna, the show-bread, and the sacrifices, the flesh of which was to be eaten, but their blood not to be drunk? So Pædobaptists endeavor to persuade us, that some typical rites, and that various allusive expressions in the Old Testament, (such as, *I will pour water on him that is thirsty—He shall sprinkle many nations,** with others of a similar kind,) are in favor of sprinkling. Have Protestants united in replying to the first of these arguments: It is *not a fact*, that the whole essence of the Lord's supper is contained in the species of bread? So do we assert, that the entire essence of baptism is not retained in pouring or sprinkling; because an immersion of the whole body, is as really a distinct act from applying a few drops of water to the face only, as eating bread is distinct from the drinking of wine. Do the Reformed answer to the second; This is the ready way to *cast off* all sacraments and ordinances at once? So do we; for if the servants of Christ may administer baptism in either of the different ways, because the candidate is considered as having the blessings to which it refers, they are at liberty, for the same reason, to neglect or use any ordinance just as they please. Do the opposers of Papal corruptions reply to the third; That supposing an equal degree of benefit to result from each mode of administration, yet there is not, there cannot be the same degree of *humble obedience* to Jesus Christ, who appointed the sacred supper? So do we, in regard to the different ways of administering baptism. Do the friends of the Protestant cause agree, in respect to the fourth argument; That none of the things mentioned were types or figures of the *Lord's supper*, and therefore the analogical reasoning has no force? We also maintain, that none of the purifications practised in the ancient Jewish church, (whether by dipping, washing, or sprinkling,) were types or figures of baptism. Besides, we have the authority of a learned and famous Pædobaptist, when we assert, that among all the various rites of purification prescribed to the chosen tribes, "the sprinkling of *mere* water was not appointed; for it was either mixed with blood or ashes."† Consequently, no allusion to any of those ancient rites, whether

* Apud Centur. Magdeburg, cent. ii. c. vi. p. 82.

† De Prudentia Pastoral, pars. iii. c. iii. § 20.

‡ Synopsis Papismi, p. 562. Our brethren who practise Free Communion frequently plead, that those persons whose claim to the holy supper is under dispute, consider themselves as really baptized, and on that ground should be admitted to the Lord's table. This reminds me of what Vasques, a Popish casuist, says: "If any man think that to be a relic of a saint, which indeed is not so, he is not frustrate of the merit of his devotion." Thus that veteran in superstition, as quoted by Mr. Clarkson, Prac. Div. of Papists, p. 189. But would our brethren receive a candidate for communion, who sincerely believes he has been baptized, merely because he was sprinkled with sand, as, in the case of this Jew; or on account of some zealous midwife having pronounced over him a solemn form of words; or because he has been marked with a hot iron? Let them consider of it, take advice, and speak their minds. (Judges xix. 30.)

* Mr Henry's Treatise on Bap. p. 140.

† Lampe, Comment in Evang. Joan. ad. cap. iii. 5.

it be found in the Old or in the New Testament, can be a proper direction for us in the administration of baptism. See Chap. I. No. 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 20. Reflect. II. III.

Again: When Protestant writers oppose that mutilation of a divine appointment which is practised by those of the Romish communion at the Lord's table, they do not fail to show, that the *declared will of God* is the rule of duty; and that the institution of the ordinance, the example of the apostles, the end of the appointment and the practice of the church for thirteen hundred years, are all against that partial administration, and all in favor of the Reformed.* Now, are not these the very principles on which the Baptists proceed, in all their disputes with Pædobaptists about the right manner of performing baptism? Nay, does it not appear from the preceding chapters, and from the pens of our opponents themselves, that these principles are just, and supported by facts, relating to the controversy about baptism, as well as to that concerning the holy supper?

Farther: Do some of the learned Catholics acknowledge, that receiving the Lord's supper in both kinds, is more *complete* and more *expressive*; and that the present practice of their church is a *departure* from the institution, from apostolic example, and from the general custom of Christians for many ages? Do certain of their learned writers express an ardent wish to have the primitive practice restored among them?† All this, it appears, have some of our learned opposers done, in regard to the administration of baptism. How far the following reflection upon a concession of Cassander, concerning communion in one kind, may be fairly applied to any of the Pædobaptists, I leave my reader to judge. "Behold," says my author, "behold here an acknowledgment so plain and so full, that I wonder with what countenance men can resist so manifest a truth, and withhold it in unrighteousness! And yet here they muster up the best strength they have, and will not yield an inch of what they have once established, be it right or wrong."‡

Once more: Do not Protestant Pædobaptists urge the *necessity* of adhering, strictly adhering to the original institution, in administering the holy supper; the *absurdity* and *iniquity* of departing from it, on account of any supposed inconvenience; and the danger of practising any thing in religious worship that is not warranted by

the word of God? Hear a specimen of what they say, and see whither the reasoning tends; for it proceeds on principles that are common to every positive institution of true religion. Thus Dr. Clarke: "In things of external appointment, and mere positive institution, where we cannot, as in matters of natural and moral duty, argue concerning the natural reason and ground of the obligation, and the original necessity of the thing itself, we have nothing to do but to obey the positive command. God is infinitely better able than we to judge of the propriety and usefulness of the things he institutes; and it becomes us to obey with humility and reverence."* "The command of Christ," says the judicious Turretin, "ought not to be violated under any pretence whatever; and in what way soever the thing signified may be received, the sign appointed by Christ is always to be retained."† "There is in the church," says Heidegger, "no more power of changing the rites of the sacraments appointed by Christ, than there is power of changing his word and law. For as his word contains a sign audible, so those rites contain a visible sign of his divine will."‡ "It is a universal axiom," says the learned and eminent Chamier "that the sacrament be celebrated according to its first institution."§ "There being in this whole institution, the greatest simplicity and unity of design that can be," says Bp. Taylor; "the same form of words, a single sacrament, the same address, no difference in the sanction, no variety or signs of variety, in the appendages, in the parallel places, or in any discourse concerning it; to suppose here a difference will so intricate the whole affair, that either men may imagine and dream of variety when they please, and be or not be obliged as they list; or else if there be a difference intended in it by our Lawgiver, it will be as good as none at all, he having left no mark of the distinction, no shadow of different commandments under several representations."|| "All reasoning upon this head," says Bp. Burnet, "is an arguing against the institution; as if Christ and his apostles had not well enough considered it, but that twelve hundred years after them, a consequence should be observed, that till then had not been thought of, which made it reasonable to alter the manner of it . . . He who instituted it, knew best what was most fitting and most reasonable; and we must choose rather to acquiesce in his commands, than in our own reasonings."¶ "The institution, with the elements, makes

* See Morning Exercise against Popery, serm. xxii. Dr. Willet's Synops. Papisini, contrav. xlii. q. viii. 640—647; and Mr. Leigh's Bod. Div. b. viii. chap. lx.

† Dr. Willet, ut supra, p. 642. Morning Exer. against Popery, p. 772.

‡ Morning Exercise, p. 772.

* Expos. Church Cat. pp. 305, 306.

† Institut. loc. xix. quæst. xxv. § 22.

‡ In Dr. Du Veil on Acts viii. 33.

§ Punctat. tom. iv. l. i. c. xiii. § 1.

|| Ductor Dubitant. b. iii. chap. vi. p. 412.

¶ Expos. xxxix. Art. pp. 436, 437.

the sacrament; and so the only rule and balance for them [the elements] must needs be their institution. This being the ground of this ordinance, no man or angel may violate it under a fearful curse. And indeed, if men's will or wisdom might alter and change the revelation of God, nothing would abide firm in religion. It is true, the laws of men may be corrected and annulled, because they foresee not their inconveniences; but our Saviour certainly, when he appointed this ordinance, well knew what was necessary and useful for his church to the end of the world. And for this reason the apostle Paul, when some disorders were broken into the church of Corinth, in the use of the Lord's supper, recalls them to the institution, and endeavors by that straight rule to rectify their irregularities, (1 Cor. xi. 23.) By which place it is evident, that there is no such way to obviate any mistake, which in after-times creeps upon God's own ordinance, as by going back to the spring, by considering the institution: insomuch as the same apostle, for their violating Christ's institution in their administration of this ordinance, saith, *This is not to eat the Lord's supper.** Dr. Erskine, when answering an objection against frequently receiving the sacred supper, says: "Whatever danger there is, God foresaw it, but yet did not see meet to guard against it, by enjoining us to communicate seldom. Shall we then pretend to be wiser than God? Have we found out better means for securing, the honor of his institutions, than the means prescribed and practised by those who were under the infallible guidance of his Spirit? Have not attempts of this kind proved the source of the worst corruptions in Popery? Reason has no power to dispense with, or to derogate from the positive laws of God, on pretence of doing them a service. It is blasphemous presumption, though it may put on a cloak of humility, to judge that a sufficient reason to hinder thee from frequent communicating, which our Lord did not judge a sufficient reason to hinder him from commanding it. If thou thus judge the law, *thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge.*"† Once more: The church of England says, "Before all other things this we must be sure of especially, that this supper be in such wise done and ministered as our Lord and Saviour did and commanded to be done, as his holy apostles used it, and the good fathers in the primitive church frequented it. For, as that worthy man S. Ambrose saith, 'He is unworthy of the Lord, that otherwise doth celebrate that mystery, than it was delivered by him.'

Neither can he be devout, that otherwise doth presume than it was given by the Author."* Quotations of this kind might be greatly multiplied; but I forbear, and appeal to the reader, Whether these be not the very principles on which we proceed; nay, whether these be not some of those very arguments, *mutatis mutandis*, that are used by us against pouring and sprinkling? If, then, this way of arguing be valid from the pens of Protestants, against a mutilation of the holy supper; it must be equally so from the pen of a Baptist, in relation to the substitution of pouring or sprinkling, instead of immersion. For if these arguments have any force, they will equally apply to every positive institution that is not administered according to its original form. We may, therefore, adopt the following observation of Dr. Owen, respecting the cause of Nonconformity: "We find as yet no arrows shot against us, but such as are gathered up in the fields, shot at them that use them, out of the Roman quiver."†

Nor are the Roman Catholics insensible of that advantage which Pædobaptis Protestants give them, in regard to this affair; for thus Bossuet reasons: "Though these are incontestable truths, [namely, that baptism is immersion, and that immersion was practised by the apostles;] yet neither we, nor those of the pretended Reformed religion, hearken to the Anabaptists, who hold mersion to be essential and indispensable; nor have either they or we feared to change this dipping, as I may say, of the whole body, into a bare aspersion, or infusion on one part of it. No other reason of this alteration can be rendered, than that this dipping is not of the *substance* of baptism; and those of the pretended Reformed religion agreeing with us in this, the first principle we have laid down is incontestable. The second principle is, That to distinguish in a sacrament, what does or does not belong to the substance of it, we must consider the *essential efficacy* of the sacrament. Thus, although the word of Jesus Christ, *baptize*, as has been said, signifies dip, it has been thought, that the *efficacy* of the sacrament was not annexed to the *quantity* of water;‡ so that baptism by infusion, and sprinkling, or by mersion, appearing in reality to have the same efficacy, both the

* Homily on the Sacram. part i.

† Enquiry into the Orig. and Institut. of Churches Pref. p. 52.

‡ So says Mr. Henry; "In sacraments, it is the truth, and not the quantity of the outward element, that is to be insisted upon." Here he inadvertently coincides with Bossuet. In another place, however, he says; "Strict conformity to the scripture rule, without the superadded inventions of men, is the true beauty of Christian ordinances." This is the language of a sound Protestant, and worthy of himself.—See his *Treatise on Bap.* pp. 139, 142.

* Morning Exercise against Popery, pp. 764, 765.

† Theolog. Dissert. p. 289.

one and the other mode are judged good. Now seeing, as we have said, we cannot find in the eucharist any essential efficacy of the body, distinguished from that of the blood; the grace of the one and of the other, as to the sun and substance of it, cannot but be the same. It signifies nothing to say, The representation of the death of our Lord, is *more express* in the two kinds. I grant it; and in like manner the new birth of a believer, is *more express* in immersion, than in bare infusion, or aspersion. For the believer being plunged in the water of baptism, is 'buried with Jesus Christ,' as the apostle expresses it, (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12;) and coming out of the water, quits the tomb with his Saviour, and more perfectly represents the mystery of Jesus Christ, who regenerates him. Mer-sion, in which water is applied to the whole body and to all its parts, also more perfectly signifies, that a man is more fully and entirely washed from his defilements; and yet, baptism performed by immersion, or plunging, is not better than that which is administered by simple infusion, and on one part only. It is sufficient, that the expression of the mystery of Jesus Christ, and of the efficacy of grace, is found in substance in the sacrament, and the utmost exactness of representation is not required in it. Thus, in the eucharist, the expression of the death of our Lord, being in substance found in it, when that body which was delivered up for us is given to us; and the expression of the grace of the sacrament being also found in it, when the image of our spiritual nourishment is given us, under the species of bread; the blood, which only adds to it a more express signification, is not absolutely necessary.*

The same artful defender of Papal superstition, in another of his books, expresses himself thus: "Baptism by immersion, which is as clearly established in the scripture, as communion under the two kinds can possibly be, has nevertheless been changed into pouring, with as much ease and as little dispute, as communion under one kind has been established; for there is the same reason why one should be preserved as the other. It is a fact most firmly believed by the Reformed, (though some of them at this time wrangle about it,) that baptism was instituted to be administered by plunging the body entirely; that Jesus Christ received it in this manner; that it was thus performed by his apostles; that the scriptures are acquainted with no other baptism; that antiquity understood and practised it in this manner; and that to baptize, is to plunge; these facts, I say, are unanimously acknowledged by all the Reformed teachers; by the

Reformers themselves; by those who best understood the Greek language, and the ancient customs of both Jews and Christians; by Luther, by Melancthon, by Calvin, by Casaubon, by Grotius, with all the rest, and since their time by Jurieu, the most ready to contradict of all their ministers. Luther has even remarked, that this sacrament is called *Tauf*, in German, on account of the depth; because they plunged *deeply* in the water those whom they baptized. If then there be in the world a fact absolutely certain, it is *this*. Yet it is no less certain, that with all these authors, baptism without immersion is considered as lawful; and that the church properly retains the custom of pouring. . . . There is, then, the same foundation for continuing the communion under one kind, as to continue baptism by pouring; and the church, in supporting, these two customs, which tradition proves are equally indifferent, has not done any thing unusual; but maintained, against troublesome persons, that authority upon which the faith of the ignorant rests."† I am reminded here of a remark made by Mr. James Owen, concerning Episcopacy; which, with a slight alteration, will apply to the case before us. These are his words: "Our English Episcopacy hath scarce one argument for its defence, but what will indifferently serve the Popish prelacy."‡

Our English Episcopalians also do not fail to argue on the same topic, when defending their hierarchy, and various rites, against the objections of Pædobaptist Dis-senters. Thus, for example, Bp. Burnet, after having mentioned several things which he thought for his purpose, proceeds: "To these instances another may be added, that must needs press all that differ from us, one body only excepted, very much. We know that the first ritual of baptism, was by going into the waters, and being laid as dead all along in them; and then the persons baptized were raised up again, and so they came out of them. This is not only mentioned by St. Paul, but in two different places he gives a mystical signification of this rite, that it signified our being *buried with Christ in baptism*, and our being *raised up with him to a new life*; so that the phrases, of *rising with Christ*, and of *putting on Christ*, as oft as they occur, do plainly relate to this: and yet, partly out of modesty, partly in regard to the tenderness of infants, and the coldness of these climates, since such a manner might endanger their lives, and we know that God 'loves mercy better than sacrifice,' this form of baptizing is as little used by those [Pædobaptists] who separate from

* In Mr. Stennett against Mr. Russen, pp. 176—178.

† Hist. des Englisches Protest. tom. ii. pp. 469, 470.

‡ Plea for Scrip. Ordinat. pp. 17, 171.

us, as by ourselves. . . . From all these things this inference seems just, That according to the practices of those who divide from us, the church must be supposed to have an authority to adjust the forms of our religion, in those parts of them that are merely ritual, to the taste, to the exigencies, and conveniences of the several ages and climates.”* The right reverend prelate here speaks out. He talks like one who heartily believes, that “the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies.” This will do almost as well, so far as the ritual part of religion is concerned, as the claim of infallibility, of a dispensing power, and the pretence of unwritten apostolic tradition, which are advanced by the partisans of another communion. Such, however, is the bishop’s avowal; and such, he insists upon it, is the implicit language of those Dissenters who practise pouring or sprinkling instead of immersion. What a pity but the church, under the ancient Jewish economy, had been acquainted with this doctrine of *taste*, of *exigence*, and of *convenience*, relating to the ceremonial part of divine worship! What a pity but the hoary Abraham had well understood it, when he received an order to circumcise himself and his male posterity! for had he known and approved of it, he would certainly have performed the rite on a different part from that which Jehovah specified. What shall I say? This doctrine of taste, of exigence, and of convenience is of such extensive application, that it would have saved the venerable ancients a world of trouble, and screened them from a thousand reproaches of their Gentile neighbors, had it been duly improved; because, as God is “in one mind,” it cannot be doubted, that “he loved mercy better than sacrifice” in those early times as well as now.

But let us hear another learned Episcopalian or two in reference to the same subject. Thus, then, Mr. Evans, when defending a kneeling gesture at the Lord’s table. “There is a confessed variation allowed of, and practised by the generality of Dissenters, both Presbyterians and Independents, from the institution and practice of Christ and his apostles, in the other sacrament of baptism; for they have changed immersion or dipping, into aspersion or sprinkling, and pouring water on the face. Baptism by immersion or dipping, is suitable to the institution of our Lord and the practice of his apostles, and was by them ordained and used to represent our burial with Christ, a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness, as St. Paul explains that rite, (Matt. iii. 16, and xxviii.

19; Rom. vi. 4, 6, 11; Col. ii. 12.) Now, it is very strange that kneeling at the Lord’s supper (though a different gesture from that which was used at the first institution) should become a stumbling-block in the way of weak and tender consciences, and that it is more unpassable than the Alps; and yet they can with ease and cheerfulness pass by as great or a greater change in the sacrament of baptism, and christen as we do, without the least murmur or complaint. Sitting, kneeling, or standing, were none of them instituted or used to signify and represent any thing essential to the Lords supper, as dipping all over was: why cannot kneeling then be without any wrong to the conscience, as safely and innocently used as sprinkling? How comes a gnat (to use our Saviour’s proverb) to be harder to swallow than a camel? Or why should not the peace and unity of the church, and charity to the public, prevail with them to kneel at the Lord’s supper, as much, or rather more, as mercy and tenderness to the infant’s body, to sprinkle or pour water on the face, contrary to the first institution?”*—Thus also Dr. Whitby: “If, notwithstanding the evidence produced, that baptism by immersion is suitable both to the institution of our Lord and his apostles; and was by them ordained to represent our burial with Christ, and so our dying unto sin, and our conformity to his resurrection by newness of life, as the apostle doth clearly maintain the meaning of this rite; I say, if, notwithstanding this, all our [Pædobaptist] Dissenters do agree to sprinkle the baptized infant, why may they not as well submit to the significant ceremonies imposed by our church? For, since it is as lawful to add unto Christ’s institutions a significant ceremony, as to diminish a significant ceremony which He or his apostles instituted, and use another in its stead, which they never did institute; what reason can they have to do the latter, and yet refuse submission to the former? And why should not the peace and union of the church be as prevailing with them to perform the one, as is their mercy to the infant’s body to neglect the other?”†—Hence the reader may plainly perceive, how much the practice of aspersion is calculated to embarrass Protestants, in their disputes with Papists; and Nonconformists, in their controversies with Episcopals.

Reflect. IV. Admitting the tenderness of infants to be a sufficient reason for not immersing them, what is the natural inference? That they should be sprinkled, or

* Four Discourses to the Clergy, pp. 281, 282. Compare this with what he says, Exposit. of Thirty-nine Art. pp. 436, 437, as quoted before, p. 301.

* Cases to Recover Dissenters, vol. iii. pp. 105, 106 edit. 3rd.

† Protestant Reconciler, p. 289. See also Bp. Stillingfleet’s Irenicum, part ii. p. 345.

have water poured upon them? By no means; but that our divine Legislator does not require them to be baptized. For, as our opposers themselves have proved, we must insist that baptism is immersion. Consequently, were it evinced that infants cannot bear plunging, without the hazard of health and of life, it would only be a presumptive argument against their claim to the ordinance, and the greater the danger the stronger the presumption; for our opposers inform us, that a natural incapacity will always excuse.* That it is better to omit a positive ordinance than to perform it contrary to divine appointment, Pædobaptists themselves assure us. Thus the famous Buddeus: "Persons who cannot drink wine, had better entirely abstain from the sacred supper than receive it under one species only."†—Deylingius: "It is better entirely to abstain from using the holy supper, than receive it contrary to the appointment of Christ."‡—Mr. Blake: "Omissions seem better to me, than a prohibited, or a disorderly proceeding, expressly against a command, or ordinance of Jesus Christ. The ark had better stayed where it was, than a new cart should have carried it in that disorder to the place appointed for it. Better that Saul and Uzziah had let sacrifice alone, than any to whom it did not appertain should have undertaken it. . . . I never saw sufficient reason given, that a man should break an express rule, rather than omit a duty of mere positive institution. Jeroboam must rather have no sacrifice, than that Dan and Bethel should be the place for it."§—Mr. Bradbury: "It is better, I think, to leave such a duty [as baptism] undone, than not to have it well done. God never expects it either from you or me, when he has thrown a bar in our way, that we should break it, or leap over it."|| To which I may add, Better that the Israelites had entirely omitted circumcision while in the wilderness, than to have circumcised a finger instead of the foreskin. So in the present case; better omit baptism entirely, than practise pouring or sprinkling.

But whether, in these colder climates, and in common cases, there be any reason to consider health as endangered by the practice of immersion, let Pædobaptists themselves declare. That learned physician, Sir John Floyer, gives his opinion on the subject without reserve, both in a theological and medical point of light. Among many other things, he says: "I do here appeal to you, [the dean and canons, residentiaries of the cathedral church of Litch-

field,] as persons well versed in the ancient history, and canons, and ceremonies of the church of England; and therefore are sufficient witnesses of the matter of fact which I design to prove; viz. That immersion continued in the church of England till about the year sixteen hundred. And from hence I shall infer, That if God and the church thought that practice innocent for sixteen hundred years, it must be accounted an unreasonable nicety in this present age, to scruple either immersion or cold bathing, as dangerous practices. Had any prejudice usually happened to infants by the trine immersion, that custom could not have continued so long in this kingdom. We must always acknowledge, that He that made our bodies, would never command any practice prejudicial to our health; but, on the contrary, he best knows what will be most for the preservation of our health, and does frequently take great care both of our bodies and souls, in the same command."* This eminent physician endeavors to show, as Dr. Wall observes, "by reasons taken from the nature of our bodies, from the rules of medicine, from modern experience, and from ancient history, that washing or dipping infants in cold water, is, generally speaking, not only safe, but very useful; and that though no such rite as baptism had been instituted, yet reason and experience would have directed people to use cold bathing, both of themselves and their children; and that it has in all former ages so directed them. For, he shows, that all civilized nations, the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and so on, made frequent use of it, and gave great commendations of it; and that nature itself has taught this custom to many barbarous nations; the old Germans, Highlanders, Irish, Japanese, Tartars, and even the Samoiedes, who live in the coldest climate that is inhabited. . . . He prognosticates that the old modes in physic and religion will in time prevail, when people have had more experience in cold baths; and that the approbation of physicians would bring in the old use of immersion in baptism."†—Dr. Cheyne thus: "I cannot forbear recommending cold bathing; and I cannot sufficiently admire how it should ever have come into such disuse, especially among Christians, when commanded by the greatest Lawgiver that ever was, under the direction of God's Holy Spirit, to his chosen people, and perpetuated to us in the immersion at baptism, by the same Spirit; who with infinite wisdom in this, as in every thing else that regards the temporal and eternal felicity of

* Morning Exercise against Popery, p. 771.

† Theolog. Moral. pars. iii. c. viii. § 77.

‡ De Prudent. Pastoral. pars. iii. c. v. § 16.

§ Covenant Sealed, pp. 255, 256.

|| Duty and Doct. of Bap. p. 21.

* Hist. of Cold Bathing, pp. 11, 51.

† Hist. of Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. pp. 476, 477.

his creatures, combines their duty with their happiness.* To the decided opinion of these medical authors, relating to the salutary tendency of cold bathing, we may add the suffrage of that great philosopher, Lord Bacon, who speaks as follows: "It is strange that the use of bathing, as a part of diet, is left. With the Roman and Grecians it was as usual as eating or sleeping; and so it is amongst the Turks at this day."†—Thus also Dr. Franklin: "Damp, but not wet linen, may possibly give colds; but no one catches cold by bathing, and no clothes can be wetter than water itself."‡ To all which I will subjoin the following attestation of a nameless opponent: "A child may, with as much propriety, and commonly with equal safety to its health, be baptized by immersion as an adult."—See Chap. V. No. 7.

But supposing there were both difficulty and danger attending the performance of our Lord's positive command, Pædobaptists would still assure us, that we must submit without repining, and without hesitation. Thus, for example, Dr. Sherlock: "If an express law may be disobeyed, as often as men fancy they see reason to do what the law forbids, this overthrows the whole authority of making laws, and makes every subject a judge whether the laws of a sovereign prince should be obeyed or not. At this rate, he has the greatest authority who has the best reason; and since every man believes his own reason to be best, every man is the sovereign lord of his own actions. It is to be presumed, that no prince makes a law, but what he apprehends some reason for; and to oppose any man's private reason against a law, is to set up a private man's reason against the public reason of government: and yet it is much worse to oppose our reason against a divine law; which is to oppose the reason of creatures against the reason of God: unless we will say, that God makes laws without reason; and those who can believe that, may as easily imagine, that those laws which he makes without reason, should be obeyed without reason also; and then, to be sure, all their reasons cannot repeal a law, nor justify them in the breach of it. It becomes every creature to believe the will of God to be the highest reason; and therefore, when God has declared his will by an express law, while his law continues in force, it is an *impudent* thing to urge our reasons against the obligations of it; especially, when the matter of the law is such, [as it is in positive institutions] that whatever reasons may be pretended

on one side or other, it must be acknowledged to be wholly at the will and pleasure of the lawgiver which side he will choose. . . . That no reason or arguments can absolve us from our obedience to an express law till it be repealed, appears from this; that our obligation to obedience does not depend merely upon the *reason* of the law, but upon the *authority* of the lawgiver; and therefore, though the reason of the law should cease, yet while it is enforced by the same authority it obliges still."* Puffendorf shows, and I suppose it is generally agreed, that laws do not oblige because they are *good*, but because the legislator has a *right* to command; and that no objection arises to the express words of a law, on account of the requisition seeming to be hard in some particular instances.† Mr. Charnock says, "They must be evasions past understanding, that can hold water against a divine order. . . . God never gave power to any man to change his ordinances, or to dispense with them."‡—"Surely it is enough," says Abp. Secker, "that He is Lord and King of the whole earth, and that all his dealings with the works of his hands are just and reasonable. Our business is to obey, and trust him with the consequences."§—"No circumstances of prudence or expediency," says Dr. Hunter, "can ever be with propriety urged as a dispensation with a clearly commanded duty. . . . Observe the delicacy, and the danger of admitting a latitude and a liberty in sacred things. In what concerns the conduct of human life, in our intercourse one with another as the citizens of this world, many things must be left to be governed by occasions and discretion; but in what relates to the immediate worship of God, and where the mind of the Lord has been clearly made known, to assume and exercise a dispensing power is criminal and hazardous. The tabernacle must be constructed, to the minutest pin and loop, according to the pattern delivered in the mount. If Uzziah presume to put forth his hand to support the tottering ark, it is at his peril. A holy and a jealous God will be served only by the persons, and in the manner which he himself has appointed. . . . When the great Jehovah condescends to become a legislator, the utmost extent of possibility lying open to his view, *provision is made from the beginning for every case that can happen.*"|| A Deistical writer having objected against circumcision, on account of the pain and danger

* Essay on Health, pp. 100, 101.

† In Dr. Stennett's Answer to Dr. Addington, part i. p. 31.

‡ Letters and Papers on Various Subjects, p. 460.

§ Simple Truth, or A Plea for Infants, p. 2.

Vol. I.—C*

* Preservative against Popery, title vii. p. 21.

† Law of Nature and Nations, b. i. chap. vi. § 1. 17; b. v. chap. i. § 24.

‡ Works, vol. ii. pp. 763, 773, first edit.

§ Lectures on the Catechism, lect. ii.

|| Sacred Biography, vol. iii. pp. 93, 94, 362, 363, 435.

attending it, Dr. Waterland replies: "The presumption which the author goes upon is, that he is wise enough to direct the counsels of heaven, and to pass an unerring judgment upon all the works and ways of God. It is a fact that God did require circumcision: and *who art thou that repliest against God?* Even Mr. Bayle might teach this author, *that when we are certain God does such or such a thing, it is blasphemy to say it is useless.* God has his own reasons. This writer might be certain of the fact, if any historical fact whatever can be made certain."*—"Surely," says Mr. Towgood, "the supreme Bishop and only Head of his church, well knew what institutions were most for its edification, and what ceremonies and rites would best promote the order and decency of its worship; and either by himself, or by his inspired apostles, has left a perfect plan of both. For any weak uninspired men, therefore, to rise up in after ages, and fancy they can improve the scheme of worship which Christ hath left; that they can add greatly to its beauty, its splendor and perfection, by some ceremonies of their own, is to be sure, a rude invasion of Christ's throne, which every sober Christian ought highly to detest."† Remarkable, and quite in point, is the declaration of Dr. Owen: "That divine revelation is the only foundation, the only law, and the only rule of all religious worship that is pleasing to God, or accepted by him, is a maxim of the last importance in divinity. This maxim teaches, that every thing appointed by God in his worship, however absurd, or difficult, or unprofitable, it may seem to reason, is to be regarded and performed with the deepest reverence and submission, on account of that supreme authority which appointed and required it."‡ To these testimonies I will add that of Bernard: "Non attendit verus obediens, *QUALE SIT QUOD PRÆCIPITUR*;" hoc solo contentus *QUIA PRÆCIPITUR*."

Mr. Henry has observed, that circumcision was "a painful and bloody rite."§ So the wife of Moses considered it; but yet Abraham and his posterity were bound to observe it, on the peril of Jehovah's keen displeasure. Concerning that sanguinary ceremony, Pædobaptists have spoken their minds very freely. M. Saurin, for instance, tells us: "The command of circumcision did, without doubt, frighten those who first received it; it was dangerous to grown persons in hot countries: but for an old man to receive the token of circumcision in so advanced an age, was in all appear-

ance to be put out of the condition of seeing himself a father. . . . The pain which circumcision produced was extremely sensible, especially to grown people; this we may infer from the example of the Shechemites."*—Quenstedius: "Circumcision was a work full of pain, as Philo asserts; which appears by the history of the Shechemites, (Gen. xxxiv. 25.) Hence Zipporah, having circumcised her son, said to Moses, 'A bloody husband art thou to me'. . . . As if she had said, This rite of thy nation forces me to shed blood, (Exod. iv. 25.)"†—Bucanus: "Circumcision could not be performed without putting the infant to most exquisite pain."‡—Sir John Chardin: "I have heard from divers renegadoes in the East who had been circumcised, some at thirty, some at forty years of age, that the circumcision had occasioned them a great deal of pain, and that they were obliged to keep their bed upon it, at least twenty or twenty-two days."§—Mr. Findlay: "Maimonides having said, *Circumcision was a rite of such a nature, that no person would perform it upon himself or his children, but on account of religion*; gives the reason of his judgment: *For it is not a slight hurt of the leg, or burning of the arm, but a thing MOST HARSH and UNEASY.* . . . So likewise Philo speaks of circumcision, as an operation attended with grievous anguish. . . . It may even seem to have been hazardous to life: for Lightfoot, in his Exercitations upon 1 Cor. vii. 19, produces some passages from Rabbinical writings, in which mention is made of a man whose brethren had died of circumcision. Nay, one from the Jerusalem Talmud itself, where R. Nathan says, 'There was a woman in Cesarea of Cappadocia, who had lost three sons successively by it.'|| Now, can any thing like this be asserted with propriety concerning the baptismal immersion? Yet Abraham, who first received the command, readily obeyed; for he circumcised himself and his son Ishmael, together with all the males that were born in his house, or bought with his money, on the *very day* he received the divine order.¶

In regard to the supposed *indecenty* of plunging, about which a hideous outcry is often raised, as if that of itself were a sufficient conviction of our practice proceeding on a gross mistake, we answer with Mr. Baxter, in another case; "It is God's

* Scripture Vindicated, part i. pp. 63, 64.

† Dissert. Gent. Letters, lett. iii. pp. 10, 11.

‡ Theologoumena. l. iv. c. iii. digress. iii. p. 326.

§ Treatise on Bap. p. 12.

* Dissertat. upon the Old Test. vol. i. pp. 141, 143.

† Antiq. Bib. pars. i. c. iii. pp. 269, 270.

‡ Theolour. Loc. loc. lvi. § 31.

§ In Mr. Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 498, 499.

|| Vindicat. of the sacred Books, p. 275, Note. Vid. Gussetii Comment. Ebr. sub. rad.; and Scheuchzeri Physica Sacra, pp. 93, 450. Aug. Vindific. 1731

¶ Gen. xvii. 23, 24.

way, and then no inconvenience will disgrace it.”* Some of the Romish casuists have told us, indeed, that it is no sin to break a divine law, if it be very difficult to keep; if we should be thought fools for observing it; or if the observance of it would be accounted ridiculous;† but we dare not place much dependence on their determination. Besides, whatever of this kind is objected by our brethren, would have applied with incomparably greater force against the ancient rite of circumcision. But let us hear what Pædobaptists themselves have said concerning this particular. Calvin: “This command, ‘Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin,’ might at first sight appear extremely absurd and ridiculous.”‡—Witsius having described the painful rite, expresses himself thus: “On account of which ceremony, the Jews were contemptuously, and by way of reproach, called *Apellæ*, and *Recutiti*, because they wanted that pellicle or little skin. But it pleased God, to confound all carnal wisdom, and to try the faith and obedience of his people, to appoint a rite for the seal of his covenant, at which they might blush, and be almost ashamed of performing it: like as he founded our whole salvation in a fact, which seems no less shameful to the flesh, namely, the cross of Christ.”§—Heideggerus: “God, according to his unsearchable wisdom, appointed a rite so much to be blushed at, to be a type of what was yet more shameful, namely, the cross of Christ.”||—Buddeus: “The rite of circumcision, considered in itself, was contemptible, and almost shameful.”¶—F. Fabricius: “Circumcision, I confess, considered externally, that is, without a divine institution, and without the design and signification of that institution, might seem to be an exceedingly ridiculous and shameful rite.”** Nay, were not some other appointments of Jehovah, under the Jewish economy, such as the customs of our country, and present prevailing notions of the rational, the decent, and the useful, would lead many persons to consider as puerile, indelicate, and unprofitable? Such, if I mistake not, were several of those laws which related to ceremonial impurity; and yet the posterity of Abraham, of both sexes, were obliged to regard them with strict punctuality. It must, therefore, be at our peril to pronounce that *indecent* which God requires.”††

But why such complaints of indelicacy against the baptismal plunging, as performed in public assemblies? What immodesty is there in the solemn immersion of candidates for baptism, when properly clothed, any more than in the public and promiscuous bathing of both sexes, at Bath, Southampton, or any other place of a similar kind?‡ As to the baptizing of persons that are not properly clothed, it has our cordial disapprobation.

Farther: For any of our opposers to imagine that pouring, or sprinkling, is *lawful*, without being *necessary*; or that it is necessary *now* and in these countries, though not so in the apostolic times and in the eastern parts, is unbecoming the character of any Protestant. Remarkable are the words, and forcible is the argument of Dr. Willet, when he says: “If it be not necessary to receive [the Lord’s supper] in one kind, it is not to be done at all. For, either it is agreeable to the institution of Christ, to receive in one kind, or disagreeable. If it be agreeable and prescribed, it is of necessity to be observed: if it be not prescribed, it is of necessity not to be used at all.† This will apply, with all its force, to the subject before us. The celebrated Montesquieu’s reasoning will also apply in the present case. “It is in the nature of human laws, to be subject to all the accidents which can happen, and to vary in proportion as the will of man changes; on the contrary, by the nature of the laws of religion, they are never to vary. Human laws appoint for some good; those of religion for the best; good may have another object, because there are many kinds of good; but the best is but one: it cannot, therefore, change. We may change [human] laws, because they are reputed no more than good; but the institutions of religion are always supposed to be the best.”‡ Thus Mr. Arch. Hall: “All that concerns the glory of God, [and the honor of his church] is unerringly and unalterably settled in the word of God, which is ‘not yea and nay.’ It does not accommodate its doctrines to succeeding periods of time, nor to the changing tempers, humors, or fashions of place; like its divine Author, it is ‘the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever.’”§

Latomus having represented the first Christian churches as in a rude, uncultivated state, while the people received both kinds at the Lord’s table, but as omitting the wine in following ages, when they were better taught and more polished—

* Disputat. of right to Sacram. p. 32.

† In Mr. Clarkson’s Pract. Div. of Papists, pp. 385, 386.

‡ In Gen. xvii. 11.

§ Ecion. Fœd. l. iv. c. viii. § 2. Ægyptiaca, l. iii. c. vi.

|| Corp. Theolog. loc. xii. § 86.

¶ Theolog. Dogmat. l. iv. c. i. § 15.

** Christologia, dissert. xi. § 16.

†† Vid. Pfeifferi Dub. Vexat. p. 310. Lips. 1685.

* See Dr. Stennett’s Ans. to Dr. Addington, part i. pp. 31, 32, Note.

† Synopsis Papismi, p. 643.

‡ Spirit of Laws, b. xxvi. chap. ii.

§ Gospel Church, p. 52.

Chamier exclaims, "Shall I be silent? or shall I refute him? For, verily, the absurdity is of such a magnitude, that every one may see it, and guard against its influence, without my assistance."^{*} One of our Dissenting Brethren also, when engaged in the Popish controversy, says: "Let us consider; Things necessary—at one time, and not at another? Necessary in our days, and not so in the days of the apostles? Necessary to Christians of later ages, and not so to the primitive Christians? Sure, this cannot be true: I always thought that to be the Christian faith, which was once, and *at once* delivered to the saints, by Christ and his apostles."[†] Again: For any to practise aspersion, on a presumption that it includes the whole essence of baptism, and to avoid supposed indecency, even while they acknowledge that immersion was appointed by Christ and used by the apostles; is to impeach the wisdom of our divine Lawgiver, by implicitly saying, that he did not well consider to what a pitch the refined and virtuous delicacy of his disciples would arise in our modern times. "As if," says Mr. Bingham, "Christ himself could not have foreseen any dangers that might happen, or given as prudent orders as the Pope concerning his own institution."[‡] It is to proceed on the same foundation with the Council of Constance, when forbidding the use of the sacred cup to the people: for that prohibition was founded on a supposition, that communicants receive the entire body and blood of Christ, under the species of bread; and it was intended to preclude certain dangers and scandals, supposed to arise from the ancient practice.||

The members of that council, it seems, discovered something as *dangerous* and as *offensive*, in administering both species at the holy table, as others do in the baptismal immersion; and they were equally unwilling to acknowledge that the substance of the sacred supper was at all impaired by their innovation. But would any authority on earth bear, without marks of displeasure, to be treated in a similar manner? We will suppose, for example, that a subject, or a servant, neglects the law of a magistrate, or the command of a master;

we will farther suppose him called to account for his disobedience, and that in his own vindication he says, "I considered the precise performance of the order as of little importance, provided it were but *substantially* observed. I have, therefore, substituted something in its room, that will do quite as well, without being attended with such inconveniences as would have been inseparable from a punctual compliance." Would this be thought a modest excuse, or a just vindication? It may be answered, in that obsolete phrase of our biblical version, I trow not.

Once more: As the primitive immersion has been laid aside for pouring or sprinkling, upon a supposition of its being dangerous and indecent; so kneeling at the Lord's table has been substituted for a table gesture, and is defended under a fair pretext, that the latter is a bold and saucy posture. Dr. Nichols, when vindicating the practice of his own communion, and when showing that various of our festal customs are improper to be used at the holy table, has the following words. "Now since these customs at other feasts are not admitted here, why may not *sitting*, for the same reason, be changed, as too *bold* and *saucy* a posture, far from a becoming humility and modesty, when we are so immediately in the presence of God?" To which Mr. Peirce replies: "Say you so? Do you think the posture the apostles used, with our Saviour's approbation, was too bold and saucy, or not sufficiently humble and modest? Do not you see whom you injure by these reproaches? Truly, not so much the Dissenters, as the apostles, and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself."^{*} So when Teriphyllius, a Cyprian bishop, having occasion before Spiridion to cite those words of our Lord, "Take up thy hed and walk," used the term σκιμποδα, as being in his opinion more elegant than the word κραββατον; Spiridion, with becoming resentment, replied, "Art thou better than He who said κραββατον, that thou shouldst be ashamed to use his words?"[†] The reader will apply these particulars to the case before us.

Reflect. V. From the preceding reflections it appears, I think, with superior evidence, that the sacred maxim, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," must be misapplied when urged against us. For if it will apply so as to justify sprinkling in a cold country, when immersion was intended by our Lord, submitted to by him, commanded by him, and practised by the apostles, it would certainly have applied much more strongly in many cases under the for-

^{*} Pontrat. tom. iv. l. viii. c. x. § 24, 25.

[†] Mr. Smyth's Sermon, at Salter's Hall, on the Church of Rome's Claim of Infallibility. pp. 30, 31.

[‡] Origines Eccles. b. xv. chap. iii. § 34.

|| Vid. Caranzæ Sum. Concil. p. 359. Levan. 1681. Venem. Hist. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 193. The learned Chemnitz, when exploding the futile reasons of Roman Catholics for withholding the cup from the people, among other things observes: "Their arguments reproach the Author of the sacrament himself, who instituted it so that it cannot be observed in the church without danger of scandal. . . . The church is now become exceedingly delicate."—Exam. Concil. Trident. pp. 308, 309.

^{*} Vindication of Dissenters, part lii. p. 204.

[†] Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. i.

mer economy; for the maxim is founded in moral truth, which is the same in all ages and in every nation. That God loves mercy better than sacrifice, was always a fact, since man transgressed and ceremonial obedience was required: nor did our Lord give the least intimation, by his application of that important saying, of any thing contained in it being peculiar to gospel times. The Christian dispensation is indeed much superior to that of the ancient Hebrews: but that superiority is far from consisting in our having more liberty to neglect, alter, or transgress the divine appointment than they had. For as Mr. Reeves observes, "When God says that he 'will have mercy and not sacrifice,' it is not to be understood as if God would have any of his laws broken; but as our Saviour explains it, 'These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.'"^{*} Bellarmine, when vindicating a mutilated administration of the holy supper, argues upon a supposition of the gospel "church having a greater liberty than the church under the law; though she have no power to alter things of a moral, but only such as are of a positive nature."[†] How lamentable and how shameful, to think of eminent Protestants adopting the principle and arguing upon it, in favor of pouring and sprinkling! For I am persuaded, that none of them ever considered the Jewish church as authorized by these words, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," to alter any divine appointment. Shall Christians, then, make more free with divine authority than Jews, because they live under a better dispensation? far be it! That would represent the Holy One of God as the minister of sin, would be contrary to scripture and reason, to conscience and common sense. The disciples of Christ are as much obliged to regard the positive laws of the New Testament with strict punctuality, as the Jews were to observe their divine ritual contained in the books of Moses. Nay, our superior privileges are so many additional motives to perpetual obedience. Whenever any one therefore is inclined to substitute aspersion for plunging, on a supposition of the latter being burdensome or indelicate, upon the foundation of those condescending words, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" he should recollect that command of God to Abraham, "Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin;" and see how far the gracious declaration would have applied there, before he ventures to alter a positive appointment of Christ on that ground.

Here also the arguments used by Pro-

testant Pædobaptists in opposition to immersion, is like that of the Papists against communion in both kinds. For thus we find Salmero argues: "If it had not been lawful from the beginning of the church to communicate under one species, either very many must have been entirely deprived of communion, or obliged to that which they could not perform; as is manifest with regard to those who have not plenty of wine, which is the case with many in the northern parts of the world; in respect of those who are abstemious, and of those also that are not able to drink wine without a nausea being excited. . . . Seeing, therefore, that the yoke of our Lord is easy, and his burden light, it should not be believed that he requires what is impossible, or that he obliges to communicate under both kinds."^{*} That Mr. Horsey took the hint from Salmero I dare not assert, nor do I believe; but be that as it may, he has learned to argue against plunging as a grievous hardship, and that from the same text which is pleaded by the Papal veteran for communion in one kind. For he says, "Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden light. His commandments are not grievous;"[†] and hence, among other things, he infers that immersion is not the proper mode of proceeding.—This brings to remembrance a good-natured rule which Popish casuists have given for the interpretation of divine laws, with a view to relieve scrupulous consciences. The rule to which I advert, as produced by Mr. Clarkson, is this; Persons "must persuade themselves that they sin not, though they break the law in a strict sense, if they observe it according to some *complaisant* interpretation. A benign sense is rather to be put upon any precept, than that which is strict; for the precepts of God and the church are not against that *pleasantness* which a scrupulous interpretation takes away." On which Mr. Clarkson makes the following remark: "That a person may be the better pleased, he may make the interpretation himself, and so make it as benign as he desires, and as favorable as his inclination and interest would have it. For though in other courts the interpretation belongs to him who makes the law, yet, according to their St. Antonius, in the court of conscience it belongs to every one to do it for his own practice."[‡]

Were it allowable to prosecute the hint which some of these learned authors give, (No. 5, 7, 15;) that is for charity and necessity to erect a court of chancery, to sit in judgment on the equity of God's com-

^{*} See Chap. I. No. 3.

[†] In Morning Exercise against Popery, p. 777.

^{*} Apud Chamierum, Panstrat. tom. iv. l. ix. c. iv. § 25.

[†] Inf. Bap. Defend. p. 50.

[‡] Pract. Div. of Papists, pp. 335, 336.

mands, and either mitigate their severity, or dispense with them, as we think proper; something indeed might then be done, that would effectually obviate those shivering apprehensions, and that painful modest feeling, which the word *baptize* might otherwise excite in the breasts of some. Nor would the relief afforded by such a court, be confined to the frightful idea of plunging; for it would extend its benign influence to every other case, in which our sovereign wills happen to clash with positive laws; because the uniform language of its decrees would be that of Peter to Christ, SPARE THYSELF. While however the validity of such a court of equity remains doubtful, it will be our wisdom when the Most High speaks, not to reason and object, but to adore and obey.

How strange it is that Protestant authors should ever talk of dispensing with divine laws, or of mitigating their severity! Not much more detestable, though a little more blunt, is the well-known saying ascribed to Alphonso, "Si ego adfuissem, melius ordinassem." But let the learned Vossius assert, if he please, "That we are compelled —" By what? not the appointment of Christ; not the design of the ordinance; nor yet by apostolic practice; but by something which he calls the law of *charity*, and of *necessity*, "to retain sprinkling in our churches:"* we had much rather adhere to that excellent maxim of Turretin, "The appointment of God is to us the highest law, the supreme necessity."† With sincerity and zeal may we adopt the language of Dr. Cotton Mather, and say, "Let a precept be never so difficult to obey, or never so distasteful to flesh and blood, yet if I see it is God's command, my soul says, *It is good; let me obey it till I die.*"‡ Dr. Witherspoon has remarked, that, "when men will not conform their practice to the principles of pure and undefiled religion, they scarce ever fail to endeavor to accommodate religion to their own practice."§ Mr. Henry also, has justly observed, that "in sacraments, where there is appointed something of an outward sign, the inventions of men have been too fruitful of additions, [and of alterations too,] for which they have pleaded a great deal of *decency* and *significancy*; while the ordinance itself hath been thereby miserably obscured and corrupted."|| To which I will add the following remark of Dr. Oswald: "To take advantage of dark surmises, or doubtful reasoning, to elude

obligations of any kind, is always looked upon as an indication of a dishonest heart."**

Reflect. VI. Suffer me now to reason and remonstrate in the language of Mr. Charnock; after which I will conclude this part of my subject with the ingenuous confession of a learned foreigner, and the declaration of Dr. Wall. "The wisdom of God is affronted and invaded," says the famous Charnock, "by introducing new rules and modes of worship, different from divine institutions. Is not this a manifest reflection on this perfection of God, as though he had not been wise enough to provide for his own honor, and model his own service; but stood in need of our directions, and the capricious of our brains? Some have observed, that it is a greater sin, in worship, to *do* what we should not, than to *omit* what we should perform. The one seems to be out of *weakness*, because of the high exactness of the law; and the other out of *impudence*, accusing the wisdom of God of imperfection, and controlling it in its institutions. Whence should this proceed, but from a partial atheism, and a mean conceit of the divine wisdom? As though God had not understanding enough to prescribe the form of his own worship; and not wisdom enough to support it, without the crutches of human prudence. . . . The laws of God, who is *summa ratio*, are purely founded upon the truest reason, though every one of them may not be so clear to us. Therefore, they that make [any] alteration in his precepts, either dogmatically or practically, control his wisdom and charge him with folly. . . . Hence it is that sinners are called *fools* in scripture. It is certainly inexcusable folly, to contradict undeniable and infallible wisdom. If infinite prudence hath framed the law, why is not every part of it observed? If it were not made with the best wisdom, why is any thing of it observed?"†

The ingenuous confession to which I refer, is that of M. de la Roque, and it is as follows. "The greatest part of them [the Protestants] hitherto baptize only by sprinkling: but it is certainly an abuse; and this practice which they have retained from the Romish church, without a due examination of it, as well as many other things which they still retain, renders their baptism very defective. It corrupts both the institution and ancient usage of it, and the relation it ought to have to faith, repentance, and regeneration. Monsieur Bossuet's remark, that dipping was in use for thirteen hundred years, deserves our

* Disputat. de Bap. disp. i. § 9.

† Institut. Theolog. loc. xix. quæst. xiv. § 14.

‡ Life, by Dr. Jennings, p. 118.

§ Treatise on Regeneration, p. 173.

|| Treatise on Baptism, p. 153.

* Appeal to Common Sense, p. 21.

† Works, vol. i. p. 401. On Man's Enmity to God, pp. 112, 113.

serious consideration, and our acknowledgment thereupon, that we have not sufficiently examined all that we have retained from the Romish church; that seeing her most learned prelates now inform us, that it was SHE who first abolished a usage authorized by so many strong reasons, and by so many ages, that she has done very ill on this occasion, and that we are obliged to return to the ancient practice of the church, and to the institution of Jesus Christ. I do not say, that baptism by aspersion is null; that is my opinion: but it must be confessed, if sprinkling destroys not the substance of baptism, yet it alters it, and in some sort corrupts it; it is a defect which spoils its lawful form.”*

The declaration of Dr. Wall is as follows: “Since the time that dipping of infants has been generally left off, many learned men in several countries have endeavored to retrieve the use of it; but more in England than any where else in proportion.” Then, after having mentioned Sotus, Mr. Mede, Bp. Taylor, Sir Norton Knatchbull, Dr. Towerson, and Dr. Whitby, as being all desirous of having immersion restored to common use, he adds: “These, and possibly many more, have openly declared their thoughts concerning the present custom. And abundance of others have so largely and industriously proved that a total immersion was, as Dr. Cave says, ‘the almost constant and universal custom of the primitive times,’ that they have sufficiently intimated their inclinations to be for it now. So that no man in this nation, who is dissatisfied with the other way, or does wish, or is but willing, that his child should be baptized by dipping, need in the least to doubt, but that any minister in this church would, according to the present direction of the rubric, readily comply with his desire, and, as Mr. Walker says, be glad of it.”†

* In Mr. Stennett’s answer to Mr. Russen, pp. 185, 186.

† Hist. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. pp. 473—476. The desire of many learned men in the church of England to have immersion restored, reminds me of another particular in that establishment; concerning which Mr. Bingham, who was a true son of the church speaks as follows:

“The church of England [in her Office for Ash-Wednesday] has for two hundred years wished for the restoration of this [primitive] discipline, and yet it is but an ineffective wish: for nothing is done towards introducing it, but rather things are gone backward, and there is less discipline for these last sixty years, since the times of the unhappy confusions, than there was before.”—*Origines Eccles.* b. xv. chap. ix. § 8.

Thus Mr. Hervey, when adverting to the subject of discipline, as practised in his own church: “The grosser kind of simony seems to be practised by a certain court, styled *spiritual or ecclesiastical*, which thunders out excommunications and curses, debars poor creatures from religious privileges, and causes them to be ‘buried with the burial of an ass,’ unless they pacify their pious indignation by a little filthy lucre.”

Again: “This is the language of that same spiritual judicature: ‘If thou wilt lay out a few crowns or guineas from thy purse, all shall be well; heaven shall smile, and the church open her arms. Whereas, if thou art

PART II.

THE SUBJECTS OF BAPTISM.

CHAPTER. I.

Neither Express Precept, nor Plain Example, for Pædobaptism, in the New Testament.

BP. BURNET. “There is no express precept, or rule, given in the New Testament for baptism of infants.”—*Exposit. of Thirty-nine Articles*, art. xxvii.

2. Dr. Wall. “Among all the persons that are recorded as baptized by the apostles, there is no express mention of any infant . . . There is no express mention indeed of any children baptized by him,” i. e. John the Baptist.—*Hist. Inf. Bap. Introduction*, pp. 1, 55.

3. Mr. Fuller. “We do freely confess, that there is neither express precept, nor precedent, in the New Testament, for the baptizing of infants . . . There were many things which Jesus did, which are not written; among which, for aught appears to the contrary, the baptizing of these infants [Luke xviii. 15, 16, 17,] might be one of them.”—*Infant’s Advocate*, pp. 71, 150.

4. Mr. Marshall. “I grant, that in so many words it is not found in the New Testament, that they should be baptized; no express example where children were baptized . . . Express command there is, that they [the apostles] should teach the heathen, and the Jews, and make them disciples, and then baptize them . . . It is said indeed that they taught and baptized, and no express mention of any other . . . Both John and Christ’s disciples and apostles did teach before they baptized, because

refractory in this particular; and unwilling, or unable, to comply with our pecuniary demands; thou art cut off from the means of grace. Thou shalt no longer hear that word of the gospel, by which the spirit of faith cometh. Nor any more be partaker of that sacramental ordinance, which is a sign and seal of spiritual benefits.”

Again: “Is not this a most infamous traffic, whereby sacred things are bought and sold? In the present state of affairs, what can be a nearer approach to the sin of the mercenary magician? What can be a more indelible blot on the purity and discipline of any church?”

‘*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refellii.*’

See Theron and Aspasio.

Mr. Bisset, thus; “I have returned several of my charge, for scandalous immoralities, to the spiritual court; but nothing was done, only some money was squeezed out of them.”—*Plain English*, p. 23. Dublin, 1705.

An observation of Dr. Owen, respecting pluralities, will here apply. “An evil this, like that of mathematical prognostications at Rome, always condemned, and always retained.”—*Gospel Church and its Government*, p. 107.

then no other were capable of baptism."—*In Mr. Tombes's Examen* pp. 110, 161; and *Antipædobaptism*, part ii. p. 84.

5. Luther. "It cannot be proved by the sacred scripture that infant baptism was instituted by Christ, or begun by the first Christians after the apostles."—*In A R.'s Vanity of Inf. Bap.* part ii. p. 8.

6. Mr. Baxter. "If there can be no example given in scripture of any one that was baptized without the profession of a saving faith, nor any precept for so doing, then must we not baptize any without it. But the antecedent is true; therefore so is the consequent . . . In a word, I know of no one word in scripture, that giveth us the least intimation that ever man was baptized without the profession of a saving faith, or that giveth the least encouragement to baptize any upon another's faith."—*Disputat. of Right to Sac.* pp. 149, 151.

7. Mr. Obad. Wills. "Christ did many things that were not recorded, and so did the apostles; whereof this was one, for aught we know, the baptizing infants . . . Calvin, in his fourth book of Institutes, chap. xvi. confesseth, that it is no where expressly mentioned by the evangelists, that any one child was by the apostles baptized." 'To the same purpose are Stapilius, Melanthon, and Zuinglius quoted.—*Inf. Bap. Asserted and Vindicated*, part ii. pp. 37, 40, 199, 200.

8. Vitranga. "That some in the ancient church long ago doubted, and that others now doubt, whether infants ought to be baptized, proceeds principally, I think, from hence; It is not related as a fact, in the Gospels, and in the Acts of the primitive church, that infants were baptized by Christ, or by the apostles."—*Observat. Sac.* l. ii. c. vi. § 2.

9. Mr. Samuel Palmer. "There is nothing in the words of the institution, nor in any after accounts of the administration of this rite, respecting the baptism of infants; there is not a single precept for, nor example of, this practice through the whole New Testament."—*Answer to Dr. Priestleys Address on the Lord's Sup.* p. 7.

10. Staplerus. "There is not any express command in the holy scripture concerning the baptism of infants."—*Theolog. Polem.* cap. iii. § 1647.

11. Limborch. "There is no express command for it in scripture; nay, all those passages wherein baptism is commanded, do immediately relate to adult persons, since they are ordered to be instructed, and faith is prerequisite as a necessary qualification, which (things) are peculiar to the adult . . . There is no instance that can be produced, from whence it may indisputably be inferred, that any child was

baptized by the apostles . . . The necessity of Pædobaptism was never asserted by any council before that of Carthage, held in the year four hundred and eighteen . . . We own that there is no precept, nor undoubted instance, in scripture, of infant baptism; but this is not enough to render it unlawful."—*Complete Syst. Div.* b. v. chap. xxii. sect. ii.

12. M. De la Roque.—"As to the baptism of infants, I confess there is nothing formal and express in the gospel, to justify the necessity of it; and the passages that are produced, do at most only prove that it is permitted, or rather that it is not forbidden to baptize them. If all the Anabaptists only held to this, without condemning this practice as criminal and sacrilegious, they would have reason on their side, and would say nothing but what is founded on such principles as are common to all Protestants."—*In Mr. Stennett's Answer to Mr. Russen*, p. 183.

13. Magdeburg Centuriators. "Examples prove that adults, both Jews and Gentiles, were baptized. Concerning the baptism of infants, there are indeed no examples of which we read."—*Cent.* i. l. ii. c. vi. p. 381.

14. Erasmus. "Paul does not seem in Rom. v. 14, to treat about infants . . . It was not yet the custom for infants to be baptized."—*Annotat. ad Rom.* v. 14. Bas. 1534.

15. Mr. Leigh. "The baptism of infants may be named a *tradition*, because it is not expressly delivered in scripture that the apostles did baptize infants, nor any express precept there found that they should so do; yet is not this so received by bare and naked tradition, but that we find the scripture to deliver unto us the ground of it."—*Body of Div.* b. i. chap. viii. pp. 93, 94.

16. Dr. Freeman. "The traditions of the whole Catholic church—confirm us in means of our doctrines; which though they may be gathered out of scripture, yet are not laid down there in so many words: such as infant baptism, and of episcopal authority above presbyters."—*Preservative against Popery*, title iii. p. 19.

17. Mr T. Boston. "It is plain that he (Peter, in Acts ii. 38,) requires their repentance antecedently to baptism, as necessary to qualify them for the right and due reception thereof. And there is no example of baptism recorded in the scriptures, where any were baptized but such as appeared to have a saving interest in Christ."—*Works*, p. 384.

18. Mr. Cawdry.—"The scriptures are not clear, that infant baptism was an apostolical practice . . . We have not in scripture either precept or example of children

baptized."—*In Mr. Crosby's Hist. of Bap.* vol. iii. pref. p. 53.—*Mr. Tombes's Antipædobaptism*, part ii. p. 84.

19. Dr. Field. "The baptism of infants, is therefore named a *tradition* because it is not expressly delivered in scripture, that the apostles did baptize infants; nor any express precept there found, that they should do so."—*On the Church*, p. 375.

20. Bp. Prideaux. "Pædobaptism, and the change of the Jewish sabbath into the Lord's day, rest on no other divine right than Episcopacy."—*Fascicul. Controvers.* loc. iv. sect. iii. p. 210.

21. Bp. Sanderson. "The baptism of infants, and the sprinkling of water in baptism, instead of immersing the whole body, must be exterminated from the church, according to their principle; i. e. that nothing can be lawfully performed, much less required, in the affairs of religion, which is not either commanded by God in the scripture, or at least recommended by a laudable example."—*De Obligat. Conscient. prælect.* iv. § 17, 18.

22. Bp. Stillingfleet. "Whether baptism shall be administered to infants, or no, is not set down in express words, but left to be gathered by analogy and consequences."—*Irenicum*, part ii. chap. iv. p. 178.

23. Dr. Towerson. "That which seems to stick much with the adversaries of infant baptism, and is accordingly urged at all times against the friends or asserters of it, is the want of an express command, or direction, for the administering of baptism to them. Which objection seems to be the more reasonable, because baptism as well as others sacraments, relieving all its force from institution, they, may seem to have no right to, or benefit by it, who appear not by the institution of that sacrament to be entitled to it; but rather, by the qualifications it requires, to be excluded from it."—*Of the Sacram. of Bap.* part xi. pp. 349, 350.

Mr. Walker. "Where authority from the scripture fails, there the custom of the church is to be held as a law. . . . It doth not follow, that our Saviour gave no precept for the baptizing of infants, because no such precept is particularly expressed in the scripture; for our Saviour spake many things to his disciples concerning the kingdom of God, both before his passion and also after his resurrection, which are not written in the scriptures; and who can say, but that among those many *unwritten* sayings of his, there might be an express precept for infant baptism?"*—*Modest Plea for Inf. Bap.* pp. 221, 368.

25. Anonymus. "As to the seed of the church, the children of Christians, at what age, under what circumstances, in what

mode, or whether they were baptized at all, are particulars the New Testament does not expressly mention. . . . We may safely conclude, whatever the apostle Paul might do, who baptized households among the Gentiles, yet *the other apostles, and the church at Jerusalem* DID NOT BAPTIZE INFANTS; for this reason, because they still continued to circumcise, which [circumcision] initiated into the law of Moses; and they could not initiate their infants both into Moses and into Christ. But after the destruction of Jerusalem, which evidently proved the Mosaic economy to be at an end circumcision subsided by degrees, and infant baptism took the place of it. Thus infant baptism came into the church, in the very manner our Lord foretold his kingdom should come, without observation; neither lo here, nor there."—*Simple truth*, pp. 5, 21.

26. Heideggerus. "Though there be neither express precept, nor example, for infant baptism, yet that it is implicitly contained in the scripture, sufficiently appears from what we have said. Nor was it necessary that it should be expressly enjoined. Nay, it is quite sufficient that it was not forbidden by Christ."—*Corp. Theolog.* loc. xxv. § 55.

27. Witsius. "We do not indeed deny that there is no express and special command of God, or of Christ, concerning infant baptism; yet there are general commands, from which a particular one is deduced."—*Æcon.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 41.

28. Anonymus. "I do not remember any passage in the new Testament, which says expressly, that infants should be baptized; and, as I am informed by better judges, the evidences for this practice from antiquity, though very early, do not fully come up to the times of the apostles."—*In Mr. Richard's Hist. of Antichrist*, p. 19.

29. Œcolampadius. "No passage in the holy scripture has occurred to our observation as yet, which, as far as the slenderness of our capacity can discern, should persuade us to profess Pædobaptism."—*Apud Schyn Hist. Mennonit.* pp. 168, 169.

30. Celarius. "Infant baptism is neither commanded in the sacred scripture, nor is it confirmed by apostolic examples."—*Apud Schyn, ut supra.*

31. Staphilus. "It is not expressed in holy scripture, that young children should be baptized."—*In T. Lawson's Baptismalægia*, p. 115. N. B. Mr. Lawson, who was one of the people called Quakers, has produced Zuinglius and Melancthon, as expressing themselves to the same effect. He also tells us the Oxford divines, in a convocation held one thousand six hundred and forty-seven, acknowledged, "that without consentaneous judgment of the universal church, should be at a loss, when they

* Just so Andrius, in defence of Popish tradition. Vid. Chemnitz Exam. Concil. Trident. p. 21.

are called upon for proof, in the point of infant baptism."—*Ut supra*, pp. 113, 115, 116. *Vid. Chemnitium, Exam. Concil. Trident.* p. 69. *Chamierum, Panstrat.* tom. i. l. ix. c. x. § 40.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. As these Pædobaptists unanimously agree that there is neither express precept, nor plain example for infant baptism in the New Testament; so it appears from one or another of them that the passages usually produced for it only prove that it is permitted, or not forbidden, No. 12. that all those places where baptism is commanded regard none but adults, No. 11; that Pædobaptism must be supported by analogy and illation, No. 22, 27; that there is no instance from which it may be incontrovertibly inferred, that any child was baptized by the apostles, No. 11; that infant baptism rests on the same foundation as diocesan Episcopacy, No. 20; that Pædobaptism is properly denominated a tradition, No. 15, 16; that though Paul baptized certain households, it is doubtful whether he ever practised Pædobaptism; and very certain that the other apostles did not baptize infants; because a supposition of their so doing would infer a gross absurdity, No. 14, 25; that *unwritten* truth (or weak surmise) and tradition, are a succedaneum for express precept and plain example, No. 3, 7, 24, 31; and that persons have need of great penetration to find a warrant in scripture for the avowal of Pædobaptism, No. 29.

Such concessions are our opponents obliged to make, in reference to this affair! With propriety, therefore I may here demand and remonstrate, in the remarkable words of Mr. Baxter: "What man dare go in a way which hath neither precept nor example to warrant it, from a way that hath full current of both? . . . Who knows what will please God but himself? And hath he not *told* us what he expecteth from us? Can that be obedience which hath no *command* for it? Is not this too supererogate, and to be righteous over-much? Is it not also to accuse God's ordinances of insufficiency, as well as his word, as if they were not sufficient either to please him, or help our own graces? O the pride of man's heart, that instead of being a law-obeyer, will be a law-maker; and instead of being true worshippers, they will be worship-makers! . . . For my part, I will not fear that God will be angry with me for doing no more than he hath *commanded* me, and for sticking close to the rule of his word in matter of worship; but I should tremble to add or diminish."^{*}

Let us now see what our impartial friends

the Quakers have to say on this part of the subject.

1. Robert Barclay. "As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the scripture."—*Apology, proposition xii.*

2. Samuel Fothergill. "I do not find in any part of the holy scripture, either precept or example for the practice of sprinkling infants. . . . If any such proof, or plain declaration, could be produced in support of sprinkling infants, it would have been long ere now produced, by those who have continued the practice of that ceremony. The present advocates for it would not be reduced to the necessity of *presumptive* arguments, and *uncertain consequences*; such as the supposition, that there were children in the household of Lydia, the jailer of Philippi, and Stephanas. . . . The sprinkling of infants is utterly destitute of any proof of divine institution."—*Remarks on an address*, pp. 5, 6, 30.

3. Joseph Phipps. "The practice of sprinkling infants under the name of baptism, hath neither precept nor precedent in the New Testament. For want of real instances, *mere suppositions* are offered in support of it. Because it is said, in the case of Lydia, that 'she was baptized and her household;' and by the apostle, 'I baptized also the household of Stephanas;' it is supposed there might be infants, or little children, in those households: from whence it is inferred such were baptized."—*Dissertations on Bap. and Communion*, p. 30.

4. Elizabeth Bathurst. "Infant baptism, or sprinkling infants, this they [the Quakers] utterly deny, as a thing by men imposed, and never by God or Christ instituted; neither is there any scripture precept or precedent for it. Indeed how should there since it was not taken up, nor innovated for above two hundred years after Christ died? . . . Yet we grant the baptism of those that were adult, or come to age, and had faith to entitle them to it. This was the baptism of John."—*Testimony and Writings*, pp. 44, 45, edit. 4th.

5. Thomas Lawson. "Sprinkling of infants is a case unprecedented in the primitive church; an irreptitious custom, sprung up in the night of apostacy, after the falling away from the primitive order. . . . Such as rhanitize, or sprinkle infants, have no command from Christ, nor example among the apostles, nor the first primitive Christians for so doing."—*Baptismalogia*, pp. 69, 117.

6. Richard Claridge. "As for the baptism of infants, it ought not to be retained in the church, there being neither precept nor example for it in the scripture."—*Life and Posthumous Works*, p. 179.

7. George Whitehead. "As to dipping

* Flan Scip. Proof, pp. 24, 33.

or sprinkling infants, or young children, we find no precept or precedent in holy scripture for the practice thereof. . . . What great hypocrisy and insincerity are these persons justly chargeable with, in the sight of God, angels, and men, in their not practising that baptism they have pleaded for from the practice of the apostles! but instead thereof rhanism, or sprinkling of infants, to make them thereby members of Christ, and of his church militant, who are neither capable of teaching, nor of confession of faith. If these men believe what they themselves write, argue, and urge on this subject, for the necessity of baptizing only believers when taught, by what authority do they in practice so easily dispense with this, and evade and change it into their rhanizing, or sprinkling and crossing infants on the face; and yet so demurely profess and tell the people, the holy scripture is their *only rule of faith and practice*? when they can, contrary to their own demure pretences, practise unscriptural traditions, both human and Popish.”—*The Rector Examined*, p. 23. *Truth Prevalent*, pp. 125, 126.

8. William Penn. There is “not one text of scripture to prove that sprinkling in the face was the water baptism, or that children were the subjects of water baptism in the first times.”—*Defence of Gospel Truths, against the Bishop of Cork*, p. 82.

Such being the concessions of our learned opposers, and such the harmonious testimony of impartial Friends, I am reminded of the following apostolic declarations, which may be here applied: “We gave no such COMMANDMENT; We have no such CUSTOM.”* The apostles, it seems, gave no command for the baptizing of infants; and therefore a precept cannot be found. They had no such custom, and therefore an example of it is not recorded in the history of their practice.

Reflect. II. As it is evident by the confession of our opposers, that nothing explicit is contained in the New Testament relating to infant baptism; and as Pædobaptists have taught us, that positive institutions cannot be inferred by remote consequences from general principles, but require an express appointment;† it might have been expected, had consistency prevailed, that Pædobaptism would have made as little appearance in the practice of Protestants, as it does in the writings of the apostles. For it is generally maintained by the Reformed, when contending with Papists; and by Nonconformists, when disputing with English Episcopalians; that it is the safest

way to take things as we find them in the records of inspiration, and to perform nothing, as a part of religious worship, which is not commanded or exemplified in the New Testament. Thus Mr. Alsop, for instance: “I never liked either the addition of officers to those Christ has commanded to govern his church, nor the addition of canons to those by which he has appointed his church to be governed: I always thought it safest, to leave the doctrine, worship, and government of Christ as we found them. We may be chidden for adding, or subtracting, but never for being no wiser than the gospel: and when we have done our best, and chopped and changed, we shall hardly ever make better than those Christ made for us.”*—Mr. Polhill: “The pattern of Christ and the apostles is more to me than all the human wisdom in the world.”†—Mr. White: “As Protestants, we have only to bear the Bible in our hands; to expatiate on its importance and its truth; to teach what it reveals with sincerity; and to enforce what it commands with earnestness.”‡—Dr. Owen: “It is not safe for us to venture on duties not exemplified [in the scripture;] nor *can any instance* of a necessary duty be given, of whose performance we have not an example in the scripture. . . . It [an enthusiastic affection for Christ] is no way directed, warranted, approved by any command, promise, or rule of the scripture. As it is without precedent, so it is without precept; and hereby, whether we will or no, all our graces and duties must be tried, as unto any acceptation with God. Whatever pretends to exceed the direction of the word, may be safely rejected; cannot safely be admitted.”§ Now if these declarations be founded in truth, what becomes of Pædobaptism? It must be consigned over to that obscurity in which it was left by the sacred writers.

Reflect. III. That the testimony of scripture, in favor of any religious tenet or practice, is of great importance, none but Infidels will deny: for even the Papists themselves, notwithstanding their two great resources of confidence, tradition and infallibility, are never willing to waive the advantage of pleading it in their own defence, if it can be done with the least appearance of reason. That the sacred writings are our only rule of doctrine and worship, was the grand principle of the Reformation; and happy would it have been, if each concerned in that excellent work had uniformly acted under its influence. On this foundation, and in many cases,

* Antisozzo, pp. 156, 157.

† Discourse on Schism, p. 71.

‡ Sermons before the University, p. 472.

§ On the Person of Christ, pp. 134, 170.

* Acts xv. 24; 1 Cor. xi. 16.

† See Part I. Chap. I. No. 4, 8, 12, 13, 20, Reflect. II.

Protestant writers have successfully opposed the Papal system. Nor is any thing more frequent with them, when engaged in that controversy, than a recurrence to this capital principle, and an adoption of Chillingworth's maxim: *THE BIBLE ONLY IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS*. Here, that excellent saying of Basil is pleaded: "It is a manifest mistake, in regard to faith, and a clear evidence of pride, either to reject any of those things which the scripture contains; or to introduce any thing that is not written in the sacred page."* That of Ambrose also is held in esteem; "Where the scripture is silent, who shall speak?"† Nor is Tertullian's maxim in less repute: "The scripture forbids what it does not mention."‡ Here they tell us, that "we ought to respect the silence of the scripture;"§ and they lay it down as a general rule, that "no one need be ashamed of not knowing what God has not revealed;" because, "he that would go farther, gives up his wisdom and endangers his safety."|| They farther assure us, "that divine revelation is the only foundation, the only rule, and the only law, of all religious worship that is pleasing to God, or accepted by him;" and that, "when once a person maintains it allowable to pass over the limits of the divine command, there is nothing to hinder him from running the most extravagant lengths."¶ They assure us "that will-worship was always condemned of God, and that it is profane to present to God what he does not require, or to perform worship which he did not appoint."** They tell us that "we ought not to worship God with any other external worship, than what himself hath commanded and appointed us in his holy word."†† "The scripture," say they, "hath set us our bounds for worship, to which we must not add, and from which we ought not to diminish; for whosoever doth either the one or the other, must needs accuse the rule either of defect in things necessary, or of superfluity in things unnecessary: which is a high affront to the wisdom of God, who, as he is the object, so is he the prescriber of that worship which he will accept and reward."‡‡ They insist, that he who "shall appoint with what God shall be worshipped, must appoint what that is

by which he shall be pleased;" that "by nothing can he be worshipped, but by what himself hath declared that he is well pleased with;" that "to worship God, is an act of obedience and of duty, and therefore must suppose a commandment, and is not of our choice, save only that we must choose to obey;" consequently, that "he that says God is rightly worshipped, by an act or ceremony, concerning which himself hath no way expressed his pleasure, is superstitious, or a will-worshipper."* They "admire that ever mortal man should dare, in God's worship, to meddle any farther than the Lord himself hath commanded."† They tell us, that "nothing is lawful in the worship of God, but what we have precept or precedent for; which, whoso denies, opens a door to all idolatry and superstition, and will-worship in the world."‡ They say, "From the words of our Saviour, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines, (viz. about worship,) the commandments of men,' we clearly demonstrate that it is unlawful to worship God with any rites, however indifferent in themselves, if they are not prescribed by God."§ They entreat us "to consider, that what God hath thought needless to appoint, men ought not to make, or pretend to be necessary or important, or even useful. What he commands not in his worship, he virtually forbids."|| They inform us, that "a practice [in religious worship] not being enjoined, is forbidden; being disallowed, is reprobated;"¶ that, "the declared will of God being the most certain and happy rule of man's practice, especially in those duties which have no foundation, save in divine revelation; it is the greatest arrogance and affront to the wisdom and will of our Lawgiver, to contradict him therein;"** that "to prescribe any thing [in religious worship] which God hath not commanded, though he hath not forbidden it, is such an invasion of his prerogative, that he hath punished it by a remarkable judgment, (Lev. x. 1;)"†† that "in religious matters, and especially in the worship of God, it is not only sinful to go *contra statutum*, but to go *supra statutum*;" or that, "to speak home in the case, in religious matters, acting *supra statutum*, is all one with acting *contra statutum*: therein God's not requiring being equivalent to forbidding; and doing more than he commandeth, to doing contrary to it."‡‡ They

* In Bp. Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*, sect. v. No. xi. p. 97.

† In *Morning Exercise against Popery*, p. 214.

‡ De Monog. cap. iv.

§ Mr. Claude's *Essay on Comp. of a Sermon*. vol. i. p. 316.

|| Dr. Ellis's *Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation*, p. 434. edit. 2nd.

¶ Dr. Owen's *Theologoumena*, l. iv. digress. iii. § 8; l. v. c. xv. § 2. See also his *Eposil. of Heb.* vol. ii. pp. 63, 133.

** Christ. Schotanus, apud Lomeleum, *De Vet. Gent. Lust.* cap. xiv.

†† Bp. Hopkin's *Works*, p. 107.

:: Ibid.

* Bp. Taylor's *Ductor*. Dub. b. ii. chap. iii. pp. 347, 348.

† Mr. Marshal, in *Jerubbaal*, p. 484.

‡ Mr. Collings, in *Jerubbaal*, p. 487.

§ Mr. Peirce's *Vindicat. of Dissenters*. part i. p. 16.

|| Dr. Mayo's *Apology and Shield*, p. 44.

¶ Bp. Hurd's *Introd. to Stud. of Proph.* p. 393, edit. 1st.

** *Morning Exercise against Popery*, p. 760.

†† Mr. Charnock *On Man's Enmity to God*, p. 97.

:: *Vanity of Human Inventions*, pp. 23, 24.

insist, that "works not required by the law, are no less an abomination to God, than sins against the law."* "To serve God," they assure us, "is to do every thing under this contemplation, that what we do is the will of God. His will must be not only the rule of what we do, but the very reason why we do it; else our doings are not his servings."† They tell us, "that the silence of scripture" is a sufficient ground of rejecting the sign of the cross, exorcism, and similar appendages of baptism in the church of Rome; because those things "not being written in the sacred volume, are therefore condemned."‡ Once more: They commend the renowned Waldenses, for declaring and maintaining, some hundreds of years ago, that "nothing is to be admitted in religion but what only is commanded in the word of God."§

Reflect. IV Such being the grounds of those arguments, and the tenour of that reasoning, which are used against the unscriptural ceremonies of the Romish church; what should hinder a fair application of the same principles and the same arguments to Pædobaptism, if there be neither precept nor precedent for it in the sacred volume? No Protestant, I presume, will question the propriety of Chillingworth's remark, or the justness of that inference to which it leads, when, reasoning against the Papal infallibility, he says: "That our Saviour designed the bishop of Rome to this office, and yet would not say so, nor cause it to be written—*ad Rei memoriam*—by any of the evangelists or apostles, so much as *once*; but leave it to be drawn out of uncertain principles, by thirteen or fourteen more uncertain consequences; he that can believe it let him."|| Is then the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, so strange and so incredible to Protestants, because it is not once mentioned by Christ or his apostles; and shall any of our Brethren charge us with gross ignorance or strong prejudice, for opposing infant baptism, while they themselves allow that it is not so much as once expressly mentioned in all the New Testament? Were the Papal infallibility a fact, it must be considered as a positive grant of our divine Lord, resulting merely from his own sovereign pleasure; and, consequently, it would be impossible for us to know any thing about it farther than revealed in the Bible. And is not Pædobaptism, in this respect, a similar case? May not we therefore, with a little alteration, adopt the lan-

guage of Mr. Chillingworth? Yes, we will thus take up his idea: That our Saviour designed infants should be baptized, and yet would not *say so*, nor cause it to be written so much as *once* by evangelists or apostles; though they often mention baptism, as appointed, as practised, as important; but leave the claim of infants on that ordinance to be made out by the long labor of inferential proof; by a consideration of proselyte baptism, Jewish circumcision, the Abrahamic covenant, and such passages of scripture where baptism is either not mentioned at all, or mentioned only in reference to adults; he that can believe it, let him. Or, shall we renounce this Protestant principle of the famous Chillingworth, and follow the example of Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit? who, when vindicating the worship of images, says: "In the scripture there is no express practice, nor precept, of worshipping the image of Christ; yet there be principles which, the light of nature supposed, convince adoration to be lawful."* The following appeal of Dr. Mayo will also apply, *mutatis mutandis*, in all its force: "Had our Lord and his apostles, who esteemed not their lives dear unto them to promote the good of souls, thought parochial, diocesan, and metropolitan districts necessary, or even important and useful, judge you whether they would not have given at least *one* instruction or command concerning them."†

Reflect. V. Is it not strange, is it not absolutely unaccountable, if our Lord intended infants should be baptized, and if they actually were baptized by the apostles, that it should not be so much as once expressly recorded in all the New Testament? Baptism itself is frequently mentioned; mentioned, as an appointment of Christ, as a duty to be performed, as an ordinance often administered, as a motive to holiness, and also by way of allusion; yet, though all these occasions of expressly mentioning infants as entitled to baptism, or as partakers of it, repeatedly occurred, the sacred writers have united in observing a profound silence with regard to both the one and the other. Admitting the baptism of infants to be from heaven, the silence of inspired authors on this head is the more surprising, because they were far from being backward expressly to mention children on other occasions of much less importance to the purity of Christian worship, the conduct of believing parents, and the edification of our Lord's disciples. For instance: Do infants fall a sacrifice to envy and cruelty, by the sanguinary edict of an Egyptian tyrant, or

* Dr. Owen on Justification, chap. xiv. p. 491.

† Mr. Caryl on Job xxxvi. 11.

‡ Maastricht Theolog. l. vii. c. iv. § 19. Turret. Institut. Theolog. loc. xix. quæst. xviii. § 3, 4.

§ In Jerubbab, p. 162. —

|| Relig. of Protest. part i. chap. ii. § 22.

* In Popery confuted by Papists, p. 127. Vid. Chemnitzium, Exam. Concil. Trident. p. 552.

† Apology and Shield, p. 21.

the bloody order of an infamous Herod? they are expressly mentioned.* Do children partake with their parents, once and again, of miraculous food? it is expressly recorded, a first and a second time.† Are little children presented to Christ for his healing touch, or his heavenly blessing? we are expressly informed of it by three evangelists.‡ Did children along with their parents attend Paul, when taking leave of his Christian friends in the city of Tyre? they also are expressly mentioned.§ Now though the particular mention of children in all these cases was pertinent, they being concerned in the several transactions recorded; yet, as none of these instances refers to a positive ordinance of divine worship, of which kind baptism is; we may safely conclude, that if Christ had warranted, and if the apostles had practised infant baptism, it was of much greater importance to the church of God for the sacred writers to have expressly mentioned it, than for them to have been so particular in the cases here adduced. It is observable also, that the explicit mention of children in these passages has little or no tendency to establish any doctrine, to enforce any duty, or to prevent any dispute among the disciples of Christ; whereas a plain information of our Lord's having commanded children to be baptized, or of the apostles' baptizing infants, might have answered those important purposes. But infants are *not* expressly said to be baptized, our opponents themselves being judges; consequently, we may conclude, that infants were not then concerned in any such transaction.

Again: Remarkable are the words of Luke, with which he introduces his evangelical narrative, and his apostolic history: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding in all things from the very first to write unto thee in order most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed. . . . The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach." From an exordium of this kind to each of his inspired narratives, the reader may justly suppose, that an article of such importance as Pædobaptism has long been esteemed by millions, would not have been entirely omitted by him, had our Lord enjoined, or had the apostles practised such a rite. Yes, had it been the custom of those

times to baptize infants, it might be justly expected the sacred historian would have expressly mentioned it once and again, with some of its leading circumstances. Considering his conduct with regard to other affairs, in which he omits, or mentions children, we certainly had reason to expect it. To the instances already produced from his writings, I will here add one or two more. Does Luke, for example, inform us, when describing the outrageous conduct of Saul, that he "committed men and women to prison," without mentioning children? Relating the triumphs of divine truth, he also tells us, that when the Samaritans believed, they "were baptized, both men and women," but says not a word of infants.* If then we justly infer that little children, along with their parents, were not the objects of Saul's persecuting rage, because they are not mentioned as such in the history of his cruelty; why may we not for the same reason conclude, that infants, together with their parents, were not the subjects of baptism, as administered by Philip? It was, undoubtedly, as much the business of Luke to relate, with explicit precision, what Philip did in the course of his evangelical ministry, as it was to narrate the persecuting conduct of a blind bigot, who endeavored to exterminate the Christian cause; and a plain account of the former was of incomparably more importance to succeeding generations, than the most accurate information respecting the latter. For Philip's beneficent labors in preaching and baptizing, are an example which the ministers of Christ are obliged to imitate; but every one is bound to detest the persecuting conduct of Saul. Must we then consider the historian when mentioning *men and women* in verse the third, as meaning *adults only*; but in verse the twelfth, where he uses the very same words, as intending parents and their *infant offspring*? Nothing but the rage of hypothesis can suggest the thought. If, then, common sense and common honesty unite in affixing the same ideas to the same words in each of those places the consequence is obvious; for, either no infants were baptized in those days, or Philip departed from the usual practice. To prove the latter, will be an arduous task; to grant the former, is giving up the cause. This reasoning, if I mistake not, is perfectly agreeable to the following rule of bishop Taylor: "If that which is omitted in the discourse be pertinent and material to the inquiry, then it is a very good probability that that is *not true* that is not affirmed. . . . The reason is, every thing is to be suspected false that does not derive from that fountain whence men justly expect it and from

* Acts vii. 19; Matt. ii. 16.

† Matt. xiv. 21, and xv. 33.

‡ Matt. xix. 13; Mark i. 13; Luke xviii. 15.

§ Acts xxi. 5.

* Acts viii. 3, 12; compare chap. xxii. 4.

whence it ought to flow. If you speak of any thing that relates to God, you must look for it there where God hath manifested himself; that is, in the scriptures. . . . We cannot say, because a thing is not in scripture, therefore it is not at all; but therefore it is nothing of divine religion.”* Conformable to this rule is the reasoning of that learned author, Vitringa, in opposition to Episcopacy. “Certainly,” says he, “If we were disposed to judge impartially, laying aside all prejudices and predilections, we should scarcely be induced to believe, that neither Luke in the Acts, nor Paul, nor yet any of the apostles in their epistles, should not have made the least mention of any bishop superior to presbyters, if there had really been any such pre-eminence, or dignity, or peculiar office, or singular title of one of the presbyters, instituted or known in their time. For they were obliged frequently to speak, and actually did speak about the churches, and concerning the government of the churches. Now seeing they often wrote concerning all other offices but are entirely silent about what was afterwards called *Episcopacy*; it is to us an evidence, that in their time the name of such an office or dignity was not in use.”† Or shall we say with Belarmine, “Things that are generally known, and daily practised, do not use to be written?”‡ But this would be to insult common sense.

Once more: Supposing the divine authority of infant baptism, it will readily be allowed, that it was of unspeakably more importance for us to have been plainly informed of an apostle *baptizing* some little child, than to be expressly told that Paul *circumcised* Timothy. Of the former, however, Luke says not a word; though of the latter he is most explicit.§ Did many Jewish Christians in the apostolic churches *circumcise their children*? of that also we have the most plain information from the pen of our divine historian.|| This last particular is very remarkable. For who, on Pædobaptist principles, can possibly account, for the perfect silence of Luke, respecting the *baptism* of infants; while he so plainly informs us that the Jewish believers in general *circumcised* their offspring, even after the obligation of that rite had entirely ceased? If, as our opposers imagine, all the ministers and members of the apostolic churches were Pædobaptists, baptism, for an obvious reason, must have been much oftener administered to infants than circumcision, fond as the Jewish converts were of the latter. Shall an ordinance,

then, of the New Testament, which is to continue to the end of time, an ordinance, that was very frequently performed and of great importance, be quite overlooked by an historian, who knew he was writing for the direction of the church in all future ages; while he so expressly mentions children as partakers of a rite which had been antiquated for many years? What! shall he plainly mention a practice which was then the fruit of ignorance, and of bigotry to an obsolete system; while he quite overlooks a still more common practice, that was matter of indispensable duty to every Christian parent on the behalf of his infant offspring? Plainly mention a prevailing *fault* among the primitive Jewish converts, respecting their male children; but omit their *duty* and their *obedience*, in regard to both male and female infants respecting baptism? Not over-kind, surely, would he in this case be to the character of those ancient Christians, nor over-scrupulous in his examples for the use of posterity! This, though not naturally impossible exceeds the utmost bounds of probability; and, therefore, should be rejected as an absurdity. The language of archbishop Wake, in opposition to an idle opinion concerning the apostles’ composing a creed which goes under their name, will here apply, “It is not likely, that had any such thing as this been done by the apostles, St. Luke would have passed it by without taking the least notice of it.”*

Our opponents insist, that the writers of the New Testament were all Pædobaptists. But either this is a great mistake, or those venerable authors must have had a very low idea of their own practice, much lower than Cyprian or Austin, or any of our zealous opposers in the present age. For while those infallible writers mention children on various occasions, where baptism is not concerned; they relate the baptizing of great numbers, in different parts of the world, without once mentioning infants as parties in that affair. Nay, they relate the baptizing of believers, in different places, with as little notice of infants, as if no infant had belonged to any whom they did baptize; yet, strange to conceive, the hypothesis of our opposers manifestly implies that infant baptism was then a *very common* practice! For it implies, that the baptism of children always accompanied that of their parents; and that the future offspring of such converted parents were made partakers of the sacred rite. On this principle, what a prodigious number of children must have been baptized, before the canon of scripture was completed! Yet all passed over in profound silence by the sacred writers! Now as this is an example

* Ductor Dubitantium, b. ii. chap. iii. p. 333. 334.

† De Vet. Synag. p. 479, 480.

‡ In Preserv. against Popery, title vii. p. 85.

§ Acts xvi. 3.

|| Acts xxi. 21. See No. 25.

* Apostolical Fathers, Introduct. p. 103, 104, edit. 2d.

which no ecclesiastical historian, allowed to have been a Pædobaptist, has chosen to imitate; and as it is an example which could not have been imitated, when recording the transactions of later times, without omitting facts that were essential to a good narrative; so there is ground to believe, that the inspired historians had really *no facts* to relate, concerning the baptism of infants; which is a sufficient reason for their saying nothing about it. For, surely, they were not inferior to later historians, either as to spiritual wisdom, or holy zeal, historic fidelity; nor could they be ignorant that the immortal productions of their pens were to be considered by all the disciples of Christ, not only as a mirror of past facts but also as the *law* of divine worship and the *rule* of religious practice, to the end of time. We may therefore, confidently say with Mr. Baxter: "I conclude that all examples of baptism in scripture do mention only the administration of it to the professors of saving faith; and the precepts give us no other direction. And I provoke Mr. Blake [and all other Pædobaptists,] as far as is seemly for me to do, to name *one* precept or example for baptizing any other, and make it good if he [or they] can."* The learned and laborious Dupin tells us, agreeably enough to his own principles; That the apostles did not give themselves the trouble of regulating what related to the ceremonies of christian worship; but that their successors in the ministry settled those affairs.† This, though inimical to the creed of a consistent Protestant, is in my opinion true, as to infant baptism. For it does not appear that the apostles either did or said any thing relating to that ceremony, but that it was invented in a succeeding period, with a number of other things that were equally foreign to the language of the New Testament, and to the practice of apostolic churches.

The following words of an Episcopalian author, concerning the Congregational Pædobaptists, shall conclude this reflection: "If I had seen it my duty to accede to the church order of the Independents, I know not but their principles would have led me from them again to join with the Baptists. How they who, maintaining infant baptism, press scripture precedent so strongly upon me, answer the Baptists, who, in this point, press it as strongly upon themselves, is not my concern."‡

* Disput. of Right to Sacram. p. 156.

† Hist. Eccles. Writers, vol. i. p. 181, edit. 2nd.

‡ Anologia, p. 108. Leaving our Independent brethren to solve the difficulty here suggested as well as they can, I would observe; That as this worthy author informs us he made the subscription required of candidates for orders in the national establishment, "*recte ex animo*," so we may take it for granted, he cordially approves of that article in the national creed, which says: "The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies." This being the case, it is no wonder that he does not feel

Reflect. VI. That the argument here employed is neither novel nor inconclusive, will appear by adverting to the conduct of Protestants in general, when disputing with Roman Catholics, and that in a great variety of cases. For instance: Do the Popish writers assert, that Peter was the *bishop of Rome* for a course of years, and mention many particulars of his conduct there? "All these things," replies Mr. Millar, "seem to be false, and without foundation; as appears from the silence of Luke, the inspired writer of the Acts of the Apostles, who recorded many things concerning Peter. . . . Peter himself speaks not one word of what the Papists allege. If he had founded the Roman church, why does he no where make mention of it?"* Thus also the learned Buddeus: "If Peter had been at Rome when Paul wrote his epistle to the church there, who can believe that he would have omitted him among others whom he salutes by name? Or, if he had been there before, who can believe that Paul would have made no mention of him in any part of that epistle? especially seeing various occasions offered for him to have done so."† Is the *supremacy* of Peter, or that of the Pope, the subject in question? Chamier says: "If Christ appointed Peter to obtain both temporal and spir-

himself much embarrassed by the thought of departing from *scriptural precedents*; because, whoever has authority to decree *new* rites or ceremonies in religious worship, must possess a plenitude of power to lay *old* ones aside, by whomsoever they were appointed. "They who may institute new worship," says Mr. Alsop, "may destroy the old worship. For *Cujus est instituere, ejus est destituere*; the same authority that can make a law, can repeal a law." Sober Enquiry, p. 282. I have observed, however, that this author, in his *Messiah*, talks in a different strain, and treats the language of inspiration with due respect. For, speaking of real converts, he says: "One, *thus saith the Lord*, has the force of a thousand arguments. They desire no farther proof of a doctrine, no other warrant for their practice, no other reason for any dispensation, than *Thus the Lord has said, this he requires, and this is his appointment*. Thus their wills are brought into subjection; and they so understand, as to believe and obey," vol. i. pp. 224, 225. This is the language of Protestantism; this, I will venture to say, is the language of Nonconformity; and exceedingly different from that irreverent manner, in which he has treated "*scripture precedents*," when defending his own conformity. Yet how he can reconcile these things, "is not my concern."

But, though Mr. Newton, in his *Apologia*, does not consider himself as obliged by *scriptural precedents*; and though he expressly says, "I thought the example of our Lord pleaded as *much* for *circumcision* as for *baptism*;" yet, while he abides by this acknowledgment, "I am bound, by my subscription, to the form and rubric of the Common Prayer;" it might be expected that he would never publicly *sprinkle* an infant, and call the ceremony *baptism*, unless the sponsors informed him that the child could not bear immersion. For a Protestant minister to think himself at liberty to desert *scriptural precedents*, while he confesses himself *bound* to the rubric of a liturgy; and yet notoriously contradict that *very rubric*, by constantly sprinkling infants instead of immersing them; are things that grate upon my understanding—*Apologia*, pp. 108, 109, 124. See Part I. Chap. VI. No. 16.

* Propagat. of Christianity, vol. i. chap. iii. p. 278. Vid. Turrot. Institut. loc. xviii. q. xviii. § 4; and Dr Doddridge's Note on Rom. xvi. 5.

† Ecclesia Apostolica, p. 714.

itual power, what is the reason that he does not so much as once carefully, explicitly, and most emphatically express it? Had it been a fact, he would have expressed it. But he has not expressed it; therefore it was not his intention that Peter should have it.* Is it the Papal *infallibility*? Abp. Tillotson says: "There is not the least intimation in scripture of this privilege conferred upon the Roman church; nor do the apostles, in all their epistles, ever so much as give the least directions to Christians, to appeal to the bishop of Rome for a determination of the many differences, which even in those times happened among them. And it is strange they should be so silent in this matter, when there were so many occasions to speak of it, if our Saviour had plainly appointed such an infallible judge of controversies."† Is it the *invocation of saints*? Dr. Hughes declares: "That the very silence of scripture is enough to condemn the praying to saints."‡—Dr. Doddridge: "Dr. Whitby justly observes, that it is very remarkable that Paul, who so often and so earnestly entreates the intercession of his Christian friends, should never speak of the intercession of the Virgin Mary, or of departed saints, if he believed it a duty to seek it."§ Is it *confession to a priest*? Bp. Stratford says: "We find no such sort of confession required by Christ or his apostles."|| Is it *confirmation*? Chemnitz opposes it by saying: "The Popish sacrament of confirmation was neither appointed nor dispensed, either by Christ or by the apostles; because it is not mentioned in scripture."¶ Is it *extreme unction*? The same author declares against it, by observing: "That there is neither precept nor precedent for it in the scripture, except so far as relates to the miraculous gift of healing."** Is it their *clerical celibacy*? Mr. Wharton considers the silence of scripture, as the "greatest of all" arguments against it.†† Thus Protestant, at every turn, against Papists.

We will now produce an instance or two of similar conduct among Protestant Dissenters, when disputing with Episcopalians about the hierarchy and rites of the church of England. Is *diocesan Episcopacy* the subject of debate, or of animadversion? Dr. Doddridge says: "The late learned, moderate, and pious Dr. Edmund Calamy observes, that if the apostles had been

used, as some assert, to ordain diocesan bishops in their last visitation, this had been a proper time [when Paul took his leave of the Ephesian elders] to do it; or that, if Timothy had been already ordained bishop of Ephesus, Paul, instead of calling them all *bishops*, would surely have given some hint to enforce Timothy's authority among them. . . . Ignatius would have talked in a very different style and manner on this head."*—Mr. James Owen, thus: "How comes it to pass, when the apostle (Eph. iv. 11.) reckons up the several sorts of ministers which Christ had appointed in his church, that he makes no mention of superior bishops, if they be so necessary as some would have us believe? . . . It is unaccountable that St. Paul should write an epistle to the Ephesians, and not mention their pretended bishop, Timothy, in the whole epistle. . . . It is a certain evidence he was neither bishop there, nor resident there."† Is it the *sign of the cross*, as an attendant on baptism? Mr. Arch. Hall says: "The reader will give me leave to quote the words of Mr. Thomas Bradbury on this point: 'If,' says that excellent person, 'Christ had thought that washing with water was not sufficient without the sign of the cross, *he would have told us so.*'"‡ Thus also Nonconformists reason in various other cases; and thus the most eminent writers in all cases, where the silence of sacred, of ecclesiastical, or of profane authors, can be fairly pleaded against any hypothesis; concerning which no person of reading and of observation is ignorant.

Again: That Protestants of different communions unite in considering negative arguments of this kind as conclusive, may still farther appear by the following instances. Turretinus: "The silence of scripture ought, with us, to have great weight."§ —Bp. Porteus: "Our divine Lawgiver showed his wisdom equally in what he enjoined, and what he left unnoticed. . . . He knew exactly where to be silent, and where to speak."||—Dr. Owen: "The scripture is so absolutely the rule, measure, and boundary of our faith and knowledge in spiritual things, as that what it conceals is instructive, as well as what it expresseth."¶ —Dr. Doddridge: "To be willing to continue ignorant of what our great Master has thought fit to conceal, is no inconsiderable part of Christian learn-

* Panstrat. tom. ii. l. xv. c. xv. § 2. Vid. Dr. Doddridge's Note on 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

† Preserv. against Popery, title iii. p. 231.

‡ Sermon at Salter's Hall, on Veneration of Saints, p. 37.

§ Note on Col. iv. 3. See also his Note on chap. ii. 18.

|| Preserv. against Popery, title i. p. 21.

¶ Exam. Concil. Trid. p. 250.

** Ibid. p. 205.

†† Preserv. against Popery, title i. p. 231.

VOL. I.—E*

* Note, on Acts xx. 25. Vid. his Note on Ephes. iv. 11; and Lectures, proposit. cl. p. 494.

† Plea for Scrip. Ordination, pp. 16, 17, 22. Vid. Turret. loc. xxviii. q. xxi. § 9.

‡ Gospel Worship, vol. i. p. 326. Vid. Turret. Institut. loc. xix. q. xviii. § 3.

§ Ut supra, quest. xxvii. § 19. Vid. q. xxix. § 6, 7; q. xxx. § 6, 7.

|| Sermons, p. 421, edit. 4th.

¶ On Heb. vii. 1, 2, 3, vol. iii. p. 116.

ing.”*—Anonymous: “Protestant divines have ever thought this a sufficient convincing argument, against the fooleries of the Papists; *That Christ hath no where commanded them*; therefore they may justly reject them as unlawful.”†—Anonymous: “To demand more than perpetual silence in these cases is unreasonable; because no satisfactory account can be given of it but this, *That the worship we speak of, was indeed no part of their religion.*‡

In opposition, however, to this capital principle of Protestantism, Mr. Cleaveland says: “It belongs to them [the Baptists] to produce an *express and positive precept*, or command, for the exclusion of infant membership under the New Testament administration of the covenant; and till they can produce such a precept, they act without any warrant or authority from the word of God in refusing to baptize the children of covenanting parents.”§—Mr. Reeves: “Circumcision being changed into baptism without any change of time, that must continue upon the old foot, without some *express command* to the contrary; and therefore there was no occasion for any particular express precept in the gospel for baptizing infants.”||—Dr. Taylor: “We may not say, The apostles did not [baptize infants;] therefore we may not. But thus, they were not *forbidden* to do it; therefore it may be done.”¶—Mr. De Courcy: “Since I find infant baptism not forbidden by any *express prohibition*, I rather think it virtually enjoined by the *very silence* of scripture.”**

Reflecting on these doughty arguments in defence of infant baptism, I am reminded of one that is quite similar, which is used to prove the divine right of tithes; or to “establish,” as Mr. Adair expresses it, “the most *delicious* part of the Jewish law.”†† “We need,” says the author of *The Snake* in the Grass, “no new commandment for [tithes] in the gospel, if they are not *forbidden* and abrogated by Christ.” To which friend Wyeth replies: “If they are not expressly commanded to be continued under the gospel, they are not of force; that law being *temporary*, by which they were commanded, and now expired. It was adapted to the economy of the Jews; made to answer that dispensation. . . . So that an express abrogation of

tithes, in the gospel, was no more necessary than an express repeal of an act of parliament which was but temporary, and would expire of course at the end of that term for which it was appointed.”*

The intelligent reader will easily perceive, that this reasoning applies with all its force to the case before us. For that interest which the infant offspring of Abraham’s descendants had in the Jewish church, being part of a temporary and less perfect economy, must in the very nature of the case be temporary; nor could it, without a new divine charter, have an existence under the gospel dispensation, any more than the divine rite of tithes. To produce a new charter, however, our Brethren do not pretend. As well, therefore, may persons who are manifestly unregenerate plead their title to full communion with any particular church, on the ground of ancient privilege granted by Jehovah to the carnal Israelites, provided they were not guilty of some flagitious evil, or ceremonially unclean; as any contend that infants must be members of the church now, because they were so under the former economy. With equal reason may the professed members of a national church argue from the want of an express prohibition lying against an ecclesiastical constitution of that kind, as any of our opponents require an explicit declaration that the church-membership of infants is now at an end. Such membership is indeed the very basis of national churches; but quite inconsistent with churches of the congregational form. An apostle has taught us, that the ancient “priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.”† That is, as Dr. Owen explains it, “the whole ‘law of commandments contained in ordinances;’ or the whole law of Moses, so far as it was the rule of worship and obedience unto the church; for that law it is that followeth the fates of the priesthood.” We may, therefore, adopt the sacred writer’s principle of reasoning, and say; The constitution of the visible church being manifestly and essentially altered, the law relating to qualifications for communion in it, must of necessity be changed. Consequently, no valid inference can be drawn from the membership of infants under the former dispensation, to a similarity of external privilege under the new covenant.

I shall take the liberty of once more adverting to the article of tithes. *The Snake* in the Grass having asserted, that “there are plain intimations in the gospel;” of tithes being continued; Mr. Wyeth, hav-

* Note on John viii. 6.

† Jerubbaal, p. 163.

‡ Discourse concerning the Worship of the blessed Virgin, pp. 37, 38.

§ Infant Baptism from Heaven, p. 39.

|| Apologies, vol. i. Preface, pp. 17, 18.

¶ In Mr. Leigh’s *Body of Divinity*, b. viii. chap. viii. p. 671.

** Rejoinder, p. 88. See also *Cases to Recover Dissenters*, vol. ii. p. 441. Dr. Lightfoot’s *Horæ Heb. on Matt. iii. 6. cum multis aliis.*

†† *History of the American Indians*, p. 462.

* Switch for the Snake, p. 419, 420,

† Heb. vii. 12.

ing in his hand a convenient *Switch*, gives him the following lash: "*Intimations!* Is it come to that? Must the world be decimated by *intimations*? Does God's right, God's due, God's tithes, depend upon *intimations* at last?"* Excuse me, reader, if I should express my suspicions, that the divine right of tithes, and the *jus divinum* of infant baptism, depend upon similar *intimations*. Or, if you please, they are both, in regard to substantial evidence, like the doctrine of purgatory; which, according to Peter a Soto, though not demonstrated in scripture, is nevertheless *insinuated* there.† We will venture to assert, however, with Dr. Ridgley: "As for the [positive] ordinances, our attendance on them depends on a divine *command*,"‡ or an apostolic example; and not on intimations, or insinuations. There is another particular, or two, in which a likeness appears between the divine right of tithes, and that of infant baptism. For as those who earnestly plead the former are compelled to confess, that the apostolic ministers did not *act* upon it; so the most strenuous patrons of the latter are obliged to acknowledge, that the apostles have not plainly told us, either of our Lord *appointing*, or of themselves *performing* it. . . . As our opposers imagine satisfactory reasons may be given, why the apostles, who are supposed to have baptized vast numbers of children, said nothing expressly about our Lord's command for that purpose, nor concerning their practice of it; so those who feel their interest in decimating the property of their neighbors, can easily assign sufficient causes why the primitive ministers waived that lucrative privilege;§ while they maintain on solid grounds the antiquity of paying tithes, as prior to the Mosaic system; prior to circumcision;|| and, were it not for what some of our learned opposers have said, I should have boldly added prior to the proselyte baptism. But I am aware that antediluvian, and almost paradisiacal antiquity, is claimed for that rabbinical rite.

That our opponents may see whose weapons they use, when attacking us after the manner of Mr. Cleaveland and others, I will transcribe a few lines from a nameless Roman Catholic author. The writer to whom I advert, when addressing Protestants, defies their opposition in the following words. "You cannot show one positive argument against the invocation of saints, either from scripture or from fathers; not one against the doctrine of the real presence, transubstantiation, veneration

of images upon account of their representations; not one against the number of sacraments; not one to prove communion under both kinds to be indispensable: or that children dying without baptism are saved. In a word, you cannot show one positive argument against any one doctrine of our church, if you state it right; all you can say, is, *It does not appear to us out of scripture; it does not appear to us from antiquity.* Show us, you say, *your authentic records, your deeds of gift, your revelation, and we will believe:* as if an uninterrupted possession were not sufficient."* I will now present the reader with this Popish objection, as expressed by Mr. West, and with part of the answer which he returns. Thus then my author: Cavil: "We have brought never a positive scripture, that says, *There is no such place as purgatory*; and a huge outcry is on such occasions taken up against our *negative* way of arguing against a doctrine that they positively profess. . . . Truly, on their part it lies to have given us *positive* and *express* scripture for purgatory, that would impose it on us as a positive article of faith. . . . It seems absurd to provoke to positive express scripture against every chimera that may come into men's heads a thousand years after the scriptures were writ; for so, if any man should assert, especially if many should agree to it, that Mahomet is a true prophet, or that the moon was a mill-stone, or whatever else can be supposed more unlikely; I am bound to subscribe to it, except I can bring particular, positive, express scripture against it."† Thus also Mr. Vincent Alsop: "Amongst all the crafty devices of the devil to induce our grand-mother Eve to eat of the tree of knowledge, and of all the weak excuses of Eve, for eating of that tree, I wonder this was not thought on; *That it was not contrary to any express law of God.* For (Gen. ii. 16, 17,) 'God commanded the MAN, saying, Of every tree of the garden THOU mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat.' But it seems the devil had not learnt the sophistry to evade the precept, because the express law was given to the *man*, and not to the *woman*. . . . It had been impossible that all negatives should be expressed, *Thou shalt not stand upon thy head; Thou shalt not wear a fool's coat; Thou shalt not play at dice, or cards, in the worship of God;* but thus [by pleading the want of an express prohibition] he [Dr. Goodman] thinks he has made good provision for a safe conformity to the ceremonies; because it is

* Switch for the Snake, p. 417.

† Apud Chemnitium, Exam. Concil. Trident. p. 562.

‡ Bol. of Div. quest. ca. p. 509.

§ See Mr. Bingham's Orig. Eccles. b. v. chap. v. § 2.

|| Gen. xiv. 20; Heb. vii. 4, 6, 9.

* Vindict. of Bishop of Condom's Exp. of Doct. of Cath. Church, p. 111, 112.

† Morning Exercise against Popery, p. 530.

not said, *Thou shalt not use the cross in baptism; Thou shalt not use cream, oil, spittle; Thou shalt not conjure out the devil.* At which back-door came in all the superstitious fopperies of Rome. And with this passport we may travel all over the world; from Rome to the Porte, from thence amongst the Tartars and Chinese, and conform to all; for perhaps we shall not meet with one constitution that contradicts an *express* law of scripture.*

Reflect. VII. Many were the positive rites ordained by Jehovah, in the ancient Jewish church; some of which were intended for the people at large, and others for particular characters among them. There is not however, that I remember, a single instance of any ritual service designed for persons of a particular description; and of those persons, whether priests, Levites, or others, being under a necessity of inferring their interest in that service by a chain of reasoning from remote principles. No, the persons whose duty it was to regard the rite, were plainly described, as well as the manner of performing it; so that the most ignorant among them, as far as we can perceive, were at no loss in that respect. Nor have we any reason to think that the positive laws of the New Testament are less easy to be understood, than those of the Jewish economy. Dr. Owen, however, seems to have been of this opinion when he said, "Every thing in scripture is so plain as that the meanest believer may understand all that belongs unto his duty or is necessary unto his happiness . . . There can be no instance given of any obscure place or passage in the scripture, concerning which a man may rationally suppose or conjecture, that there is any doctrinal truth requiring our obedience contained in it, which is not elsewhere explained."† Thus also Mr. W. Bennet: "What is the rule of all instituted worship? The revealed will of God only; who hath given us a *full* discovery thereof, in all things necessary for our faith and practice, by his word."‡

To imagine, therefore, that the first positive rite of religious worship in the Christian church, is left in so vague a state as Pædobaptism supposes, is not only contrary to the analogy of divine proceedings in similar cases, but renders it morally impossible for the bulk of Christians to discern the real grounds on which the ordinance is administered. For, doubtless, a great majority of those who profess Christianity, are quite incapable of entering into several subjects, the discussion of which is

found so necessary by learned men, in order to establish the right of infants to baptism. On this plan of proceeding, a plain unlettered man, with the New Testament only in his hand though sincerely desirous of learning from his Lord what baptism is, and to whom it belongs, is not furnished with sufficient documents to form a conclusion. No; he must study the records of Moses, and well understand the covenant made with Abraham, as the father of the Jewish nation. Stranger still! he must, according to the opinion of many, become a disciple of those who are the humble pupils of Jewish rabbies—of those learned authors who, being well versed in the writings of Maimonides, and in the volumes of the Talmud, imagine themselves to have imported into the Christian church a great stock of intelligence concerning the mind of Christ, relative to the proper subjects of baptism. For it is thence only he is able to learn, that the children of proselytes were baptized along with their parents, when admitted members of the Jewish church; and thence also he must infer, that our Lord condescended to borrow of his enemies an important ordinance of religious worship for his own disciples. Nor is this all: He must study the antiquated rite of circumcision; he must know to whom it belonged, and the reasons why: then he must compare it with baptism, in this, that, and the other particular; after which he must draw a genuine inference, respecting the point in hand. Nor has he yet performed the arduous task. For, as the New Testament says nothing expressly about the object of his enquiry, he must sift the meaning of several passages in sacred writ that say not a word about it, in order to find that infants, of a certain description, are entitled to baptism. For instance: He must consider 1 Cor. vii. 14, in a very particular manner. Here he must settle what is meant by the word *sanctified*, and by the term *holy*. He must accurately distinguish between the holiness attributed to the *child*, and the sanctification ascribed to the *unbelieving parent*; so as to give the infant a right, which the parent has not, in a positive institution of Jesus Christ. When all this is duly performed, he must fortify his mind against the objections to which this fine-spun theory is liable. He must enquire, for example, so as to satisfy his own conscience, Why, when our Lord gave commission to teach and baptize,* why, when his apostles required a profession of faith from those whom they did baptize, no exception was made in favor of infants: and, by a train of reasoning, he must at

* Sober Enquiry, p. 345, 346.

† Ways and Means of Understand. Mind. of God pp. 176, 183.

‡ View of Relig. Worship. quest. viii. See Preface, pp. 1—6.

* So the Papists are justly charged by Mr. Hurst, with representing Peter as *thinking* one thing, and *writing* another.—*Morning Exercises against Popery*, p. 55.

last infer, that, so far as appears, they meant what they never said, nor ever did. Such is the roundabout logical labor which the ploughman has to perform, if he would not pin his faith on the sleeve of the learned.

But if, on the other hand, we consider positive precepts and apostolic examples as the *only* rule of administering baptism; if we consider evangelists and apostles as recording, plainly recording, all that our Lord meant us to know concerning this institution; the labor of the most illiterate, who can read his own language, is both short and easy. For the New Testament being the only book he wants to give him a complete idea of baptism, he has nothing to do but to open that sacred volume; consult a few express commands and plain examples; consider the natural and proper sense of the words; and then, without the aid of commentators, or the help of critical acumen, he may safely decide on the question before him: because, our opponents themselves being judges, we have in that code of divine law and history of apostolic practice, both express commands and express examples for baptizing such as profess faith in Jesus Christ, but NONE ELSE.

When these things are duly considered we shall not wonder that learned and eminent Pædobaptists have expressed themselves as follows. Lord Brooke, for instance, has made the ensuing acknowledgment: "To those that hold we may go no farther than scripture, for doctrine or discipline, it may be very easy to err in this point now in hand [i. e. infant baptism;] since the scripture seems not to have clearly determined this particular."* Mr. Baxter: "If the very baptism of infants itself, be so *dark* in the scripture, that the controversy is thereby become so *hard* as we find it; then, to prove not only their baptism, but a new distinct end of their baptism, will be a hard task indeed."† N. B. This acknowledgment is contained in his book, entitled, Plain Scripture Proof of Infants' Church-membership and Baptism. Dr. Wall: "At what age the children of Christians should be baptized, whether in infancy, or to stay till the age of reason, is not so clearly delivered, but that it admits of a dispute that has considerable perplexities in it."‡ Mr. Henry: "There are difficulties in this controversy, which may puzzle the minds of well-meaning Christians."§ Dr. Isaac Watts: "Though there be no such express and plain commands or examples of it [infant baptism] written in scripture, as we might have expected; yet there are several

inferences to be drawn from what is written, which afford a just and reasonable encouragement to this practice, and guard it from the censure of superstition and will-worship."* Anonymous: "In the controversy about infant baptism, the enquiry ought not to be, Whether Christ hath commanded infants to be baptized? but Whether he hath excluded them from baptism?"† Thus also the very learned and excellent Vitringa: "He, in my opinion, that would argue prudently against the Anabaptists, should not state the point in controversy thus; Whether infants born of Christian parents, ought necessarily to be baptized? but, Whether it be lawful, according to the Christian discipline, to baptize them? Or, what evil is there in the ceremony of baptizing infants?"‡ These extracts remind me of a remarkable interview between Saul and Samuel. The former, when recent from his expedition against Amalek, said; "I have performed the commandment of the Lord." To which the venerable prophet replied, "What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear?"§ So, in the present case, these respectable authors would fain persuade us that they perform the will of the Lord when they sprinkle infants. But if so, we may ask, What mean these *concessions* and *cautions* which we hear? Do they not betray a conviction of some capital defect in the foundation upon which Pædobaptists proceed? Yes, the two last of these learned authors especially, were keenly sensible that Pædobaptism is tender ground; and that whoever walks upon it had need be careful how he treads.

Reflect. VIII. We are taught by various learned pens, that the practice of John, surnamed the Baptist, and the qualifications required of those persons for whom our Lord intended the ordinance, unite in excluding infants from a participation of it. Riissenius, for instance, in answer to this objection; "John admitted no one to baptism, except he confessed his sins;" replies as follows: "His business was with adults, that were to be baptized and called to the Christian church; but it does not thence follow, that the same thing should have place in respect of infants, who are already in the church."||—Anonymous: "The baptism [of John] belongs not properly to infants: for, first, it is a baptism of repentance, of which infants are not capable; secondly, it is for remission of sins, which therefore imply actual sins, whereas infants are only guilty of original sin, and

* On Episcopacy, sect. ii. chap. vii. p. 97.

† Plain Scrip. Proof, p. 301.

‡ Hist. Inf. Bap. part. ii. chap. xi. p. 547.

§ Treatise on Bap. p. 70.

* Berry Street Sermons, vol. ii. p. 180, 185.

† Cases to Recover Dissenters, vol. ii. p. 405.

‡ Observat. Sac. tom. i. l. ii. c. vii. § 9.

§ 1 Sam. xv. 13, 14.

|| Sum. Theolog. loc. xvii. p. 713.

that is but one.”*—Turretin: “John admitted none to baptism, but those who confessed their sins; because his business was to baptize the adult.”†—Dr. Whithy: “It is not to be wondered, that infants were not baptized during John’s ministry; because the baptism then used by John and Christ’s disciples, was only the baptism of repentance, and faith in the Messiah which was for to come, of both which infants were incapable.”‡—Thomas Lawson: “Faith and repentance were the qualifications of such as were admitted to John’s baptism.”§ Thus that impartial Friend.

That the *qualifications* required of those for whom our Lord intended the ordinance, do not agree to an infantile state, appears from the declarations of many others. The celebrated Cocceius, for instance, informs us; “That sacraments, properly speaking, were instituted for believers, and given to them, (Rom. iv. 11;) that is, for those ‘who hunger and thirst after righteousness.’”||

—The language of Limborch is remarkably strong. “The subject of baptism,” says that learned Arminian, “to whom it is to be administered, is a believer; one who is endued with a true faith in Jesus Christ, and touched with a serious repentance for his past offences.”¶—Meierus thus: “None have a title to baptism, but such as profess faith and the true religion.”**—Doutin: “To whom ought baptism to be administered? Only to believers, or those that may be considered as such, (Matt. xxviii. 19; Acts viii. 37.)”††

—Turretin: “Faith, devotion, and an internal exercise of the mind, are required to the efficacy of a sacrament; because the scripture expressly asserts it, (Mark xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xi. 27; Acts ii. 37, 38;) because without faith it is impossible to please God, (Heb. xi. 6;) and because the promise as contained in the sacraments, and faith, are correlates.”‡‡—Calvin: “From the sacrament of baptism, as from all others, we obtain nothing except so far as we receive it in faith.”§§—Dr. Doddridge: “I think that illumination as well as regeneration, in the most important and scriptural sense of the words, were regularly to precede the administration of that ordinance,” i. e. baptism.||||—Mr. Jonathan Edwards: “That baptism, by which the primitive converts were admitted into the church, was used as an exhibition and to-

ken, and exhibition of their being visibly regenerated, dead to sin; as is evident by Rom. vi. throughout. . . . He [the apostle] does not mean only that their baptism laid them under special obligations to these things, and was a mark and token of their engagement to be thus hereafter; but was designed as a mark, token, and exhibition of their being visibly thus already. . . . There are some duties of worship that imply a *profession* of God’s covenant; whose very nature and design is an exhibition of those vital active principles and inward exercises, wherein the condition of the covenant of grace [consists.] Such are the Christian sacraments; whose very design is to make and confirm a profession of compliance with that covenant, and whose very nature is to exhibit or express those uniting acts of the soul.”*

—Venema: “Faith and repentance, are pre-required in baptism. He who presents himself as a candidate for baptism, professes by that very act, to be a Christian; declares himself to have passed into the discipline of Christ. Hence Philip said, ‘If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest,’ (Acts viii. 37.) The command of Peter was, ‘Repent and be baptized,’ (Acts ii. 38;) the effect of which was, that they who gladly and sincerely believed his gospel were baptized. . . . In baptism, therefore, we have a sign and testimony of *present* regeneration; and in regard to the person baptized, a public demonstration of it.”†—Mr. Thomas Boston gives us, not only his own views of the subject, but those also of Mr. Rutherford and of Ursinus, in the following words. “The sacraments are not converting, but confirming ordinances; they are appointed for the use and benefit of God’s children, not of others; they are given to believers, as believers, as Rutherford expresseth it, so that none other are capable of the same before the Lord. . . . Ursin, upon that question, *Who ought to come to the supper?* tells us, the sacraments are appointed for the faithful and converted *ONLY*, to seal the promise of the gospel to them, and confirm their faith.”‡—Dr. Goodwin: “Baptism supposeth regeneration sure in itself first. Sacraments are never administered for to begin or work grace; you suppose children to believe before you baptize them. Read all the Acts, still it is said, *They believed* and were baptized. I could give you a multitude of places for it.”§—“There are, or may be, innumerable persons baptized externally with water,” says Hoornbeekius, “who yet are not real Christians;

* Nonconformists’ Advocate, p. 43.

† Institut. loc. xix. quæst. xxii. § 14.

‡ Annotat. on Matt. xix. 13, 14.

§ Baptismalogia, p. 108.

¶ Sum. Doct. de Fœd. c. vi. § 209.

** Syst. Div. b. v. chap. xxii. § 2.

†† Biblioth. Brem. class. iv. p. 169.

‡‡ Scheme of Div. Truths, p. 260.

§§ Institut. loc. xix. q. viii. § 12.

|||| Institut. l. iv. c. xv. § 15.

|| Note on Heb. vi. 4.

* Enquiry in Qualif. for full Commun. pp. 20, 114, 115.

† Dissertat. Sac. l. ii. c. xiv. § 4.

‡ Works, pp. 384, 385.

§ Works, vol. i. part. i. p. 200.

neither were they rightly baptized, because they were unbelievers; nor can they justly be said to have baptism, not that which Christ appointed. . . . Without faith, water baptism cannot by any means be lawful; for the command is, *believe*, first; then also, and not otherwise, *be baptized*. 'He that believeth and is baptized,' (Mark xvi. 16.) 'Then they that gladly received his word were baptized,' (Acts ii. 41.) 'If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest be baptized,' (Acts viii. 37; xvi. 31, 33.)* — "A profession of faith," says Dr. Waterland, "was from the beginning always required of some persons before baptism. We have plain examples of, and allusions to, something of that kind, even in scripture itself, (Acts viii. 12, 37; 1 Pet. iii. 21.) Upon these instances the Christian church proceeded."† — "Faith and repentance were the great things required," says Dr. Watts, "of those that were admitted to baptism. This was the practice of John, this the practice of the apostles, in the history of their ministry, (Matt. iii.; Acts ii. 38, xix. 4, and viii. 37.) . . . Those who are baptized, are professed Christians; they are avowed disciples of Christ."‡ — Anonymous: "Sacraments are administered only to those, who either have faith, or pretend to have it."§ — Once more: Dr. Erskine says, "I have fully shown, that the seals of the covenant are, under the New Testament, peculiar to the inwardly pious."|| That these authors had any intention to impeach the propriety of infant baptism, is not pretended; but whether the natural import of their language be quite consistent with it, the reader will judge.

Reflect. IX. Some of these authors imagine that Pædobaptism is lawful, though it be not commanded. But here they seem to forget that baptism is a positive rite, and that when practised it is as an act of divine worship. A precept therefore, or an example, must be necessary to warrant the performance of it; and consequently to authorize its administration to any description of persons whatever. Whether infants only; whether all infants, or only some; and if the latter, whether none but the children of church-members, or of all that appear to be converted; or, finally, whether those persons only profess faith in Jesus Christ, should be baptized; are things which lie entirely at the sovereign pleasure of the great Institutor. His will, which is always perfectly wise and good, is the sole determiner here. Now as we cannot know his divine

pleasure unless it be revealed; as every intimation of his pleasure is attended with divine authority; and as the whole of his revealed will is contained in scripture; if the sacred page exhibit no command for Pædobaptism, nor any example of it, the lawfulness of baptizing infants must be a mere surmise, a conjecture without probability. For not to urge the common arguments against Popish superstition; and waiving that excellent maxim of Ambrose before mentioned, "Who shall speak where the scripture is silent?" I would only demand, whether the performance of a religious rite, in the name of *JEHOVAH*, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, can be lawful, if the divine Majesty have not appointed it? It is clear, Mr. James Owen thought it was not; because in a similar case he says, "It is a plain profanation of God's holy name, and of a great and holy ordinance, by lying and taking God's name in vain."* So Chemnitius, having informed us that the unction used in the Popish sacrament of confirmation, is performed in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, says, "If the divine name be employed without the injunction of God, it is an offence against the second command; which offence is the more aggravated, in proportion as the affects attributed to that which has neither the command nor the promise of God, are supposed to be the more excellent."† Or is the name of *HIM* who is *a consuming fire* so cheap, that we may borrow its most venerable sanction to dignify and adorn our own inventions? Surely, if the performance of any thing either does or can require the most explicit divine authority, it must be that which, if performed at all, should be expressly done *in the name of the great Supreme*. A requisition to administer baptism in that most holy name, implies the strongest prohibition of performing it in any manner, or on any subject, different from what is required by the law of administration. In this case, *may* and *must* are the same thing; agreeably to the following words of Mr. Baxter: "We enquire whether we either *must*, or *may*, baptize such; and suppose that the *licet* and the *oportet* do here go together: so that what we *may* do, we *must* do, supposing our own call; as, no doubt, what we *must* do, we *may* do."‡ Thus also Dr. Owen: "What men have a *right* to do in the church by God's institution, that they have a *command* to do."§ If then the law proceeding, in this case made and provided, require that infants should partake of the institution; we undoubtedly *must* act a con-

* Socin. Confut. tom. iii. pp. 334, 339.

† Eight Serms. p. 317, edit. 2nd.

‡ Berry Street Sermon. vol. ii. p. 177, 178.

§ In Mr. Baxter's Disput. of Right to Sac. p. 245.

|| Theolog. Dissertations, p. 82.

* Validity of Dissenting Ministry, p. 113.

† Exam. Council. Trident. p. 248, 253.

‡ Disputat. on Right to Sacram. p. 42.

§ Or. Heb. vii. 4, 5, 6; vol. iii. p. 127.

demnable part in withholding it from them. If, on the contrary, that divine rubric, that sacred canon, confine all that is said of it to such as profess in the Son of God; our opponents, for the same reason, must be highly culpable: because their practice restrains it almost entirely to such as lie under a natural incapacity of professing repentance and faith. Nor do we imagine any of them will say, with some of the Popish casuists, That a practise is innocent, because it is customary.*

We are frequently charged with being extremely fond of getting people into the water; but whether it be really so, I leave the impartial to judge. We, however may say this for ourselves: that we never immerse a person in the sublimity of all names, without his *consent*; no, nor yet without his *explicit request*: whereas, those who lodge the complaint against us are well aware, that it would in general be very absurd for them to ask the consent of those whom they sprinkle in the same glorious name, because they are certain it could not be granted. Besides, they consider the consent of a parent, or of a proxy, as quite sufficient, though the subject of the ordinance be ever so reluctant.

Farther: Positive laws imply their negative. A command from undoubted authority to perform an action in such a manner, and on such a subject, must be considered as prohibiting a different manner, and a different subject. So, for instance, when God commanded Abraham to circumcise his male posterity, on the eighth day; there was no necessity that a prohibition should be annexed, relating to any similar ceremony which might have been performed on females; nor to expressly forbid the circumcision of a finger, instead of the foreskin; nor to say in so many words, It shall not be performed on the seventh day; those positive precepts, "Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, he that is eight days old shall be circumcised," plainly implying the forementioned prohibitions. So when Jehovah commanded the Israelites to take a lamb a male of the first year, for the paschal feast, there was no need to forbid the choice of a ewe lamb, nor yet a ram of the second or third year. So likewise, when Paul, speaking of the sacred supper, says, "Let a man EXAMINE HIMSELF, and so let him eat," there was no necessity of adding, Those who *cannot* examine themselves *ought not to eat*. Thus in regard to the ordinance before us. Our Lord having given a commission to baptize those that are taught without saying any thing elsewhere, by way of precept or of example, concerning such

being included in that commission as are not instructed; there was necessity for him to prohibit the baptizing those who are not taught; much less to forbid the baptizing of infants, that cannot be taught, in order to render the baptism of them unlawful. We may safely conclude, therefore that though negative arguments in various cases have no force; yet in positive worship and ritual duty, they are, they must be valid. Otherwise, it will be impossible to vindicate the divine conduct in punishing the sons of Aaron, for *offering strange fire*; or Uzziah, for *touching the ark*; seeing neither the one or the other of these particulars was expressly forbidden.

Remarkably strong to our purpose, are the words of Dr. Owen, on Heb. i. 5: "An argument taken negatively," says he, "from the authority of the scripture in matters of faith, or what relates to the worship of God, is valid and effectual, and here consecrated for ever to the use of the church by the apostle." And on those words: *Our Lord sprang out of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning the priesthood*: the same excellent author says: "This silence of Moses in this matter, the apostle takes to be a sufficient argument to prove that the legal priesthood did not belong, nor could be transferred unto, the tribe of Judah. And the grounds hereof are resolved into this general maxim: That whatever is not revealed and appointed in the worship of God, by God himself, is to be considered as nothing, yea, as that which is to be rejected. And such he conceived to be the evidence of this maxim, that he chose rather to argue from the silence of Moses in general, than from the particular prohibition that none, who was not of the posterity of Aaron, should approach unto the priestly office. So God himself condemneth some instances of false worship on this ground. That he never *appointed* them; that they never *came into his heart*; and thence aggravates the sin of the people, rather than from the *particular prohibition* of them (Jer. vii. 31.)"

That it may still farther appear we are not led by mere hypothesis thus to reason and thus to conclude, I will present my reader with an extract from another learned Pædobaptist and an able writer who adopts the principle on which we argue in the present case, and considers it as applicable to laws and duties in general. "Since office or duty," says Heineccius, "means an action conformable to law, it is plain that duty cannot be conceived without a law, that he does not perform a duty who imposes on himself what no law commands; that an action ceases to be duty, when the law, or the reason of the law ceases; and that when a law extends to certain persons only,

* See Mr. Clarkson's Pract. Div. of Papists, pp. 327, 378.

of two persons who do the same action, the one performs his duty, and the others acts contrary to his duty.* To all which I may add, unless the principle of reasoning here adopted be just, the arguments of Protestants against unscriptural ceremonies in the Romish communion, will almost universally fail of proving the several points for which they were produced.

Reflect. X. Mr. Edward Williams, convinced there is no express precept, nor plain example for infant baptism in the New Testament, endeavors to evade the force of our arguments in the following manner: "Whatever there may be in the ordinance of baptism of a *positive* consideration, there is nothing relative to the *subjects* of it so merely positive as to be independent on all moral grounds; nay farther, whatever relates to the qualifications of the subjects, is of a nature *entirely* moral; and to say otherwise must imply a contradiction. Baptism, therefore, is an ordinance of a *mixed* nature, partly positive and partly moral. As far as this, or any such ordinance, partakes of a *moral* nature, the reason and design of the law, or if you please the *spirit* of it, is our rule of duty; and only so far as it partakes of a positive nature is the letter of the law our rule. As what relates to the qualification of the subjects is of *moral* consideration, we are necessitated to seek in them the reason and intention of the command; but infants partaking of the great *primary* qualification, which the evident design of the ordinance requires, ought to be baptized; and it must imply a breach of duty in a minister to decline it. To argue on this principle; *Baptism is a positive rite, and therefore ought to be express, full, and circumstantial*; is, on the principles, concessions, and practice of Antipædobaptists, demonstrably fallacious. For the law of baptism is evidently in *fact*, not circumstantial and determinate; and therefore is not, cannot be an institution *entirely* positive."†

Baptism then according to Mr. Williams, is of a *mixed* nature; an ordinance, partly moral and partly positive. This, to me, is a new idea; for, of all the writers quoted in this work, of all the authors I have perused, not one occurs to remembrance who has thus represented baptism. Nor do I suppose Mr. Maurice's annotator would have adopted the singular notion, if he had not felt himself embarrassed by the want of both precept and precedent for infant baptism. If, however, the evidence produced be valid, the novelty of his notion is not material. His principal reason in favor of the position is; "Whatever belongs to the qualifications of the subjects is *entirely* moral." But will this prove that

baptism is not, strictly speaking, a *positive* institute? Will it not apply with all its force to the Lord's supper? On this principle, we have no ordinance *entirely* positive under the new economy; because it is plain the qualifications for that appointment are chiefly of the moral kind. Many are those theological writers who have more or less treated on positive institutions; some of whose books I have seen and perused with care: but I do not recollect any author, who so defines or describes a religious appointment merely positive, as to exclude every idea of what is moral from the qualifications of its proper subjects. To constitute any branch of religious duty purely positive, it is enough that the rite itself, the manner of performing it, the qualifications of the subject, the end to be answered by it, and the term of its continuance, depend entirely on the sovereign pleasure of our divine Legislator. The *nature* of the qualifications, whether moral or not, makes no part of those *criteria* by which the definition of a positive rite should be directed. Consequently, baptism is a positive institute; and therefore, by his own acknowledgment, the *letter* of the law must be the rule of its administration, both as to mode and subject.*

Whatever belongs to the qualifications of the subjects is ENTIRELY moral. Agreed: it must be allowed, however, that those qualifications are absolutely dependant on the sovereign pleasure of God. But how should an infant, of a few days or of a month old, be a partaker of such qualifications, to render it a proper subject of baptism? Or, supposing such qualifications to exist, by what means are they to be discovered? What is there discernible, that can with propriety be called *moral*, in one that is not capable of moral agency? Morality, in all its branches, is nothing but the discharge of moral obligation; or, a conformity of heart and of life to the rule of duty. Of this, it is manifest, mere infants are naturally incapable. On whatever ground, therefore, Mr. Williams fixes the right of infants to baptism, I do not see how it either is or can be of a *moral* nature. Parents may have the requisite moral qualifications for the ordinance; but I cannot conceive how their new-born offspring, for whom our author pleads as proper subjects of the rite, should be so qualified; and yet he maintains, that "whatever belongs to the qualifications of the subjects is *ENTIRELY* moral." This respectable annotator is here guilty if I may so express it, of logical *fe-lo-de-se*; for his argument subverts the cause it was intended to serve, and proves the reverse of what he designed.

* System of Universal Law, b. i. chap. v. § 121.

† Notes on Mr. Maurice's Social Religion, pp. 63, 69.

* See Part I. Chap. I. No. 1—20.

Infants partake of the great primary qualification which the design of the ordinance requires, and therefore should be baptized. *Infants*—what, in general? Of all mankind? He will not, I presume, assert it. Or if he did, his argument would be equally feeble. I take it for granted, however, that he means the infants of professed believers. But there is no more of a moral temper, or of a moral conduct, in the mere infant of a real Christian, than there is in that of a Jew, or of a Turk. Besides, Mr. Williams himself has opposed the notion of hereditary grace.* If then the infants he means be descended from parents of a certain description, their qualifications must be derived from those parents, whoever they be; consequently, not from any thing moral in themselves. But our author's position requires that the infants themselves possess moral qualifications, to render them the subjects of baptism. What that "great primary qualification" is which infants have, he has not informed us; nor will I indulge conjecture: but I may venture to say, that it is not their being *taught*; that it is not *repentance*; that it is not *faith*; that it is not a *profession* of the one or the other. Consequently, whatever it be, it is not that which John the Baptist required; it is not that which the evangelist Philip required; nor is it that which our Lord in his commission appointed; and if so, it is not the *primitive* qualification, whatever else it may be.

Our annotator speaks with a decisive tone when he adds; *The law of baptism is evidently and in fact not circumstantial and determinate, and therefore cannot be an institution entirely positive.* The *LAW of baptism*. Then some specific action, called *baptism*, is absolutely and in earnest required by it; contrary to what he maintains in another place, on which we have already animadverted. This divine law, however, is *not circumstantial*; is *not determinate*. In one of his notes, to which I have just adverted, he would fain persuade us, that the meaning of our Lord, in his enacting term *baptize*, is not now understood with precision, even by the most eminent authors; and therefore he is of opinion, that persons concerned in the administration should have it performed according to their own mind; which, to be sure, is the way for every one to be *pleased*, whether Jesus Christ be obeyed or not. Now he tells us, with an air of assurance, that this law of the Lord is, "not circumstantial and determinate," with regard to the *subjects* of the institution. According to him, therefore, nothing is plain, determinate, or certain, relating to either the mode or the

subject. Aristotle is reported to have said, of some of his works, "*Edita quasi non edita*; so published as not to be made public, by reason of their obscurity."[†] Just such, according to our author, is the promulgation of the heavenly statute under consideration. But what a representation this, of a positive divine law! If Mr. Williams be right, one might almost as well study John viii. 6, 8, to know what our Lord *wrote on the ground*, as endeavor to penetrate his meaning in the law of baptism. When I consider the language of our annotator on another occasion, I do not see how he can steadily believe any thing at all relating to this positive institute. For he declares, in the passage to which I refer, That "nothing should be considered as an established principle of faith, which is not in some part of scripture delivered with *perspicuity*"[‡] The baptismal command, therefore, being so indeterminate and so obscure, in regard to both mode and subject, he ought, on his own principle, to be silent about it. How much more agreeable is the language of Mr. Vincent Alsop, when he says; "The law of Christ was as perfect as his discoveries. He has told us as fully and clearly what we should *do*, as what we should *believe*. He that may invade the royal office, upon pretence there are not laws enow, [or not sufficiently clear,] for the government [or worship] of the church may, with equal appearance of reason, invade the prophetic office too, upon pretence there are not revelations now for its instruction."[‡] Though I take it for granted that Mr. Williams is not a stranger to the Popish controversy, relating to positive ordinances of holy worship, yet I cannot help thinking that he quite overlooked it, when penning his notes concerning baptism; because that want of perspicuity and of precision, which he charges on a positive law, is much more becoming the creed of a Papist, than that of a Protestant Dissenter.

That the law of baptism is neither *circumstantial* nor *determinate*, in favor of the present prevailing custom, is cheerfully granted; for it says nothing at all about pouring or sprinkling water upon infants: nor does the history of baptismal practice in the apostolic churches. But is this any proof that the law itself is not explicit, either as to mode or subject? Mr. Maurice's annotator seems to have assumed, as a principle, *That infants are to be baptized*: but applying this principle to the law of baptism, he soon perceives a disagreement between them. Then, instead of renouncing the principle as false, he im-

* History of Popery, vol. ii. p. 468.

† Notes on Social Religion, p. 368.

‡ Sober Enquiry, p. 12.

* See Part II Chap. IV. Sect. IV. § ii. No. 11.

peaches the law as obscure. Take but the commanding terms* of the heavenly statute in their natural, primary, obvious meaning; and I appeal to impartiality, whether the law of baptism be not as plain as that of the holy supper. If indeed our Lord intended infants to be baptized, and if he designed to publish that intention by his evangelists,† the law of baptism might well be considered as vague and obscure. But this, we contend, is not the case; as it is inconsistent with the nature of a positive institution, impeaches the legislative character of Jesus Christ, and enervates the arguments of Protestants against Papal superstition. See Part I. Chap. I. No. 4, 8, 12, 13, 20. Reflect. II. III.

Farther: That neither infants nor adults have any thing to do with baptism as a religious rite, except in virtue of divine institution, will be acknowledged. If, therefore, infants *jure divino*, be entitled to baptism, it must be because the institution itself gives them that right, of which it makes an essential part. Now, of what nature the institution is, and to whom it relates, cannot be known, unless by the formula of it,‡ or by the practice of the apostles. But that neither the right of infants to the ordinance, nor their participation of it, is plainly mentioned, either in the words of the institution, or in the history of apostolic practice, is readily granted by our opposers. Must we then suppose that an essential part, nay, according to modern custom, the principal part of the institution was passed over in silence by evangelists and apostles, and left in obscurity for posterity to infer by a train of consequences? Chamier, I remember, when opposing the pretended necessity of mixing the eucharistical wine with water, and when pleading the silence of the New Testament, says: "No one maintains the necessity of mixing wine with water on the ground of divine institution; unless the evangelists and Paul were traitors, who passed over in silence a part of the institution so useful and so important."§ Now is any thing said concerning infants, in the baptismal appointment, any more than about water, in the institution of the holy supper? Supposing it should be objected, "There was no occasion for children to be mentioned in the divine command, because it was then common for them to partake of the proselyte baptism." It would be easy to answer, There is abundantly more ground to conclude, that it was customary among the ancient Jews, in their convivial entertainments, to mix the wine with water, than any one has to assert, that the proselyte baptism was of so

early a date; as will appear in its proper place. If, therefore, the institution of baptism comprehended infants, why may not our Lord's appointment of the sacred supper include that mixture for which the Papists plead? Consequently, supposing infants to have been comprehended by our Lord in his baptismal institution, and admitting the observation of Chamier to be just; the severity of his remark will equally apply to such evangelists as professedly recorded the divine appointment of baptism, as to that particular for which it was designed. That Christ, in his institution, should order infants to be baptized, and the evangelists not be inclined to mention it; or that, with a full intention to inform us of it, they should use such language as they do, in recording the appointment, are to me *alike incredible*.

Mr. Williams farther says: "Should any ask me why, as a Christian minister, I baptize an infant? I can truly answer, that I have the *very same reason* for doing it that John the Baptist had for baptizing penitent sinners, in Jordan and Enon; the *same* reason that Jesus, by the ministry of his apostles, had for baptizing a still greater multitude; and, finally, the *same* reason that our Baptist brethren have, or ought to have, and which they profess to have, in the general tenour of their practice, for baptizing adults."* But why distinguish between penitent sinners, and those adults of whom he speaks? for Mr. Williams either knows, or might have known, that we do not baptize adults because of their age, but because they *profess repentance*. Or does he mean to distinguish between penitent adults and penitent infants? Again: Why did not the annotator inform us, what that "very same reason" is, of which he speaks? Had he done this, we might, perhaps, have concluded with some degree of precision, whether there be that identity of reason for him to baptize an infant, as there was for John, and for the apostles, to baptize penitent sinners. That reason however, is not specified, nor is there any thing but mere assertion; on which account we cannot forbear to hesitate. It is indeed extremely singular, that he should speak of "the *very same reason*; the *same—the same*;" and yet leave us entirely to conjecture what that reason is. It brings to remembrance the following words of an old Nonconformist, when contending with Papists: "*Jure Divino*," saith the Canonist, "*by divine right*;" but the Canonist who saith it, hath the wit to let us seek the text."† Pleasing it is to think, that, in the judgment of this opponent, we

* Μαθητευσατε and βαπτισθητε

† Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15, 16.

§ Panstrat. lomm. iv. l. vi. c. iii. § 23.

‡ Ibid.

* Notes on Social Religi. p. 68.

† Morning Exercise against Popery, p. 72.

baptize persons on "the very reason," or ground, as that upon which the harbinger of Christ and all the apostles proceeded, when administering the sacred rite: but we have our suspicions whether Mr. Williams "can truly" say this, with regard to his pouring or sprinkling water upon any infant. John, it appears, received a commission from heaven to baptize those who made a credible profession of repentance; and this we consider as "the reason" of his baptizing penitent sinners. But has our opposer a divine command for baptizing an infant that cannot repent? John, it is plain, frowned upon some who came for his baptism, because they gave no evidence of repentance. Does Mr. Williams reject any infants for that "very reason?" The apostles received an express order to "teach all nations," by preaching "the gospel to every creature;" and to baptize those that were taught—so taught as to believe in Jesus Christ. This we consider as "the very reason" of their baptismal conduct. But has our Pædobaptist Brother any divine injunction to baptize those who cannot be taught, by either preaching or conversation, and who are equally incapable of believing? The Baptists profess to act on the united ground of divine precept and apostolic example, in baptizing those, and only those who make a credible declaration of repentance and faith, without regard to age or any other circumstance. But is this "the very reason," or the single ground, on which Mr. Williams proceeds, when he baptizes an infant?

Farther: Why, in the name of consistency, why should this opponent speak with such assurance of having "the very same reason" for baptizing an infant, which John and the apostles had for baptizing a multitude of penitent sinners? while it is clear, from his own confession, that he does not know what our Lord meant by his command to baptize. Nay, so sensible is he of his own ignorance in this respect, and so suspicious that a want of certainty is now become universal; that he thinks it quite reasonable for the parties concerned, to use the water as they may think proper. See Part I. Chap. II. Reflect. IX. His reasoning admits, indeed that the apostles perfectly understood the mind of our Lord, in his commanding term, *baptize*; and as they were fully disposed to perform his will, we may safely conclude that they administered the ordinance to one and another; for "the very same reason." But as every mode of using water cannot be baptism, any more than it can be sprinkling; as that only can be real baptism which our Lord appointed, in distinction from every other action; and as Mr. Williams acknowledges his ignorance of what the Lawgiver intend-

ed by the enacting word *baptize*; he must act upon a conjecture extremely shrewd and uncommonly happy, if at any time he really baptize an infant for "the very same reason" that John or the apostles baptized multitudes of penitent sinners. The very same form of words might, indeed, be used by him; whether, with John, he plunged a penitent in Jordan, or sprinkled a few drops of water on the face of an infant; but surely he could not act upon "the very same reason" in both cases. This, I think, must be allowed; except he can prove that a commission to immerse penitents, is equally an order to sprinkle infants. But, besides the absurdity of any one making such an attempt, it is a task to which this opposer cannot pretend; because, by so doing, he would endeavor to fix the sense of a word which is considered by him as indeterminable: for he insists that the most eminent authors are divided about our Lord's meaning in the term *baptize*; and therefore proposes that people should please themselves, with regard to the mode of administration. If Mr. Williams, however, should at any time write professedly against the Baptists, it may be expected, (unless he give up this point,) that his *grand reason* for sprinkling infants, will be the *very same* which is given by us for immersing penitent sinners; and then the author of a certain *Apology* for clerical conformity will have an humble imitator.*

Reflect. XI. I will present the reader with an extract from a celebrated Roman Catholic author, expressing the opinion that Papists have concerning the mode of reasoning used by Protestants in favor of Pædobaptism. The writer to whom I refer is Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux, and his language is as follows: "As for infants, those of the pretended Reformed religion indeed say, their baptism is founded on the scripture; but they produce no passage express to that purpose, but argue from

* In the *Apologia*, to which I refer, the following uncommon and surprising positions are contained. "My first and principal reason [for ministerial conformity] is, *The regard I owe to the honor and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, as Head and Laureate of his church.* . . . It seems to me, that I could no more officiate as a minister among any people who insist upon other terms of communion than those which our Lord has appointed, faith and holiness, than I could subscribe to the dogmas of the Council of Trent. . . . My second reason for not being a Dissenter is, *Because I highly value the right of private judgment, and my liberty as a man and as a Christian.* . . . I cannot become a Dissenter till I am weary of my liberty."—*Apologia*, pp. 61, 116, 119, 121.—If these be solid reasons for clerical conformity, those ministers that were ejected in the year sixteen hundred and sixty-two must be considered as a set of maniacs. Being loth, however, to impeach the intellects of two thousand persons, who suffered so much for the sake of a good conscience, I cannot forbear suspecting, that these positions are an insult upon the understandings of Dissenters, and that sensible Episcopalians themselves must despise them; for it is on these and similar principles Dissenters have always proceeded in justifying their Nonconformity. When our Apologist says, "We [con-

very remote, not to say very doubtful, and even very false consequences. It is certain, that all the proofs they bring from the scripture on this subject, have no force at all; and those that might have some strength, are destroyed by themselves. . . . The proofs that are drawn from the necessity of baptism, to compel men to allow it to infants, are destroyed by our Reformed gentlemen; and these that follow are substituted in their room, as they are noted in their catechism, in their confession of faith, and in their prayers; namely, that the children of believers are born in the covenant, according to this promise, 'I will be thy God, and the God of thy offspring to a thousand generations. From whence they conclude, that since the virtue and substance of baptism belongs to infants, it would be injurious to them to deny them the sign, which is inferior to it. By a like reason, they will find themselves forced to give the communion together with baptism; for they who are in the covenant, are incorporated with Jesus Christ; the infants of believers are in the covenant; therefore, they are incorporated with Jesus Christ. And having by this means, according to them, the virtue and substance of the communion; they ought to say, as they do of baptism, that the sign of it cannot without injury be refused them.*

Reflect. XII. To the tenour of this reasoning it is often objected; That there is no express command to baptize believers. With an air of confidence, in reference to this affair, Dr. Addington asks and answers; "Is there no express command of Christ to baptize believers? Not *one* in all the New Testament."† If, by an *express* command, he mean these very words, *Baptize believers*, it is allowed; but what is that to the purpose, while the ideas conveyed by those terms, are as plainly and strongly expressed, as if the identical words had been repeatedly used? Nor will Dr. Addington deny this. With equal reason, therefore,

forming clergy] are not so much at the mercy of our hearers for our subsistence, as the Dissenting ministers are," we perfectly understand him. We have been frequently told of this, by those who have defended civil establishments of religion; and we freely acknowledge, that secular prudence is very apparent in many who act upon the principle thus avowed. But when we find a pious Episcopalian author seizing the grand principles of our Protestant Dissent, in order to found a vindication of his own Conformity upon them, we are surprised, and cannot forbear thinking of those doughty champions for Popery, Jacob. de Graffius, and Father Mumford the Jesuit: the former of whom found image-worship enjoined in the *second command*; and the latter discovered a convincing proof of clerical celibacy in those words of Paul, *A bishop must be the husband of one wife.*—See *Preserr. from Popery*, title i. p. 341. vol. ii. *Gen. Discourses against Popery*, p. 140.—Nor can we avoid considering the conduct of this Apologist as unprecedented in the Nonconformist controversy; as betraying an uncommon degree of rage for hypothesis, and of predilection for paradox.—See *Apologia*, p. 136.

* In Mr. Stennett against Mr. Russen, pp. 180, 182, 183.

† Summary of Christian Minister's Reasons, p. 24.

does cardinal Bellarmine object the want of these express words, *the imputed righteousness of Christ*, against the Protestant doctrine of justification; or Socinus oppose the atonement, because the term *satisfaction* is not syllabically used concerning that capital fact. But let us reflect on a passage or two. Does not Christ say, "Preach the gospel to every creature: he that BELIEVETH and is baptized shall be saved?" Is it not the language of his evangelist, "If thou BELIEVEST with all thy heart, thou mayest" be baptized? Now can any person thus believe the gospel, without being a *believer*? Or will this opponent aver, that neither of these passages enjoins the administration of baptism to *believers*? Let him produce a text from the New Testament, that is equally express for the baptism of infants, and we will immediately give up the argument. Besides, Dr. Addington well knows that we connect the want of a *plain example*, with the want of an express command for infant baptism. To have done our objection justice, he ought, therefore, to have put the question thus: Is there no *express command* of Christ, nor any *plain apostolic example* for baptizing believers? and then he would have been far from teaching his catechumen to answer; "Not *one* in all the New Testament." Such a negative, to such a question, would have been an outrage on the common faith of the whole Christian world; and yet, if you substitute the term *infants*, for the word *believers*, Pædobaptists themselves must answer in the negative.

It is farther objected; That there is neither precept nor example for baptizing the *children of Christian parents* when they are grown up; and that on the same principles, applied in similar arguments, we must neither observe the *Lord's day*, nor admit *women* to the holy table. Thus, Dr. Mayo, for instance: "They [the Baptists] have not a single precedent in scripture, of their subjects of baptism, the children of Christian parents whose baptism was delayed till they were of adult years, to make a profession of their faith."* But if this objection have any weight, it must lie with equal force against the continuance of baptism among Christians, or the administration of it to any description of subjects; except in reference to such persons as are converted from Judaism, Mohammedanism, or Paganism: and it was, if I mistake not, first employed by Socinus for that purpose.† To which the learned Hoornbeek replies: "That such as were educated in the Christian religion, and were never alienated from it, are not expressly mentioned in the

* Apology and Shield, p. 82.

† De Baptismo, cap. x.

New Testament as baptized; does not arise from hence, That such never were baptized, nor ought so to have been: but because the apostolic writings contain the history of the *first* times, when Christianity was recent.* This answer applies to the case before us. Our opposers, therefore, should be cautious how they urge such an objection against us, lest inadvertently they give up to the arguments of Socinus, of Emllyn, and of others, the continuance of baptism, except in extraordinary cases. But is it not enough, that we have both an express command, and plain examples, for baptizing those who are *taught*, who are *made disciples*, and *profess faith* in the Son of God? Nay, I appeal to Dr. Mayo himself who on another occasion declares; "It is sufficient for my purpose, that our practice *can be found* in the New Testament."† It is but grateful to acknowledge, how much we are obliged to this author for presenting us with such a *shield*, to prevent the dart of his own objection from piercing our cause. It seems, indeed, hard to conceive why our Brethren should lay such a stress upon this particular, as if it were decisively against us, unless it be the want of more cogent objections. For it is manifest, that the idea of *carnal descent*, from parents of any description, makes no part of the institution, or law of baptism; and consequently should have no influence upon our practice. No; whether the candidate be descended from real, or from barely nominal Christians; whether his parents be Jews, Turks, or Pagans; nay, whether he be old or young; it is, properly speaking, a mere *circumstance*; provided he make a credible profession of faith; equally a circumstance, with learning or illiteracy, riches or poverty. The character of parents, and family relations, have nothing to do in the new economy, which is entirely spiritual; are of no avail in that kingdom which "is not of this world;" the subjects of which "are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God." If the candidate give evidence of his being a disciple of Christ, it is all the institution demands, and all that apostolic practice required. Such being the true state of the case, why should our opposers insist on a scriptural precedent for baptizing the adult offspring of Christians? Why call for an example of that which makes no part of the institution, but is merely circumstantial? We sometimes baptize persons of sixty or seventy years of age. As well, therefore, might it be objected, that there is no instance in sacred writ of any

person so far advanced in years being baptized by the apostles. How far the following observation of Dr. Owen will here apply, is left with my reader. "It is merely from a spirit of contention that some call on us, or others, to produce express testimony, or institution, for every circumstance in the practice of religious duties in the church; and on a supposed failure herein, to conclude, that they have power themselves to institute and ordain such ceremonies as they think meet, under a pretence of their being circumstances of worship."*

As to the *Lord's day*, our opponents themselves allow, that we have not only apostolical examples of assembling on the first day of the week for the solemnities of public devotion, but plain intimations that this was the common practice of the primitive churches;‡ and therefore, the objector himself being judge, there is no force in what is alleged. Besides, there is something of a *moral* nature in the observation of a sabbath; but not so in the administration of baptism. In regard to the supposed want of an explicit warrant for admitting *women* to the holy table, we reply by demanding; Does not Paul, when he says, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat," enjoin a reception of the sacred supper? Does not the term *αὐθρῶτος*, there used, often stand as a name of our species, without regard to sex? Have we not the authority of lexicographers,§ and which is incomparably more, the sanction of common sense, for understanding it thus in that passage? When the sexes are distinguished and opposed, the word for a *man* is not *αὐθρῶτος*, but *ανρ*.§ This distinction is very strongly marked in that celebrated saying of Thales, as given in his Life, by Diogenes Laertius.¶ The Grecian sage was thankful to Fortune, "that he was *αὐθρῶτος*, one of the *human* species, and not a beast; that he was *ανρ*, a *man*, and not a woman; that he was

* Enquiry into the Orig. and Nat. of Churches, p. 14.
† Acts. xx7; 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2.

‡ Mr. Parkhurst says: "*Αὐθρῶτος* is a name of the species, without respect to sex."—Minter: "Homo, in genere, sive mas sit, sive femina."—Schwarzjusz: "Homo, i. e. humana natura præditus, habens ea quæ hominis natura postulat."—"Sepissime," says the learned Schaubius, "in scriptura sacra filii pro utroque sexu occurrunt, ut 1 Joh. ii. 1; iii. 7, 18; v. 12, 28. Imo pro tota posteritate et prole, vid. Ps. ciii. 17; Prov. xiii. 22. . . . Etenim, tam a Græcis, quam in jure Romano, pronuntiatio sermonis in masculino sexu, ad utrumque sexum plerumque porrigit: et semper sexus masculinus femininum, ut coulinet."—Bib. Bremens. class iv. pp. 722, 723. Vid. Beza, in 1 Cor. iii. 11. Stockholm, Interpretes Græci, cap. ii. § 28.

§ See, amongst a multitude of instances, 1 Cor. xi. 3—12.

|| Lib. i. cap. i. § 7. Lips. 1759. Thus Mr. Blackwall: "*Αὐθρῶτος*, is generally, in the best writers, used to include both sexes, all the human race. Herodotus uses it for *γυν*."—*Sacred Classics*, vol. i. part I. chap. ii. § 9.

* Socin. Confut. tom. iii. p. 279. See Dr. Doddridge's Lectures. pp. 510, 511.

† Ut supra, pp. 78, 79.

born a Greek, and not a barbarian. Besides, when the apostle delivered to the church at Corinth what he had *received of the Lord*, did he not deliver a command; a command to the whole church, consisting of *women* as well as men? When he farther says, "We, being many, are one bread, and one body; for we all are partakers of that one bread;" does he not speak of *women*, as well as of men? Again; Are there any prerequisites for the holy supper, of which women are not equally capable as men? And are not male and female *one in Christ*? When we oppose the baptism of infants, it is not because of their tender age; but because they neither do nor can profess faith in the Son of God. Whenever we meet with such as are denominated by the apostle, *τηντα πιστα*, *faithful*, or *believing children*,† whoever may be their parents, or whatever may be their age, we have no objection to baptize them. A credible profession of repentance and faith being all we desire, in reference to this affair, either of old or young.

CHAPTER II.

No Evidence of Pædobaptism, before the latter End of the Second, or the Beginning of the Third Century.

SALMASIUS and Suicerus. "In the two first centuries no one was baptized, except, being instructed in the faith, and acquainted with the doctrine of Christ, he was able to profess himself a believer; because of those words, 'He that believeth and is baptized.' First, therefore, he was to believe. Thence the order of catechumens in the church. Then, also, it was the constant custom to give the Lord's supper to those catechumens, immediately after their baptism."—*Epist. ad Justum Pacium, apud Van Dale Hist. Baptism. Suiceri Thesaur. Eccles. sub voce Συναγίς*, tom. ii. p. 1136.

2. Ludovicus Vives. "No one in former times was admitted to the sacred baptism, except he was of age, understood what the mystical water meant, desired to be washed in it, and expressed that desire more than once. Of which practice we have yet a resemblance in our baptism of infants; for an infant of only a day or two old, is yet asked, 'Whether he will be baptized?' and this question is asked three times. In whose name the sponsors answer, 'He does desire it.'—*Annot. in Aug. de Civ. Dei*, l. i. c. xxvii.

3. M. Formey. "They baptized from

this time, [the latter end of the second century,] infants as well as adults."—*Abridg. Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p. 33.

4. Curcellæus. "The baptism of infants, in the two first centuries after Christ, was altogether unknown; but in the third and fourth was allowed by some few. In the fifth, and following ages, it was generally received. . . . The custom of baptizing infants did not begin before the third age after Christ was born. In the former ages no trace of it appears, and it was introduced without the command of Christ."—*Institut. Relig. Christ.* l. i. c. xii. *Dissert. Secund. de Pecc. Orig.* § 56.

5. M. De la Roque. "The primitive church did not baptize infants; and the learned Grotius proves it in his Annotations on the Gospel. Even the practice of the Romish church is an evident token of it; for with them baptism must be desired before they enter into the church, and it is the godfather that asks it in the name of the child. A formal and express profession of faith must be made, which the godfather also makes in the child's name; a promise must be made, to renounce the world and the pomps of it, the flesh, and the devil; all which is done by the godfather in the name of the child. Is not this a visible sign, that formerly it was the persons themselves, who in their own name desired baptism, made a profession of their faith, and renounced their past life, to consecrate themselves to the Lord Jesus Christ for the time to come?"—*In Mr. Stennett's Answer to Mr. Russen*, pp. 188, 189.

6. Mr. Chambers. "It appears, that in the primitive times none were baptized but adults."—*Cyclopædia, article Baptism.*

7. Johannes Bohemius. "Baptism of old was administered to none (unless upon urgent necessity) but to such as were before instructed in the faith and catechized. But when it came to be judged necessary to everlasting life, it was ordained that infants should be baptized, and that they should have godfathers and godmothers, who should be sureties for infants, and should renounce the devil in their behalf."—*In Thomas Lawson's Baptismologia*, p. 88.

8. Rigaltius. "In the Acts of the Apostles we read, that *both men and women* were baptized, when they believed the gospel preached by Philip, without any mention being made of infants. From the apostolic age, therefore, to the time of Tertullian, the matter is doubtful. Some there were, from that saying of our Lord, 'Suffer little children to come to me,' (to whom, nevertheless, our Lord did not command water to be ministered,) who took occasion to baptize new born infants. And as if they had been transacting some secular

* 1 Cor. x. 17. and xi. 28. Compare Acts i. 13, 14, with Acts ii. 42, 47.

† Tit. i. 6.

affair with God, they offered sponsors or sureties to Christ, who engaged that they should not depart from the Christian faith when adult; which practice displeased Tertullian."—*In Mr. Stennett's Answer to Mr. Russen*, pp. 74, 75.

9. Dr. Holland. "In the first plantation of Christianity amongst the Gentiles, such only as were of full age, after they were instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, were admitted to baptism."—*In Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap.* part ii. chap. ii. p. 281.

10. Cattenburgh. "Though it cannot be unanswerably proved, that infant baptism was practised from the beginning of Christianity; yet its original is to be derived much higher than those learned men, Episcopius and Limborch, have admitted."*—*Spicileg. Theol. Christ.* p. 1059.

11. Wolfgangus Capito. "In the first times of the church no one was baptized, nor received into the holy communion of Christians, till after he had given himself up entirely to the word and authority of Christ."—*Apud Schyn Hist. Mennonit.* p. 170.

12. Venema. "It is indeed certain, that Pædobaptism was practised in the second century; yet so, that it was not the custom of the church, nor the general practice; much less was it generally esteemed necessary that infants should be baptized. . . Tertullian has no where mentioned Pædobaptism among the traditions of the church, nor even among the customs of the church that were publicly received and usually observed; nay, he plainly intimates, that in his time it was yet a doubtful affair. For in his book, *De Baptismo*, (cap. xviii.) he dissuades from baptizing infants, and proves by certain reasons, that the delay of it to a more mature age is to be preferred; which he certainly would have done, if it had been a tradition and a public custom of the church, seeing he was very tenacious of traditions; nor, had it been a tradition, would he have failed to mention it. It is manifest, therefore, that nothing was then determined concerning the time of baptism; nay, he judged it safer that unmarried persons should defer their baptism. . . Nothing can be affirmed with certainty, concerning the custom of the church before Tertullian; seeing there is not any where in more ancient writers, that I know of, undoubted mention of infant baptism. Justin Martyr, in his second Apology, when describing baptism, mentions only that of

adults. Irenæus alone (*Contra Hæres.* l. ii. c. xxii.) may be considered as referring, Pædobaptism, when he says; 'Christ passed through the ages of man, that he might save all by himself; all I say,' thus he proceeds, 'who by him are regenerated to God, infants, and little ones, and children, and youths, and persons advanced in age.' For the word, *regenerated*, is wont to be used concerning baptism; and in that sense I freely admit it may be here understood. Yet I do not consider it as undoubtedly so, seeing it is not always used in that sense, especially if no mention of baptism precede or follow; which is the case here: and here, to be *regenerated* by Christ, may be explained by *sanctified*, that is, saved by Christ. The sense, therefore, may be; That Christ's passing through all the ages of man, intended to signify, by his own example, that he came to save men of every age, and also to sanctify or save infants. I conclude, therefore, that Pædobaptism cannot be certainly proved to have been practised before the times of Tertullian; and that there were persons in his age who desired their infants might be baptized, especially when they were afraid of their dying without baptism; which opinion Tertullian opposed, and by so doing, he intimates that Pædobaptism began to prevail. These are the things that may be affirmed with apparent certainty, concerning the antiquity of infant baptism, after the times of the apostles; for more are maintained without solid foundation."—*Hist. Eccles.* tom. iii. secul. ii. § 108, 109.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. It is well observed by Limborch, "That many, when they enquire after the opinions of ancient writers, ascribe to them, not what they really taught, but what they wish them to have taught. Hence different opinions are attributed to them, according to the various prejudices that are entertained by the enquirers."* This, there is reason to think, is a fact; and therefore it is to the honor of our cause, that the writers produced have made such declarations. For though, as Dr. Bishop remarks, "the scriptures are the only rule of faith; we are apt to enquire how the earliest authors understood and explained them; what opinions they held and professed, as the true and necessary doctrines [and practices] of Christianity; and what they denied and condemned."† We farther observe, with the celebrated Mr. Claude; "That the scripture is the only rule of our faith; that we do not acknowledge any other

* Episcopius denies that any tradition can be produced for Pædobaptism, till a little before the Milevitan Council, A. D. 418; and maintains, that it was not practised in Asia till near the time of that council.—*Institut.* l. iv. c. xiv. Mr. Brendt speaks to the same effect.—*Hist. Reform. Annotat.* on b. ii. vol. i. p. 9.

* Liber Sentent. Inquisit. Tholos. Praef. p. 3.
† Eight. Sermons, Sermon. iv. p. 132.

authority able to decide the disputed points in religion, than that of the word of God; and that if we sometimes dispute by the fathers, it is but by the way of condescension to [our opposers,] to act upon their own principle, and not to submit our consciences to the word of men.*

That most of these authors were well versed in the ancient monuments of the Christian church, few of my readers acquainted with their characters will deny; and being Pædobaptists, they were under no influence, from their avowed hypothesis, to make such declarations as these before us. Consequently, we must consider these learned men, as led by plain historical evidence, and by a commendable regard for truth, to express their views of the case in this remarkable manner. Now such concessions, from writers whose literary abilities cannot be questioned, and who are entirely free from suspicion of intending to sink the reputation of Pædobaptism, afford a strong presumption in our favor, so far as ecclesiastical antiquity is concerned in the dispute. Nay, I may venture to add, concessions of this kind from the pens of such men as Salmasius and Suicerus of Rigaltius and Venema, must rebuke that haughty confidence with which we are sometimes treated, even by juvenile opponents; as if the highest and purest ecclesiastical antiquity were quite against us, and as if no man of learning and of impartiality would risk a denial of it. But whether our opposers be hoary with learned age, or bloom with precipitate youth it must, I think, be confessed, that these authorities have sufficient force to acquit us from the charge of ignorance, and of partiality to a favorite opinion, because we maintain, That the first two centuries knew either nothing at all, or very little, of infant baptism.

To the foregoing quotations I would here subjoin the attestation of Mr. Lawson, and of an ecclesiastical writer in the ninth century. Thus Thomas Lawson, an impartial Friend: "See the author of rhanism, that is, sprinkling; not Christ, nor the apostles, but Cyprian: not in the days of Christ, but some two hundred and thirty years after. . . . Augustine, the son of the virtuous Monica, being instructed in the faith, was not baptized till about the thirtieth year of his age. Ambrose, born of Christian parents remained instructed in Christian principles, and was unbaptized till he was chosen bishop of Milan. Jerome, born of Christian parents, was baptized when about thirty years old. Nectarius was made bishop of Constantinople before he was baptized. . . . It seems the doctrine of Fidas, concerning dipping, or sprinkling of children,

was new, and seemed strange to Cyprian, seeing he could not ratify, nor confirm the same, without the sentence and advice of sixty-six bishops. Had it been commanded by Christ, practised by the apostles, and continued in matter and manner to Cyprian's days, there had not been a necessity for the concourse of so many bishops concerning the same."†—The ecclesiastical writer to whom I refer is Walafridus Strabo, who speaks as follows: "It should be observed, that, in the primitive times, the grace of baptism was usually given to those *only* who were arrived at such maturity of body and mind that they could understand what were the benefits of baptism; what was to be confessed and believed; and finally, what was to be observed by those that are regenerated in Christ."‡—On this passage the remark of Colomesius, as quoted by a nameless writer, is as follows: "Hence with reason you may infer, that adults only are the proper subjects of baptism."§ Perfectly conformable to which is a canon of the Council of Paris, in the year eight hundred and twenty-nine, as produced by the same anonymous author. Thus it reads: "In the beginning of the holy church of God, no one was admitted to baptism, unless he had before been instructed in the sacrament of faith and of baptism; which is proved by the words of Paul, Rom. vi. 3. 4."§

Reflect. II. One of these learned men supposes, indeed, that a passage in Irenæus *may* be understood, as referring to infant baptism; yet candidly confesses it admits of a doubt, whether the ancient father had any such practice in view: nay, he asserts, that there is no certainty of Pædobaptism being practised before the time of Tertullian. See No. 12. Le Clerc however, seems confident that the quotation from Irenæus, to which we advert, has no relation to baptism. "We see nothing here," says he, "concerning baptism; nor is there any thing relating to it in the immediately preceding or following words."|| A writer in one of our periodical publications, when reviewing a pamphlet of Mr. John Carter's, in defence of infant baptism, says; "The authorities produced [by Mr. Carter] are J. Martyr and Irenæus, in the second century; called by the author the *first* century *after* the apostles, in order, we suppose, to give it a more ancient look. . . . With respect to the testimony of Justin, it requires very considerable ingenuity to make it, in any view, an argument in favor of infant baptism. There is a passage in Irenæus

* Baptismalogia, pp. 75, 81, 86, 87.

† Apud. Vossium, Theol. Theolog. p. 429.

‡ En Le Baptême Retabli, part ii. p. 3.

§ Ibid. pp. 166, 167.

|| Hist. Eccles. secul. ii. ann. 130, § 33, p. 772.

* Defence of the Reformation, part iii. pp. 81, 82.

more to the purpose: but the passage is equivocal; and nothing can with certainty be decided from it, in favor of that species of infant baptism which is generally contended for by Pædobaptists of modern times.* Besides, if these expressions, "Who by him are *regenerated* to God," signify the same as being baptized, they convey the idea of our Lord's baptizing persons of different ages. But this was far from being a fact; for "Jesus himself baptized not." Of this the ancient writer could not be ignorant; and therefore it is not likely that he should in such a connection, substitute the term *regenerated* for the word *baptized*. It is also worthy of observation, that the supposition against which we contend, represents our Lord as coming into the world to save those only who are baptized: an imagination which is abhorrent from truth, and ought not, without the clearest evidence, to be charged on the venerable ancient.

Perfectly agreeable to this is the language of Mr. Hebden, who having produced the words of Irenæus, proceeds thus: "This has been often cited against the Antipædobaptists . . . It is one of the passages usually quoted to support the practice of baptizing infants from ancient testimonies; baptism being, say these learned Pædobaptists, often called *regeneration* by the ancients, and Irenæus here speaking of *infants* and *little* ones as, together with persons of other ages, *regenerated* or baptized. But, though baptism may be here alluded to, it does not seem to be directly intended. The *all* whom Christ came to save, are said to be *regenerated* to God. Can this be meant of baptism? Are none saved but such as are baptized? Or, are all who are baptized saved by Christ? That must be the case, according to Irenæus, if regeneration was here put for baptism; for he evidently intimates, that all whom Christ came to save are regenerated; and that all who are regenerated to God are saved. A plain proof this, supposing the passage to be *genuine*, that Irenæus did not believe universal redemption, in the modern Arminian sense, and that he had no notion of the baptismal regeneration since devised . . . I cannot help questioning whether the passage of Irenæus is so clear and full in favor of Pædobaptism as learned men suppose."†

Incompetent, however, as the testimony of Irenæus is in favor of Pædobaptism, Dr. Wall will have it speak directly in point, saying: "This is the first express mention we have met with of infants baptized."‡

Express mention! Then the terms *baptized* and *regenerated*, must be perfectly equivalent, in the works of Irenæus, and the ecclesiastical authors of those times. But this cannot be proved, as the learned and impartial Venema acknowledges. See No. 12. Yet, while we insist that this is far from being an express testimony, or indeed any testimony at all in favor of infant baptism; we may venture to conclude, that it is the first passage in ecclesiastical antiquity, which Dr. Wall considered as having any appearance of being directly to his purpose, and the very best he could find to support his hypothesis. But if it had been a divine appointment, and customary in the church from the apostolic age, is it not strange, is it not quite unaccountable, that such ambiguous words as those of Irenæus should be considered by our opponents, as the most explicit of any on record, in proof that Pædobaptism was practised so early as the year one hundred and eighty? What! is there nothing in those monuments of Christian antiquity, which go under the name of Barnabas, of Clemens Romanus, of Hermas, of Ignatius, and of Polycarp, as much to the purpose as this passage of the celebrated bishop of Lyons? Is there nothing in the writings of Justin Martyr, of Athenagoras, or of Theophilus Antiochenus, (which are all considered by learned men as prior to those of Irenæus) that is equally plain, and equally favorable to the antiquity of Pædobaptism? Strange, indeed, supposing infant baptism to have been derived from the apostles, and to have been generally practised in the times of those authors, that none of them should speak of it with as much clearness and precision as the venerable Irenæus in those equivocal words before us! That confidence with which the passage under consideration has been often produced against us, reminds me of another, that is quoted from the same father by the Papists, in favor of invoking the virgin Mary. Thus, then, the ancient author, as translated by Dr. Clagett: "As Eve was seduced and forsook God, so Mary was induced to obey God, that the virgin Mary might be a comforter of the virgin Eve; and that as mankind was, through a virgin, bound over to death, so they should be released through a virgin; one thing being thus rightly ballanced against another, the disobedience of a virgin by the obedience of a virgin." Dr. Clagett observes, that "Feverdientius triumphs in this testimony, as if he had found here the primitive church, and all antiquity, for the invocation of the blessed virgin."*

* Monthly Review for May 1781, pp. 394, 395.

† Baptismal Regeneration disapproved, Appendix, p.

65.

‡ Hist. Inf. Bap. part. i. chap. iii. p. 16.

* Preservative against Popery, title vi. p. 194.

Dr. Wall has produced a passage from Clemens Alexandrinus, who wrote a little before Tertullian, by which he seems to think it apparent, that the Alexandrian catechist considered the apostles as having baptized infants. The words of that ancient author, as quoted and rendered by Dr. Wall, are these: "If any one be by trade a fisherman, he would do well to think of an apostle, and the *children* taken out of the water."* If however, we would not be led by the sound of these words, rather than their sense, it seems necessary we should advert to the title and scope of the work, in which the passage is found; concerning which, let us hear a learned Pædobaptist. Dupin, when describing the works of Clement, and speaking of that book from which the quotation is made, says: "The second book, entitled the *Pedagogue*, is a discourse entirely of morality. It is divided into three books. In the first, he shows what it is to be a *pedagogue*, that is to say, a conductor, pastor, or director, of men. He proves that this quality chiefly and properly belongs only to the Word incarnate. He says, that it is the part of the *pedagogue* to regulate the manners, conduct the actions, and cure the passions. . . . That he equally informs men and women, the learned and the ignorant, because all men stand in need of instruction, being all *children* in one sense. Yet, however, that we must not think that the doctrine of the Christians is childish and contemptible; but that, on the contrary, the quality of *children* which they receive in baptism, renders them perfect in the knowledge of divine things."†

From this account of the work, we are naturally led to suppose that Clement, when addressing, or speaking of Christian converts, would frequently call them *children*; and, that this is a fact, appears by those extracts which Mr. Barker has made from the book, which he seems to have carefully read with a view to this particular. The design of this ancient book, as concisely represented by him, and part of his quotations from it, are as follow: "The catechist of Alexandria here describes the persons he was to teach, what they were to be taught, and how they were to be admitted into the church. Pæd. i. 5. 'Παιδαγωγία. instruction, is *guiding of children*, (*παίδων αγωγή*) as the name shows: it remains to see whom the scripture calls *children*, and then to set a master (*παιδαγωγός*) over them. We then are the *children*, who are in the state of *disciples*. Unless ye be converted, and become as these children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom

of heaven; not figuring a new birth, (*αναγεννησις*;) but commending the innocence of children'. . . . Representing the innocence of the mind by childhood, he calls us *children*, (*παιδας*;) *young, little ones*, (*νηπιους*;) sons, and a new people. . . . He figuratively calls us *young ones*, who are not enslaved to sin, pure, leaping to the Father only; running to the truth, and swift to salvation; such, our divine Guide of the young (*παιδοδουνης*) takes care of. . . . The Lord plainly shows who are meant by *children*: when a question arose among the apostles, *which of them should be the greatest*, Jesus set a child among them, saying: *Whoever shall humble himself as this [little] child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven*. . . . Those are truly children, who know God only as their father, are pure, meek, (*νηπιος*;) and sincere. . . . He commands us to be without care of things here, and cleave only to the Father: he who fulfils this command, is truly a *little one*, (*νηπιος*;) and a child of God (*παις*) of God. . . . The Lord is called a *perfect man*, as being perfect in righteousness; but we are *little ones* (*νηπιος*) perfected (*τελειομεθα*) when we become of the church, and receive Christ as our head*. . . . A person is not called *νηπιος*, because foolish; but as meek and mild, (*νηπιος, ηπιος*) a little one is meek; without guile; which is the foundation of truth: the new minds of little ones were once foolish, now newly wise. . . . He calls the Lord himself a *child*; 'Shall not the instruction of this child be perfect; who guides us *children* (*παιδας*) who are his (*νηπιους*) *little ones*?'

"Far from confining the words, *παιδες* and *νηπιος*, to infants, he [Clement] calls all *children*, whom he, as a teacher, (*παιδαγωγος*;) is to instruct; as having before been ignorant, now become sensible, yet still meek, teachable, and unprejudiced; judging it the perfection of a man to imitate the innocence and teachableness of children. But those who are in a course of instruction for baptism, are what he especially calls *children* (*παιδες* and *νηπιος*;) for when baptized they become *perfect*, *τελειος*. Pæd. iii. 10. 'The Lord taught his disciples to catch men, as fishes out of the water. Pæd. iii. 11. If any be a fisher, let him remember the apostle, and the *children* (*παιδιων*) drawn out of the water.' Those are baptized, who believe and seek Christ. The *children* (*νηπιος* and *παιδια*) here said to be baptized, whom Wall supposes to be infants, are, as appears above, *all*, of whatever age, who being meek and teachable, seek Christ the true teacher (*ὁ παιδαγωγος*;) and submit to him."‡

* Defence of Hist. Inf. Bap. Appendix, pp. 8, 9.

† Hist. Eccles. Writers, vol. i. pp. 62, 63.

* Just so Paul opposes *παιδια* to *τελειοι*, (1 Cor. xiv. 20.)

‡ Duty and Benefits of Bap. pp. 73, 74, 75. Note: The

It is worthy of remark, that the frequent use of these familiar terms, *children* and *little children*, here applied by Clement to such as were under a course of instruction, of whatever age they might be, seems to have been derived from the example of Paul, and of John, in their epistles. For the words, *νηπιος* and *παιδια*, so frequently used by the Alexandrian catechist, are applied by those apostles in various places, to young or feeble converts.* The term *νεκρια*, *little children*, is also abundantly used in the same acceptation.† So the word *παιδαγωγους* *pedagogues*, *instructors of children*, is used by Paul for such as succeeded him in preaching the gospel among the Corinthians.‡ To which I may add an observation of the learned Mr. Bingham: "The Christians were wont to please themselves with the artificial name *pisciculi*, *fishes*; to denote, as Tertullian [who was contemporary with Clement] words it, that they were regenerate, or born again into Christ's religion by water, and could not be saved but by continuing therein. And this name was the rather chosen by them, because the initial letters of our Saviour's names and titles in Greek, *Ἰησους Χριστος, Θεου Υἱος, Σωτηρ*, JESUS CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, OUR SAVIOUR, technically put together, make up the name *ΙΧΘΥΣ*; which signifies a *fish*, and is alluded to both by Tertullian and Optatus."§ While it appears, therefore, that the title, the phraseology, and the design of Clement's performance, unite in leading us to consider the term *παιδιων*, as expressive of *young converts* to Christianity, and not of *infants*; there cannot be the least ground for concluding, that the celebrated catechist had any thought of infant baptism, when he spake of "*παιδιων, children*, drawn out of the water;" but of solemnly immersing such as had been instructed in the doctrine of Christ. And, indeed, as Dr. Wall is the only one of our learned opponents, whom I have observed, that has produced the passage against us in the course of this controversy, there is reason to think, that few of them ever considered it as proving any thing at all in their favor.

Reflect. III. As I humbly conceive it must be allowed by all competent and impartial judges, That Tertullian is the first author who speaks expressly of infant baptism; and as it is equally clear that he opposes it; so, we may justly presume, it was

then a novel practice, was just commencing and approved by very few. Had it been otherwise, there is no reason to imagine that the celebrated African father would have treated it as he did; not only because he was very tenacious of ecclesiastical traditions, as Venema has well observed, No. 12; but also because he mentions with approbation various religious rites as practised by the church, which in his own view had no pretence to scripture authority. His opposition to infant baptism is expressed in the following manner, as the passage is translated by Dupin: "What necessity is there to expose godfathers to the hazard of answering for those whom they hold at the fonts? since they may be prevented by death from being able to perform those promises which they have made for the children, or else may be disappointed by their evil inclinations. Jesus Christ says, indeed, 'Hinder not little children from coming to me;' but that they should come to him as soon as they are advanced in years, as soon as they have learned their religion, when they may be taught whither they are going, when they are become Christians, when they begin to be able to know Jesus Christ. What is there that should compel this innocent age to receive baptism? And since they are not yet allowed the disposal of temporal goods, is it reasonable that they should be entrusted with the concerns of heaven? For the same reason it is proper to make those who are not married wait for some time, by the reason of the temptations they have to undergo till they are married, or have attained to the gift of continency. Those who shall duly consider the great weight and moment of this divine sacrament, will rather be afraid of making too much haste to receive it, than to defer it for some time, that so they may be the better capable of receiving it more worthily."* The treatise of Tertullian, (*De Baptismo*), from which this is extracted, is supposed by learned men to have been written about the year two hundred and four.† Again he says; "Baptism is the seal of faith: which faith is begun and adorned by the faith of repentance. We are not, therefore, washed that we may leave off sinning but because we have already done it, and are already purified in heart."‡ Sentiments and assertions these, that cannot be reconciled with the baptism of infants. On the former of these passages Rigaltius makes the following remark; "Tertullian thought that one who has no understanding of the Christian faith, should not be admitted to baptism; and that he does not want the remission of sins, who is not yet capa-

edition of Clement's works from which the quotations are made, is that of Dr. Potter, pp. 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 285, 289.

* See 1 Cor. iii. 1; Ephes. iv. 14; 1 Heb. v. 13, 14; 1 John ii. 13, 18.

† See Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21; 1 John ii. 1; xii. 28; iii. 7. 18; iv. 4; v. 21; and Dr. Doddridge's Note on 1 Pet. ii. 2: 1 Cor. iv. 15.

§ Origenes Eccles. b. i. chap. l. § 2.

* Hist. Eccles. Writers. cent. iii. p. 80.

† Vid. J. Fabricius, Hist. Biblioth. tom. i. p. 157.

‡ Opera, De Pœnitentia, p. 144.

ble of deceit, or of any fault.* Vossius, when adverting to the same passage, says, "Some reply, *The discourse of Tertullian regards the infants of infidels.* To us it seems more probable, that he treats concerning the children of believers."† To this we readily agree, and here subjoin the following acknowledgment of Mr. Baxter: "Again I will confess, that the words of Tertullian and Nazianzen show, that it was long before all were agreed of the very time, or of the necessity, of baptizing infants before any use of reason, in case they were like to live to maturity."‡

That Tertullian had a high regard for traditional rites in the affairs of religion, is plain beyond a doubt, from what he says when professedly handling that subject. His words, as given us by an eminent Pædobaptist, are as follow: "Let us try, then, whether no tradition ought to be allowed that is not written; and I shall freely grant that this need not to be allowed, if the contrary be not evinced by the examples of several other customs, which without the authority of any scripture are approved, only on the account that they were first delivered, and have ever since been used. Now, to begin with baptism, When we are taken up out of the water, we taste a mixture of milk and honey; and from that day we abstain a whole week from bathing ourselves, which otherwise we use every day. The sacrament of the eucharist, which our Lord celebrated at meal-time, and ordered all to take, we receive in our assemblies before day; and never but from the hands of the pastor. We give oblations every year for (or in commemoration of) the dead, on the day of their martyrdom. . . . At every setting out, or entry on business; whenever we come in, or go out from any place; when we dress for a journey; when we go into a bath; when we go to meat; when the candles are brought in; when we lie down, or sit down; and whatever business we have, we make on our foreheads the sign of the cross. If you search in the scriptures for any command for these and such like usages, you shall find none. Tradition will be urged to you, as the ground of them; custom, as the confirmer of them; and our religion teaches to observe them."§ Hence it appears, with superior evidence, that this ancient author considered infant baptism as a novel invention, as a practice that was neither enjoined by divine command, nor warranted by apostolic example, nor yet recommended by the poor pretence

of tradition, nor even countenanced by prevailing custom. While, it is very observable, tradition and custom are actually pleaded by him, in favor of certain rites (and one of them an appendage of baptism) which Protestants have generally agreed to reject as manifestly superstitious.

It seems apparent also, from Tertullian, that the use of sponsors is of as high antiquity as the practice of infant baptism. For as this famous African father is the first that expressly mentions the former, so Deylingius tells us, that he is the first who says any thing about the latter;* with whom Mr. Towgood agrees.† Of these sponsors, Deylingius informs us there were three sorts; namely, for infants who could not answer for themselves, by reason of their tender age; for such adults as were incapable of answering, on account of great affliction; and for all adults in general.‡ Nor have we sufficient reason to suppose, that sponsors were first used at the administration of Pædobaptism: no the learned Mo-sheim is express to the contrary. His words are these: "Adult persons were prepared for baptism by abstinence, prayer, and other pious exercises. It was to answer for them that sponsors, or god-fathers, were first instituted, though they were afterwards admitted also in the baptism of infants."§ Sponsors were used for adults in the following ages also as learned writers inform us: || nay, the church of England still requires godfathers and godmothers in the administration of baptism to those who are able to answer for themselves. For thus the rubric: "When any such persons as are of riper years are to be baptized. . . . If they shall be found fit, then the *godfathers* and *godmothers* (the people being assembled upon the Sunday or holy day appointed) shall be ready to present them at the font. . . . Then shall the priest take each person to be baptized by the right hand, and placing him conveniently by the font, according to his direction, shall ask the godfathers and godmothers the name; and then shall dip him in the water, or pour water upon him."¶ As to infants, Dr. Wall assures us. "There is no time, or age, of the church, in which there is any appearance that infants were ordinarily baptized without sponsors, or godfathers."** Bucanus tells us, when writing in favor of sponsors, that "as a midwife is used to facilitate the birth in carnal generation; so in the spirit-

* De Pastoral. Prudentia, pars iii. c. iii. § 29.

† Dissent. Gent. Letters, Let. ii. p. 6.

‡ Ut Supra. See Bingham's Orig. Eccles. b. xi. chap. viii.

§ Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. i. pp. 171, 172.

|| Magdeb. Centur. cent. vii. c. vi. p. 73. Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. i. A. D. 636, p. 123. Forbesii Instruct. Hist. Theolog. l. x. c. v. § 22.

¶ Baptism of such as are of Riper Years.

** Hist. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. p. 477.

* Observat. de Tertull. p. 72. Lutet. 1634.

† Disputat. de Bap. disput. iv. § 12. See Dr. Whitby's Note on Matt. xix. 13, 14.

‡ In Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap. part. i. p. 23. See Dr. Doddridge's Lectures, p. 552.

§ In Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ix. p. 480, 481.

ual generation of baptism some one is employed who acts in the place of a midwife, and of a pedagogue in those things which pertain to the end of baptism and to the Christian life.* What an admirable proof is this of the utility of sponsors! Few, I suppose, however, have had the honor conferred on a girl mentioned by Moschus, for whom two angels were sureties at her baptism.†

The Baptists have often been charged with Anabaptism; a sentiment and practice which they detest, as much as any of their opposers. It may be observed, however, that, were they inclined to vindicate Anabaptism, Tertullian might be challenged as an evidence of its high antiquity. For though he says there is but one baptism, and that it should not be repeated, yet he excepts the baptism of heretics; "who," he adds, "are not able to give it, because they have it not; and therefore it is, that we have a rule among us to rebaptize them."‡

Reflect. IV. It is common for our opponents, when defending the antiquity of infant baptism, to produce various passages from Origen, who flourished in the former part of the third century; some of which passages, it must be allowed, are plain and express to the point. It ought, however, to be observed, that those quotations are made, not from the Greek of that celebrated father, but from such Latin versions of his works as are very corrupt, and consequently render it quite uncertain what was his opinion in reference to that affair. That the works of Origen have been greatly injured by his translators, the most learned Pædobaptists declare. Grotius, for instance, when speaking of that celebrated ancient with regard to infant baptism, says; "Some things ascribed to him, were penned by an uncertain author; and some things are interpolated. . . . What Origen thought about the final punishment of the wicked, is difficult from his writings to be asserted; all things are so interpolated by Rufinus."§—The Magdeburg Centuriators inform us, that Origen's Homilies on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, "were translated, by Rufinus; who rather altered and corrupted than faithfully translated, as Erasmus intimates in the censure he passed upon them."||—Sculdetus asserts, "That Rufinus, the translator of many of Origen's books, used so great a liberty, that he retrenched, added, and altered such things as appeared to him necessary to be cashiered added, or changed. So that the reader

is often uncertain, whether he peruses Origen or Rufinus; seeing the Greek works of Origen are not now extant, by which the Latin version might be corrected and amended."**—Vossius, having produced a passage from Origen's Homilies upon the Romans in favor of infant baptism, adds; "But concerning Origen we say the less, because the things which might be quoted are not extant in the Greek."†—The learned Vitringa, when handling the same subject, makes a similar acknowledgment, and blames Rufinus.‡—Mr. Daille is very explicit on this point; his language is; "Certainly, Rufinus, hath so filthily mangled, and so licentiously confounded the writings of Origen, Eusebius, and others, which he hath translated into Latin, that you will hardly find a page in his translations where he hath not either cut off, or added, or at least altered something."§—Dupin says, "We have none of the Scholia [written by Origen] remaining, nor have we hardly any of the Homilies in Greek; and those which we have in Latin, are translated by Rufinus and others with so much liberty, that it is a difficult matter to discern what is Origen's own, from what has been foisted in by the interpreter. . . . The liberty which Rufinus has given himself is still more evident, by what he has written in the prologue to his version of the Commentary upon the epistle to the Romans; which he says, he has abridged by above the half. St. Hierom's versions are not more exact; and the most faulty of all is that of an ancient translator, who has interpreted the Commentaries upon St. Matthew. . . . Having only the version of the greatest part of the Homilies, we cannot be certain whether that which relates to doctrine and discipline be Origen's own, or Rufinus's."||—Mr. Western, speaking of Rufinus as a translator of Eusebius, passed the following severe censure upon him. He "hath ventured on downright forgery, and pretended to translate from Eusebius what Eusebius never wrote."¶—Mr. Twells: "We are not sure that Origen ever really spake of Hermas's Pastor, as of a writing inspired by God. For this saying is extant only in his Commentary on the Romans, the Greek of which is lost, and the Latin a miserable version, in which the original is interpolated as well as contracted by Rufinus the interpreter."**—Mr.

* Institut. Theolog. loc. xlvii. § 47.

† In Dupin's Eccles. Hist. cent. vii. p. 20.

‡ In Dupin's Hist. Eccles. Writers, cent. iii. p. 80.

§ Apud Poli. Synops. ad Matt. xix. 14; xxv. 46.

|| Cent. iii. c. . p. 180.

* Medull. Theolog. Patrum, p. 124. Francf. 1634.

† Thes. Theolog. de Pædobap. pars ii. thes. viii. p. 433.

‡ Obs. Sac. l. ii. c. vi. § 9.

§ Right Use of the Fathers, book i. chap. iv. pp. 40, 41. Vid. ejusdem Disputat. de Cult. Relig. Objecto, l. i. c. viii. p. 49.

|| Hist. Eccles. Writ. cent. iii. p. 109; see cent. iv. p. 4; cent. v. p. 108.

¶ Enquiry into Reject. Christ. Miracles, p. 209.

** Critical Exam. of New Text and Version, part III. p. 81.

Peirce: "As for what our author [Dr. Nichols] refers to in Origen, we cannot tell whether it be Origen's or Rufinus's testimony."*—Quenstedius: "Rufinus translated many of Origen's books, but in translating (as he himself acknowledges in his prefaces, and for which Jerome reproves him,) he has used so great a liberty that he retrenched, added, and altered whatever he considered as deserving to be cashiered, added, or changed: so that the reader is frequently uncertain whether he read Origen or Rufinus."†—Huetius, when speaking of Origen's remains in general, has the following remark: "They are very imperfect and much abused, or else changed and deformed by abominable translations."‡—Rivetius, when speaking of a certain work that goes under the name of Origen, says: "Concerning the Homilies on various passages in the Gospel according to Matthew, it appears to Erasmus, that they are not Origen's; but were penned by some Latin author, the remains of which have been impudently corrupted by Rufinus."§—Once more: Chamier says, "All the learned know, that Rufinus used but little integrity in translating authors."||

Such in the opinion of the best judges, being the character of Origen's translators, we have sufficient reason to except against all testimonies produced from the ancient versions of his writings, in favor of Pædobaptism. And, indeed, were there not a great poverty of evidence in support of that practice, for about two hundred and fifty years, it is hardly to be supposed that our Brethren would ever subpoena witnesses, whose veracity is thus impeached, in order to prove any part of their hypothesis. We have reason also to wonder at the inadvertency of Dr. Addington, who, speaking of Rufinus, tells us that he "lived in the third century;" and that his "*knowledge of integrity have never been doubted.*"¶ Palpable, gross mistakes!

There is, however, one passage in the Greek of Origen, sometimes quoted by our opponents; and it is this, as produced and rendered by Dr. Wall. "One may enquire, When it is that the angels here spoken of are set over those little ones, showed, or signified, by our Saviour? Whether they

take the care and management of them from the time when they, by the washing of regeneration, whereby they were new born, do 'as new born babes DESIRE THE SINCERE MILK OF THE WORD,' and are no longer subject to any evil power? Or from their birth, according to the foreknowledge of God, and his predestinating of them?" and so on.* That the persons here intended by Origen, were not infants in a literal sense, but such as were *newly born again*, is plain from his describing them in the language of inspiration, as "desiring the sincere milk of the word." Dr. Wall, therefore, might well acknowledge, that the latter part of the passage does "very much puzzle the cause," for which Pædobaptists produce the quotation: "and make it doubtful whether Origen be to be there understood, of infants in age, or of such Christian men as are endued with the innocence and simplicity of infants."† If, indeed, the language of this learned ancient had been, as it is partially represented by Sir Peter King, of which Dr. Wall intimates his disapprobation;‡ or if the representation of it which Dr. Addington has lately given, had been candid and fair,§ it would have been clearly in favor of Pædobaptism. But as neither of this is the case, we may venture to affirm, that no substantial evidence for infant baptism from the works of Origen has been yet produced; and that there is no proof of its being a common practice, for two centuries and a half after the Christian era commenced. To indulge conjectures of its being far more ancient, is to imitate the conduct of Bellarmine, who says, concerning another affair; "Although there is no express testimony amongst the ancients, to prove, that they at any time offered sacrifice without some one or more communicating with the priests; yet it may be gathered by conjecture."||

I will conclude this reflection with some remarks on the following extract from Dr. Doddridge. "Tertullian is known to have declared against infant baptism, except in case of danger. Gregory Nazianzen advises to defer it till three years old. Basil blames his auditors for delaying it, which implies, there were then many unbaptized persons among them; but these might not, perhaps, have been the Children of Christian parents. . . . It is indeed *surprising*, that nothing more express is to be met with in antiquity upon this subject; but it is to be remembered, that when infant baptism is first apparently mentioned, we read of no remonstrance made against it

* Vindicat. of Dissent. part iii. p. 240.

† Dialog. de Patriis Illust. Doct. Script. Virorum, p. 632.

‡ In Dr. Gale's Reflect. p. 522.

§ Criticæ Sacri, l. ii. c. xiii. p. 205.

¶ Panstrat. t. iv. l. vii. c. ix. § 30. Vid. tom. i. l. iv. c. viii. § 2; tom. ii. l. xx. c. v. § 14. See also Mr. Clarkson on Liturgies, p. 141. J. Fabricii Hist. Biblioth. Fabrician tom. i. pp. 85, 86. Venemæ Hist. Eccles. secul. iii. § 3 Bp. Bull's Def. Fid. Nic. sect. ii. cap. ix. Chemnitii Exam. Concil. Trident pp. 629, 630. Mr. Altham, Preserv. against Popery, title i. pp. 190. Alp. Wake, Preservative against Popery, title iv. p. 197. Dr. Doddridge's Lectures, p. 519. Mr. Jone's Catholic Doct. of Trinity, chap. i. § xiv. p. 9. Hist. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 147.

* Christian Min. Reasons, p. 163.

* Hist. Inf. Bap. part i. p. 33.

† Hist. Inf. Bap. part i. pp. 32, 33.

‡ Enquiry into Constit. of Prim. Church, part ii. p. 46.

§ Christ. Min. Reas. p. 162.

|| In Popery Confuted by Papists, p. 51.

as an innovation.* Surprising indeed! had it been the appointment of Christ, the practice of the apostles, and a constant custom in the Christian church; all which the doctrine of Pædobaptism now supposes. On this occasion our opposers may well wonder, and have reason to be disgusted with their own hypothesis. Dr. Doddridge, however, wishes to persuade us, that Pædobaptism was an apostolic practice; because "we read of no remonstrance made against it as an innovation," when it is first plainly mentioned. But is not Tertullian the first author who apparently mentions infant baptism? and was not he, by the doctor's own confession, against it? But supposing we had not read of the least remonstrance against Pædobaptism, when it was first mentioned, what then; That it was practiced from the beginning? by no means. For if so, infant communion must be received as of divine appointment; because we read of no remonstrance being made against it as an innovation, when first apparently mentioned by Cyprian. See Chap. V. Nay, were there not many innovations in the second and third centuries, against which we read of no remonstrance being made at their first appearance? Were the reason assigned by this respectable author for the primitive antiquity of infant baptism, to be admitted by Protestants, the Papists would ask no more to justify a great number of their superstitions. It is indeed one of their arguments in favor of antiscritptural customs; for thus they reason, in defence of communion in one kind. "Seeing men, tenacious of religion, are easily disturbed by an alteration of things pertaining to it; if through a course of twelve hundred years the holy supper had been administered in the church; under both kinds, without its being declared lawful to communicate under one only; immediately, upon this custom being changed, the greatest disturbances and disputes would have arisen in the church about the alteration. Concerning which, whereas in history there is no mention, we receive it as an undoubted conjecture, that the practice was never considered as *new*, but always used from the beginning, and fixed in the minds of believers as lawful."† To which the learned Chamier answers: "Disturbances are excited about such alterations, either when they are made or afterwards. That all changes in religious affairs excite commotions when they are made, may be safely denied. For long before the advent of Christ many changes were made in the Jewish religion, and yet

without any tumult."* The argument of Dr. Doddridge is also used by our English Conformists in favor of Episcopacy. Thus, for instance, Mr. Reeves: "I would ask a conscientious Dissenter, whether in his heart he can believe that the primitive saints and martyrs would invade the Episcopal power of their own heads? . . . And if they did, whether it was possible for the invaders to prevail in so short a time over Christendom, and *without opposition*, or *one word of complaint* from the degraded presbyters against the usurping prelates? For usurpations of this sacred kind, we know with a witness, never come in without remarkable clamors and convulsions; are seldom perfectly forgotten, and the revolution skinned over without a scar. That bishops, therefore, should obtain wherever the gospel did, so soon and with such *universal silence* cannot be accounted for any other way, than that the gospel and the episcopate came in upon the same divine title."‡ I will here add the following short quotation from Chillingworth: "If any man ask, How could it [corruption in the church of Rome] become universal in so short a time? Let him tell me how the communicating of infants became so universal; and then he shall acknowledge, what was done in some, was possible in others."§ So happily have these Pædobaptists answered Dr. Doddridge, and secured our inference against the exceptions of protestant opposers, whether they be Episcopalians or Non-conformists!

Reflect. V. As it appears, from this and the preceding chapter, that the New Testament contains neither express precept for, nor plain example of infant baptism, and that no substantial evidence can be produced from ecclesiastical authors, of its being a prevailing custom, till about the middle of the third century; we may with great propriety (*mutatis mutandis*) adopt and apply to Pædobaptism, the reasonings of Protestants against the peculiarities of Popery. The following may serve as a specimen. Turretin, when opposing the superstitious appendages of baptism, as practised in the Papal communion, argues not only from the silence of scripture, but also from that "of the most ancient Christian writers. Because, in the genuine books of undoubted and pure antiquity, nothing occurs relating to those things . . . Whence," he adds, "there is no reason for us to imagine that they were used in those first times. Nay, a solid argument is thence drawn, that no such things were then practised: because it cannot be doubted, had they been then in use, but the

* Lectures, p. 522

† Salmero, apud Chamierum, Panstrat, tom. iv. l. ix. c. 1. et. § 13

* Salmero, apud Cham. Pan. tom. iv. l. ix. c. iv. § 20.

‡ Apologies, vol. i. Preface, pp. 31, 32.

§ Relig. of Protestants, part i. chap. v. § 91.

fathers would have mentioned them; like as, in the following ages, they were not silent about things that were frequently added to the legitimate and apostolic rite of baptism.* Mr. Neal, when opposing the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, says; "Had our lord appointed a vicar-general on earth, we might expect to meet, not only with his name in scripture, but with the time and manner of his instalment, and with the deed of conveyance to his successors, in the most plain and significant words; or, at least, that it should be read in every page of antiquity. But if the most ancient fathers of the church consent in any thing, it is in a general silence about this matter. The whole stress of the evidence is, therefore, laid upon, obscure and metaphorical passages of scripture . . . If we lay these things together, and consider the silence of the scripture records and genuine remains of antiquity, about a supreme visible head; it will amount to a demonstration, that the hierarchy of the church of Rome is built upon the sand."†

—Dr. Harris: "There is scarce any thing in which the church of Rome puts in a stronger claim, or makes a louder boast, than the sense of antiquity and the judgment of the ancient fathers; though in points peculiar to Popery, and in which they differ from the Protestants, scarce any thing is less fair, or more unjust."‡—Dr. Hughes: "If antiquity be of any consequence in determining matters of religion, the earliest must be the best; and this is clearly against the church of Rome, in the affair now before us."§—Bp. Burnet: "The silence of the first and purest ages, about these things which are controverted among us, is evidence enough that they were not known to them; especially, since in their Apologies, which they wrote to the heathens for their religion and worship, wherein they give an abstract of their doctrines, and a rubric of their worship, they never once mention these great evils for which we now accuse that [Romish] church."||—Mr. Bingham: "The silence of all ancient authors is good evidence of this case; [that is, the religious use of images.] . . . Of images or pictures there is not a syllable; which is at least a good negative argument, that there was no such thing in their churches."¶—Dr. Owen: "No instance can be given, or hath been, for the space of two hundred years, or until the end of the second century, of

any one person who had the care of more churches than one committed unto him, or did take the charge of them upon himself."*

—Dr. Goodman: "For about two hundred years we find not one word of this kind of confession which we enquire for . . . If this business had been of such consequence as is pretended, it is strange that those holy men, Ignatius, Clemens, and Justin Martyr, should not have any mention of it."†—Ottius: "As they [the primitive Christians] had no temples, no altars, so neither had they any incense; which is inferred from the silence of those times. I do not mean a kind of uncertain silence, on which no argument can be formed; but such as, in cases to be disputed, may serve for a substantial reason."‡

Again: Our learned opposers have taught us to consider ecclesiastical terms and religious rites, which are not found in scripture, as coming into use about the time when they are first mentioned by one or another of the ancient writers. Is our enquiry, for example, In what age baptism obtained the name of a *sacrament*? Gomarus replies, Tertullian is the first who gives it that appellation.§ Is it the consecration of *baptismal water*? Tertullian is the most ancient author produced that mentions it.|| Is it concerning the time when, in reference to baptism, the use of *sponsors* commenced. Deylingius and others assure us Tertullian is the first who says any thing of it.† Is it the *imposition of hands*, as an attendant on the administration of baptism? Mr. Peirce tells us, Tertullian is "the most ancient author who mentions that rite . . . We make no doubt it began about the time of Tertullian, and was at first annexed to baptism."** Is it that *unction* which was used in the ancient rite of confirmation? Mr. Bingham answers, "There being no authors before Tertullian who mentions the material unction, as used in confirmation, it is most probable it was a ceremony first begun about his time, to represent the unction of the Holy Ghost."†† Thus also Quenstedius: "That before the time of Tertullian this rite was not used in the church appears from hence, neither Justin Martyr, nor any other author of a former age, makes mention of it. Tertullian first of all, therefore, speaks of the unction."‡‡ Is it the custom of making *prayers of oblations* for the dead? Chennitius replies, "Tertullian is the first of the fathers who

* Institut. loc. xix q. xviii. § 6.

† Serim. at Salters' Hall, on Suprem. of Bishop of Rome, pp. 9. 30.

‡ Serim. at Salters' Hall, on Transubstan. p. 31.

§ Do. at Do. on Venerab. of Saints, pp. 30, 31.

|| Preserv. against Popery, title i. p. 125.

¶ Orig. Eccles. b. viii. chap. viii. § 6.

* Enquiry into Orig. Nat. of Churches, Preface, p. 21.

† Preserv. against Popery, title viii. p. 10.

‡ Biblioth. Bremens, class. ii. p. 539.

§ Opera, disputat. xxxi. § 3.

|| Bingham's Orig. Eccles. b. xi. chap. x. § 1.

† De Prudent. Pastoral. par. iii. c. iii. § 29. Dissent. Gent. Letters, lett. ii.

** Vindication of Dissent. part iii. pp. 172, 175.

†† Orig. Eccles. b. xiii. chap. iii. § 2.

‡‡ Antiq. Bib. p. 333.

mentions it.”* Is it the *white garment* usually worn for a few days, while recent from the baptismal font? Quenstedius tells us, “that none of the fathers who flourished in the three first centuries make mention of it The custom, therefore, seems to have been introduced in the fourth century.”† Is it the custom of those that were newly baptized carrying *lighted tapers* in their hands, when going to public worship? Quenstedius informs us, that “Justin Martyr, in the Second Apology, and Tertullian, De Baptismo, makes no mention of any such thing, though they very accurately describe the baptismal rites;”‡ and therefore it must be considered as of a later date. Once more: Is it that prostitution of a sacred rite, *the baptizing of bells*? Mr. Bingham replies, “The first notice we have of this is in the capitulars of Charles the Great, where it is only mentioned to be censured.”§

The substance of this reasoning may be thus expressed, and applied to our present purpose. Infant baptism, for which our Brethren contend, is not mentioned in scripture. They are obliged, therefore, to lay the whole stress of their argument on obscure passages of sacred writ. But had the matter in dispute been appointed by Jesus Christ, and practised by the apostles, there is reason to think the writers of the New Testament would have recorded it in a clear and explicit manner; consequently, it is unreasonable to believe and practise any such thing. Again: The earliest Christian antiquity must be the best. But Pædobaptism does not occur in the genuine writings of the highest and purest antiquity. It cannot be doubted, however, that if it had been practised in those times, the fathers would have mentioned it, as well as other things of much less importance. We have, therefore, abundant reason to conclude, that those ancient authors knew nothing of it. Once more: Learned men in general conclude, that the commencement of any practice in the Christian church is to be fixed about the time of its being first mentioned by ancient writers. But the practice of infant baptism is not mentioned by any ecclesiastical author before Tertullian; and even by him, like the baptism of bells, in the capitulars of Charles the Great, it is mentioned with a mark of censure; though he informs us of several unscriptural rites annexed to baptism, without the least sign of disapprobation.

That we are able to plead something

more than the *mere* silence of primitive fathers, will appear, I think, from the following paragraphs. The learned Basnage when proving against Baronius that unction and the imposition of hands were not connected with baptism in primitive times, produces a passage from Justin Martyr, which I will here give a little more at large in the translation of Mr. Reeves: “I shall now lay before you, (says Justin to the Roman emperor) the manner of dedicating ourselves to God, through Christ, upon our conversion; for should I omit this I might seem not to deal sincerely in this account of the Christian religion. As many, therefore, as are persuaded and believe that the things taught and said by us are true, and moreover take upon them to live accordingly, are taught to pray, and ask of God with fasting the forgiveness of their former sins; we praying together, and fasting for and with them; and then, and not till then, they are brought to a place of water, and there regenerated, after the same manner with ourselves; for they are washed in the name of God the Father and Lord of all, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The reason of this we have from the apostles; for having nothing to do in our first birth, but being begotten by necessity, or without our own consent, and trained up also in vicious customs and company, to the end therefore we might continue no longer the children of necessity and ignorance, but of freedom and knowledge, and obtain remission of our past sins by virtue of this water, the penitent, who now makes his second birth an act of his *own choice*, has called over him the name of God the Father, and Lord of all things. . . . And moreover the person baptized and illuminated, is baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and in the name of the Holy Ghost.”* Upon this passage Basnage, among other things, observes: “That the apologist plainly mentions the ceremonies of the church, without circumlocution or ambiguity. Dissimulation was not then used by Christians. Unless, therefore, we would represent Justin as telling the emperor a falsehood, it must be confessed, that unction and the imposition of hands were not yet annexed to baptism, nor used upon baptized persons. For it was the custom to unite without delay the baptismal water and the chrism, from the time of the latter being brought into the church Either, therefore, having cast off all sincerity, he concealed in silence confirmation, or confirmation was not at all used; the latter of which, as more probable, we prefer, lest the holy martyr should lie under a charge of perfidy. This argument is of so much force with me, that I

* Exam. Concil. Trident. p. 536.

† Utsupra. p. 343.

‡ Ibid. p. 344.

§ Orig. Ecclies. b. xi. chap. iv. § 2. Vid. Vander Waeyen, (Varia Sacra, p. 616.) who considers some of these rites as having an earlier date, and as being derived from the Pagans.

think the patrons of confirmation cannot possibly answer it.* He proceeds on the same principle, in order to prove, that various orders of ecclesiastics in the Papal communion had no existence among the primitive Christians. For having produced a passage from Clemens Romanus, who speaks of the apostles as "preaching through countries and cities, and appointing bishops and deacons:" he adds, "If, in the age of Clement, subdeacons, chanters, door-keepers, and exorcists had been appointed to those offices which their names import; what was the reason of Clement's mentioning none but bishops and deacons?"† Again, with reference to the office of a subdeacon, he says: "It was not known before the third century. Cyprian honored that confessor of Christ, Optatus, with the new title of a subdeacon . . . Let us hear Tertullian in his book, *De Baptismo*. *The high-priest has the right of administering baptism; then the elder, and also the deacon.* Why does the ancient author stop here? Does not authority to administer baptism belong to the subdeacon, when the elder and the deacon are absent? Seeing therefore, the name of a subdeacon first come into use after the death of Tertullian, we justly infer that the office of subdeacon was unknown to the church for upwards of two hundred years."‡ Now, if these principles and this course of arguing be pertinent and conclusive, in opposition to such particulars in the church of Rome as are not mentioned in the scripture, nor in primitive antiquity; what reason can be assigned why they should not have equal force against infant baptism? For it is manifest that all their force arises, not from an application of them to the religious customs of a particular people; but from those religious customs not being mentioned in the divine word, nor in the genuine writings of the most ancient ecclesiastical author.

With regard to the passage produced from Justin, Dr. Wall acknowledges, that it is not directly in favor of infant baptism; though he is of opinion the famous apologist says nothing inconsistent with the practice of it in those times.§ But if the silence of our venerable martyr, concerning unction and the imposition of hands, would have impeached his integrity, had those rites been then used, as Mr. Basnage justly pleads; much more would his entire omission of infants, as partakers of baptism, have inferred the same reflection upon him, had Pædobaptism been then practised. "If," as Dr. Gale observes, "he was so

cautious not to seem unfair, in hiding any thing from the powers before whom he pleaded; it is strange he should entirely omit, without the least intimation, so important an article as the custom of baptizing infants, if it had been practised at that time. The heathens were apt enough to charge the Christians with using infants very barbarously; it concerned St. Justin, therefore, not to give any umbrage by seeming to avoid the mentioning of them. So careful an apologist would certainly have taken occasion to mention them, and describe the Christians' treatment of them very exactly, in order to remove all suspicions from the emperors' mind. When they were reported to murder infants, or make some impious use of their blood, what could possibly fortify the suspicion more, than that so great a man as Justin should, in a public and formal apology, decline saying any thing at all of what they did to them? It was altogether necessary, therefore, for St. Justin, at least to have taken some notice of infants, if they had used any ceremony about them . . . But, supposing he had not, must he therefore describe baptism in such a manner as cannot be at all applicable to the case of infants, as he has done? This would have been directly deceiving the emperor, who certainly understood St. Justin's account to be full and true of baptism in general, and never imagined the Christians baptized otherwise. Had there been such a thing as infant baptism at that time, how easy had it been for St. Justin, and how necessary, to have said, *Not only they who are persuaded and do believe, and so on; but also to have added, together with their infant children, are baptized . . .* Nothing can be plainer than that the new birth [of which Justin speaks,] together with the remission of sins to be obtained by water, is here said to depend, not upon any necessity, or the will of another, as our being born into this world did; but, on the contrary, on our own wills, or free choice and knowledge. For the opposition lies here: We were at first generated without our knowledge, or choice; but we must be regenerated and obtain the remission of our sins by water with our knowledge and choice. And this shows that infants, who are not capable of that knowledge and choice, are consequently not capable of this baptism: if they are to be baptized, it must be without their choice, as much as their first generation was; which destroys St. Justin's opposition, and therefore must be thought inconsistent with his notion of the matter."*

Should any be disposed to answer with

* Exercit. Hist. Crit. pp. 76, 77.

† Ibid. p. 608.

‡ Ibid. p. 642.

§ Hist. Inf. Bap. part i. chap. ii. § 5.

* Ref. or Dr. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap. lett. xii. p. 454—457.

Bellarmino, in a similar case; "Things that are generally known, and daily practised, do not use to be written;" we reply with Dr. Clagett, "But if this will do, it is impossible these men should ever be convinced. For when we charge them with innovation in any matters of doctrine and practice, if they can show that those things are written in the ancients, we are certainly gone that way; for this proves that to be well known, and commonly practised in the primitive times, which we pretend was but of yesterday. But if we can show that they were not written, we get nothing by it at all; for it seems the reason they were not written is because they were generally known and daily practised."*

I will conclude this reflection with the following quotation from Dr. Clagett: "The profound silence of the first three ages, as to the worship of the blessed Virgin and the saints, should be enough to determine the point in question. And this silence is not only directly confessed by some of our adversaries, but as effectually confessed by the rest, that labor to find some hints of these practices in these primitive fathers; but by such interpretations and consequences, that it is almost as great a shame to confute, as to make them. Now the silence of these fathers ought not be rejected, as an incompetent proof, because it is but a negative. For since we pretend that these practices are innovations, and were never heard of in the ancient church; it is not reasonable to demand a better proof of it, than that in their books, some of which give large and particular accounts of their worship, and of their doctrines concerning worship, we can no where meet with the least intimation or footstep of them. Would our adversaries have us bring express testimonies out of the fathers against these things, as if they wrote and disputed by the Spirit of prophecy, against those corruptions that should arise several ages after they were dead? . . . To demand more than their perpetual silence in these cases, is unreasonable; because no satisfactory account can be given of it, but this, *That the worship we speak of was indeed no part of their religion.* Had it been some indifferent rite or ceremony that we contend about, this argument, from the silence of the fathers, against its antiquity, might with some color be rejected; because it were unreasonable to expect, that they should take notice in their writings of every custom, of how little moment soever: and yet we find, that in matters even of this slight nature, in comparison, they have not been wanting to give us very much information. But it is altogether incredible, that so nota-

ble and famous a part of the worship of Christians, as that which is now given to the blessed virgin, and to the saints, should not be mentioned by any one of them, if it had been the custom of those times . . . We have seen that in these latter ages the doctrine of her [the virgin Mary's] worship, is grown to be no mean part of the body of divinity with the doctors of the Roman church. There is no end of writing books in her honor, and to excite and direct devotion to her . . . One would, therefore, expect to find all things full of veneration and addresses to the blessed virgin, in the writings of the primitive fathers; that is, to meet with it at every turn, but if you look for any such thing, I will be bold to say you will lose your labor . . . I know not how the fathers can be excused, but that the scriptures speak as sparingly of her as they."* The intelligent reader will easily perceive that this will apply with peculiar force, *mutatis mutandis*, to the case before us.

Reflect. VI. Though the practice of infant baptism did prevail in the latter part of the third century, yet learned Pædobaptists themselves inform us, that many eminent persons descended from Christian parents, in following times, were not baptized till they arrived at the age of maturity. Bp. Taylor says: "The wisest of our fathers in Christ did not come unto baptism, until they were come to a strong and confirmed wit and age . . . There is no pretence of tradition, that the church in all ages did baptize all the infants of Christian parents. It is more certain that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first age. St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, and St. Austin, were born of Christian parents, and yet not baptized until the full age of a man, and more."†—Daille beares the following testimony: "In ancient times they often deferred the baptizing both of infants and of other people, as appears by the history of the emperors, Constantine the great, of Constantius, of Theodocius, of Valentinian, and of Gratian in St. Ambrose; and also by the orations and homilies of Gregory Nazianzen, and of St. Basil, upon this subject. And some of the fathers too have been of opinion, that it is fit it should be deferred; as, namely, Tertullian, as we have formerly noted of him."‡—The famous Austin, in his Confessions, having said; I was then signed with the sign of his [Christ's] cross, and was seasoned with his salt, so soon as I came out of my mother's womb, who greatly trusted in thee;" his translator, Dr. W. Watts, has the following note upon it: "This was the practice of

* Preservative against Popery, title, vii. p. 85.

* Preserv. against Popery, title, vi. pp. 192, 193, 194.

† In Dr. Wall's Hiss. Inf. Bap. part ii. chap. ii. § 10.

‡ Right Use of the Fathers, book ii. chap. vi. p. 149.

the primitive times; by which religious parents devoted their children unto Christ, long before their baptism, which in *those days was deferred till they were able to answer for themselves.*"* Gregory Nazianzen, born in the year three hundred and eighteen, whose parents were Christians, and his father a bishop, was not baptized till about thirty years of age;† and Chrysostom also, born of Christian parents in the year three hundred and forty seven, was not baptized till near twenty-one years of age.‡ See the immediately following chapter, No. 1. Now, if the parents of these Christian fathers and Cæsars, though professing themselves the disciples of Christ, did not baptize their infant offspring, we may justly presume, whatever might be the reasons of their conduct, that many others in those times were influenced by the same reasons, and acted a similar part.

The language of Boniface, bishop of Thessalonica, in a letter to Austin, is far from expressing a warm regard, either for infant baptism, or the business of sponsors. "Suppose I set before you an infant," says he to Austin, "and ask you, *Whether, when he grows up, he will be a chaste person?* or, *Whether he will be a thief?* You doubtless will answer, *I do not know.* And, *Whether he, in that infant age, have any thought, good, or evil?* You will still say, *I do not know.* If then you dare not assert any thing concerning his future conduct, or his present thoughts, what is the reason that, when they are presented for baptism, their parents, as sponsors for them, answer and say; *They do that, of which their infant age is not able to think;* or, if it can, it is a profound secret? For we ask those by whom they are presented, and say; *Does he believe in God?* (which question concerns that age which is ignorant whether there be a God.) They answer, *He does believe.* And so likewise an answer is returned to all the rest. Whence I wonder that parents in these affairs answer so confidently for the child, that he does so many good things, which at the time of his baptism the administrator demands! And yet, were I at that very time to ask; *Will this baptized child, when grown to maturity, be chaste?* or, *Will he not be a thief?* I know not whether any one would venture to answer, *He will,* or, *He will not,* be the one or the other; as they answer without hesitation, *He believes in God—He turns to God.*"§ Hence it appears, that in the time of Austin a profession of faith was

always required, prior to the administration of baptism, agreeably to the primitive pattern;* that when an infant was presented for baptism, this profession was made by proxy, as it is now in the church of Rome, and in the church of England; that Boniface considered this vicarious profession, as a bold, unwarrantable, absurd procedure, as it undoubtedly is; and, consequently, that he was far from being, like Austin, a sanguine admirer of Pædobaptism; there being, as Dr. Wall observes, "no time or age of the church, in which there is any appearance that infants were ordinarily baptized, without sponsors or godfathers,"† to make that vicarious profession, against which Boniface with so much reason and force objects.

To these difficulties the celebrated bishop of Hippo, among other trifling and impertinent things, replies: "As the sacrament of Christ's body is, after a certain fashion, Christ's body; and the sacrament of Christ's blood, is his blood; so the sacrament of faith, is faith; and to believe, is nothing else but to have faith. And so when an infant, that has not yet the faculty of faith, is said to believe, he is said to have faith, because of the sacrament of faith, and to turn to God, because of the sacrament of conversion; because that answer belongs to the celebration of the sacrament . . . An infant, though he be not yet constituted a believer, by that faith which consists in the will of believers, yet he is by the sacrament of that faith; for, as he is said to believe, so he is called a believer; not from his having the thing itself in his mind, but from his receiving the sacrament of it. And when a person begins to have a sense of things, he does not repeat that sacrament, but he understands the force of it; and by consent of will squares himself to the true meaning of it. And till he can do this, the sacrament will avail to his preservation against all contrary powers; and so far it will avail, that, if he depart this life before the use of reason, he will, by this Christian remedy of the sacrament itself, (the charity of the church recommending him) be made free from that condemnation which, by one man, entered into the world. He that does not believe this, and thinks it cannot be done, is indeed an infidel, though he have the sacrament of faith; and that infant is much better, who, though he have not faith in his mind yet puts no bar of a contrary mind against it, and so receives the sacrament to his soul's health."‡ Such is the solution given by Austin, which the celebrated Chamier just-

* Austin's Confessions, book i. chap. xi. p. 17. 1650.

† Dupin, cent. iv. p. 159. Gen. Biog. Dict. art. Greg.

Naz. ‡ Grotius, apud Poli Synops. ad Mat. xix. 14. Dupin's Eccles. Hist. cent. v. pp. 6, 7.

§ Augustini Epistola ad Bonifacium, epist. xxiii.

* Acts viii. 37.

† Hist. Inf. Bap. p. 477.

‡ In Dr. Wall, ut supra, p. 115.

ly pronounces *frigid*.* How far any of those who now administer baptism on the creed of a proxy, whether latent in the parent, or avowed by the sponsor, may approve of his reasoning, I cannot pretend to say; but I think it is plain, that the New Testament is equally silent about a vicarious faith, and a vicarious baptism. He, therefore, who admits the former, could not consistently oppose the latter, were any to plead for it.

The very learned and famous Daille, when animadverting on this passage of Austin, says; "Whether these things satisfied Boniface, I know not. To me, I confess, they seem strange. How can the infant offered to baptism, be truly said, therefore, to have faith, because he has the sacrament of faith, i. e. baptism, at the time when he has not yet received baptism? nay, who is for no other reason asked the question, than that he may obtain baptism, which as yet he wants? As though none ought to be baptized who does not believe. An infant is presented to the minister to be baptized: the minister, as though he thought it unlawful to baptize even an infant, except he believes, demands, and, which aggravates the absurdity, he demands of the *infant himself*, whether he believes? tacitly implying, he may not baptize him unless he does so. Here the godfather, that the infant may be capable of baptism, answers as his surety, that he believes. When Boniface was in doubt, how the godfathers could truly and certainly affirm this; Austin answers, he could, though the infant had not yet faith; because, when he says *he believes*, he only means, he has the sacrament of faith. Is not this a brave solution of the difficult? But I say the infant has not what you call the sacrament of faith; nor, if he had, would there be any occasion to offer him to you to be baptized: and therefore, in that very sense Austin puts upon the answer, the godfather lies when he says, the infant believes, i. e. has the sacrament of faith."†

Whether the form of proceeding in the administration of baptism to infants, according to the English Liturgy, do not deserve a similar censure, let my reader judge by the following extract from Mr. Peirce. "The priest thus speaks unto the godfathers and godmothers: 'Wherefore *this infant must also faithfully for his part, promise by you that are his sureties, (until he come of age to take it upon himself)* that he will renounce the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his command-

ments. I demand, therefore; Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world?' and so on. 'I renounced them all.' 'Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty?' and so on. 'All this I steadfastly believe.' 'Will thou be baptized in this faith?' 'So is my desire.' 'Will thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?' 'I will.' Who now is so blind as not to see, the minister all along ask the infants themselves these questions? Of whom else can he ask, whether *he will be baptized?* or who else can answer, *I will?* For the godfathers and godmothers have been baptized themselves long before. It is plain then the godfathers are not properly asked these questions, and that they answer them for no other reason, but because the infants are not able to speak for themselves. Which to many seems absurd and childish, and unworthy of the gravity of a Christian assembly, and the solemnity of the ordinance of baptism. Hereto we may add the words of the Catechism: 'Why then are infants baptized, when, by reason of their tender age, they cannot perform [repentance and faith?]' Because they promise them both by their sureties,' and so on." He adds; "And truly they seem by this method to betray the cause of infants to the Anabaptists. For if an express and actual profession of repentance and faith is necessarily to be required of every one before he is baptized, infant baptism can never be defended; since a vicarious profession is not founded upon any text in the whole Bible."* To the latter part of this quotation a Conformist might reply: "We acknowledge, Sir, that there is an air of puerility attending those questions and answers which you have recited; but notwithstanding this we insist, that there is a more plain reference to primitive practice than can be perceived in your mode of proceeding.† In the administration of baptism according to our Liturgy, a profession of repentance and faith makes a signal appearance; not so in your procedure. We baptize on the professed faith, of sponsors; you, on the presumed faith of parents. Show us your warrant for baptizing a child on the latter, and you shall not wait long for ours on behalf of the former. Produce your text from the Bible for baptizing one or another, without a personal profession made by the subject; and you shall soon have ours for administering baptism upon the declared creed of proxy.

* Panstrat. torn. iv. l. v. c. xv. § 22.

† In Mr. Peirce's Vindicate of Dissenters, part iii. pp. 169, 170

* Vindicat. of Dissent. part iii. pp. 166, 167.

† Matt. iii. 6-10; Acts viii. 35, 37; 1 Pet. iii. 21.

Once more: Cattenburgh informs us, that in the former part of the sixth century many opposed infant baptism.* The Petrobrussians in the twelfth century maintained, as Venema shows, "That Pædobaptism cannot save infants, nor the faith of another be profitable to them:"† and Mosheim assures us, that "Peter de Bruys, who made the most laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel," insisted, "That no persons whatever were to be baptized before they came to the full use of their reason."‡ Hence J. A. Fabricius calls the Petrobrussians, "the Anabaptists of the age."§ In the same century, according to Venema, there was another sect of professing Christians, denominated *Publicans*, who asserted, "That infants are not to be baptized till they arrive at years of understanding." The same Historian mentions another denomination of Christians in that age, called *Arnoldists*; who he says, "considered Pædobaptism in a different light from that of the Romish church, Concerning which sect, Bernard exclaims, *Utinam tam sanæ esset doctrinæ, quam districtæ vitæ!*"|| I will conclude this Chapter with the following concession of a Roman Catholic writer, the principle of which will here apply. "No true believer now doubts of purgatory; whereof, notwithstanding, among the ancients there is very little or no mention at all."¶

CHAPTER III.

The high Opinion of the Fathers, concerning the Utility of Baptism, and the Grounds on which they proceeded in administering that Ordinance to Infants, when Pædobaptism became a prevailing Practice.

VITRINGA. "The ancient Christian church, from the highest antiquity after the apostolic times, appears generally to have thought, that baptism is absolutely necessary for all that would be saved by the grace of Jesus Christ. It was therefore customary in the ancient church, if infants were greatly afflicted and in danger of death; or if parents were affected with a singular concern about the salvation of their children, to present their infants, or children in their minority, to the bish-

op to be baptized. But if these reasons did not urge them, they thought it better, and more for the interest of minors, that their baptism should be deferred till they arrived at a more advanced age; which custom was not yet abolished in the time of Austin, though he vehemently urged the necessity of baptism, while with all his might he defended the doctrines of grace against Pelagius."—*Observat Sac.* tom. i. l. ii. c. vi. § 9.

2. Venema. "The ancients connected a regenerating power, and a communication of the Spirit, with baptism. Justin Martyr (Apol. ii. 79,) asserts it in express words; and to baptism he applies that saying of our Lord, 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Besides, (Contra Tryph. p. 231,) he asserts, 'that baptism only can cleanse and purify a penitent;' where it is also called, 'the water of life'. . . . Irenæus (Advers. Hæres. iii. 17,) says, 'That Christ gave to his disciples the power of regenerating to God, when he sent them to baptize.' And Clemens Alexandrinus (Pædag. i. 6,) says; 'Being dipped, or baptized, we are illuminated; being illuminated, we are adopted for sons; being adopted, we are perfected; being perfected, we are rendered immortal: whence baptism is called grace, illumination, and the perfect laver,' which words he there explains. The doctrine of Tertullian is of a similar kind. Thus he speaks, (De Pœnit. c. vi.) 'A divine benefit, that is, the abolition of offences, is ascertained to those that are about to enter the water;' yet only in respect of such as repent. In his book concerning baptism, he explains his opinion more at large, and there attributes to the water, by an union with the divine virtue, a sanctifying power. . . . That baptism is connected with the remission of antecedent sins, and confers a sanctifying power on the person baptized, is the undoubted opinion of Cyprian, which he every where inculcates, so that there is hardly any need to produce the particular passages. In his first epistle to Donatus he declares, that before his conversion it seemed impossible to him, 'that a person should all on a sudden put of sin, in the laver of the salutary water,' which he himself had experienced; saying, 'Afterward, by the help of the generating water, the spots of the former time are cleansed away; a serene and a pure light from above, infuses itself into the peaceful breast; afterward a second birth, the Spirit being drawn from heaven, restored me into a new man.' In his sixty-third epistle, to Cæcilius, he expressly says, 'By baptism the Holy Spirit is received.' In his seventieth epistle, to Januarius, he says, 'It is necessary, therefore, that the water should be

* Spicileg. Theol. Christ. l. iv. c. lxiv. sect. ii. § 4.

† Hist. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 129.

‡ Eccles. Hist. cent. xii. part. ii. chap. v. § 7.

§ Bibliographia Antiq. p. 358. Hamb. 1716.

¶ Ut supra, pp. 139, 131, 132. See Dupin, cent. xii. pp. 68, 69.

¶ In Morning Exercise against Popery, p. 251.

first purified and sanctified by the priest, that he may be able, by the baptism which he administers, to wash away the sins of a man who is baptized;’ where also many other things of a similar kind occur. In his seventy-first epistle, to Quintus, he says; ‘There is one water in the holy church, which maketh sheep.’ In his seventy-second epistle, to Stephanus, he applies what our Lord says (John iii.) concerning the necessity of regeneration, to baptism. In his seventy-third epistle, to Jubaianus, these remarkable words occur; ‘Thence begins the origin of all faith, the saving entrance to a hope of eternal life, and a divine grant to purify and quicken the servants of God;’ soon after he also attributes the remission of sin, and sanctification, to baptism and applies to it John iii. 5. In his seventy-fourth epistle, to Pompeius, he says, ‘We are born, in Christ, by the laver of generation. Water only cannot purge away sins and sanctify a man, unless it have also the Holy Spirit. It is baptism, in which the old man dies and the new man is born.’ Firmilianus also, in the seventy-fifth epistle, to Cyprian, among the effects of baptism, particularly mentions, ‘washing away the filth of the old man, forgiving of old sins, that were deserving of death; making persons, by a heavenly regeneration, the sons of God; and a restoration to life eternal, by the sanctification of the divine laver’. . . . Gregory Nazianzen declares, (Orat. xl. p. 653,) That they who die unbaptized, without their own fault, go neither to heaven nor hell; but, if they had lived piously, to a middle place.” *Hist. Eccles.* tom. iv. iii. secul. ii. § 124; sec. iii. § 61; tom. iv. sec. iv. § 115.

3. Salmasius. “An opinion prevailed, that no one could be saved without being baptized; and for that reason the custom arose of baptizing infants.” *Epist. ad Iustum Pacium, apud Van Dale Hist. Baptism.*

4. Hospinianus. “Austin, when writing against the Pelagians, too inconsiderately consigns over the infants of Christians to damnation that died without baptism. There is nothing that he more zealously urges, nor any thing on which he more firmly depends, than those words of Christ, ‘Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.’”—*Hist. Sacram.* l. ii. c. ii. p. 52.

5. Suicerus. “We cannot deny, that many of the ancients maintained the absolute necessity of baptism. Chrysostom says, ‘It is impossible, without baptism, to obtain the kingdom;’ and soon after, ‘It is impossible to be saved without it’. . . . This opinion concerning the absolute necessity of baptism, arose from a wrong understanding of our Lord’s words; ‘Except

a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven’ Chrysostom again says, ‘If an infant die without baptism, through the negligence of the presbyter, wo to that presbyter! but if, through the negligence of the parents, wo to the parents of that infant!’”—*Thesaur. Eccles.* tom. i. pp. 3, 650.

6. Episcopus. “Pædobaptism was not accounted a necessary rite, till it was determined so to be in the Milevitan Council, held in the year four hundred and eighteen.”—*Institut. Theol.* l. iv. c. xiv.

7. Dr. Owen. “Most of the ancients concluded, that it [baptism] was no less necessary; unto salvation than faith or repentance itself.”—*On Justification*, chap. ii. p. 173.

8. Dr. Wall. “If we except Tertullian, Vincentius [A. D. 419] is the first man upon record that ever said, that children might be saved without baptism; If by being saved, we mean going to heaven; for that many before him thought they would be in a state without punishment, I have showed before. . . . All the ancient Christians, without the exception of one man, do understand the rule of our Saviour, (John iii. 5.) ‘Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,’ of baptism. I had occasion in the first Part to bring a great many instances of their sayings, where all that mention that text, from Justin Martyr down to St. Austin, do so apply it; and many more might be brought. Neither did I ever see it otherwise applied in any ancient writer. I believe Calvin was the first that ever denied this place to mean baptism.”—*Hist. of Inf. Bap.* part i. chap. xx. pp. 232, 233; part ii. chap. vi. p. 354.

REFLECTIONS.

Reflect. I. Though it is manifest from the concessions and assertions of learned Pædobaptists in the preceding chapter, that there is no evidence of infant baptism, before the time of Tertullian, by whom it was opposed; yet from these quotations it plainly appears, that both he and others before him spake of baptism in such a manner, as had a natural tendency to introduce and promote Pædobaptism. When Justin, for instance, had learned to call baptism *the water of life*, and to interpret John iii. 5, as relating to that institution; when Clement of Alexandria had ascribed to it an *illuminating power* and connected *adoption perfection*, and *immortality* with it; and when Tertullian had pronounced it a *divine blessing*, which ascertains the *abolition of sin*, and is attended with a *sanctifying energy*; it is no wonder, that in the time of Cyprian

it should be thought necessary for infants to be baptized, and that Pædobaptism should become a prevailing practice. The language of this venerable African is like that of Rupert, in the twelfth century, who says; "Baptism is therefore called *lunctio*, in Latin, because a man when baptized is, by the Spirit of grace, altered for the better, and is rendered very different from what he was before. He was a son of death and of perdition; he is made a child of life and of acquisition. He was a son of hell; he is made an heir of God's kingdom. He was an enemy of God; he is reconciled and made a child of God."^{*} A pernicious opinion this, by whomsoever espoused! The language of Cyprian, and of others in following times, concerning the energy of baptismal water, administered occasion for the apostate Julian to reproach the Christians, with reference to the solemn rite.†

It is worthy of observation, that while Cyprian stands forth as the first patron of infant sprinkling, he appears also as giving the sanction of his authority in favor of *holy water*: asserting the necessity of having the baptismal element consecrated by a priest, in order to render it more effectual for the washing away of sin. See No. 2.‡ Austin and others, we find, in the following times, proceeded a step farther than Cyprian; and, not contented with asserting at an extravagant rate the utility of baptism, boldly maintained its absolute necessity: consigning over to eternal ruin all such infants as died without it. See No. 4, 5. Now as both Cyprian and Austin were African bishops there is reason to conclude with Grotius, "That anciently the baptism of infants was much more common in Africa than in Asia, or elsewhere and with a greater opinion of its necessity."§ So fond of baptism were the superstitious Africans, that, as Deylingius informs us, they frequently baptized the dead.||

Reflect. II. From the quotations before us it plainly appears, that the baptism of infants was introduced and prevailed, on the supposition of its being a necessary mean of human happiness; and that this weak surmise was founded on a mistake of our Lord's meaning, in John iii. 5. See No. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8. In like manner a misunder-

standing of John vi. 53, produced infant communion; as we shall see in its proper place. It is worthy of remark, as Mr. Richards observes, that "those words of our Lord were the principle texts that could be thought of for some time, as proper to urge in their favor. How vastly are the times altered since! What heaps of texts the modern advocates for these customs are able to quote in support of them, which the ancients could never think of; while those which the latter thought the most favorable to their cause, are now deemed little, or nothing at all to the purpose! Whatever others may think of this circumstance, I must confess that I cannot help looking upon it as rather unfavorable to the cause of the usages in question; for had they been really commanded in scripture, one cannot conceive why the ancients should not have been as well acquainted with those commands as the moderns; especially, as they must have been equally interested, and in all probability took no less pains to find them out. But by viewing both the customs as *corruptions* of Christianity, the circumstance at once ceases to be mysterious; as it is well known that the ordinances of [men] are capable of *improvement*; which is by no means the case with those of Jesus Christ."^{*}

In regard to John iii. 5, it may be observed, that had our divine Teacher, when he declared it absolutely necessary to be "born of water and of the Spirit," intended the ordinance of baptism by the term *water*; then indeed the necessity of that institution would have unavoidably followed, as being placed on a level with the renewing agency of the Holy Spirit. But were that the sense of our Lord, it would inevitably follow that a positive rite is of equal necessity with the renovating influence of the Holy Spirit; that the salvation of infants, in many cases, is rendered impossible, because numbers of them are no sooner born than they expire; that the eternal happiness of all who die in their infancy must depend, not only on the devout care of their parents but also on the presence and pious benevolence of administrators; that all the dying infants of Jews, of Mohammedans, and of Pagans, are involved in final ruin; and that multitudes of adults must also perish, merely for the want of baptism. But who can imagine that the Lord should place our immortal interests on such a footing, as neither tends to illustrate the grace of God, nor to promote the comfort of man, on such a footing as is quite inimical to the spirit of that maxim, BY GRACE YE ARE SAVED; and has no aptitude to excite virtuous tempers in the human heart? A sentiment of

* Apud Magleburg. Centur. cent. xii. p. 252.

† Vid. Biblioth. Bremens. class. i. fascic. iii. p. 242.

‡ Vid. Quenstedium, Antiq. Bib. pars. i. cap. iv. sect. ii. num. i. § 12. The present form of consecrating baptismal water in the Church of England is as follows. "Almighty everliving God . . . regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation; *sanctify* this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that this child, now to be baptized therein, may receive the fulness of thy grace,"—and so on. Public Baptism of Infants.

§ Apud Poli Synops. ad Mat. xi. c. 14.

|| De prudent. Pastoral. pars. iii. c. iii. § 16.

VOL. 1.—I*

* History of Antichrist, p. 81.

this kind is chiefly adapted to enhance the importance of the clerical character, and to make mankind consider themselves as under infinite obligations to a professional order of their fellow mortals, for an interest in everlasting blessedness. Remarkably strong is the following language of Mr. Arch. Hall respecting this particular: "We might well say, *Wo to the earth!* if it were in the power of a selfish and peevish order of men, to dispose of happiness and damnation according to their humor."* We may, therefore, safely conclude, that the term *water*, in our Lord's converse with Nicodemus, does not signify baptism; and consequently whatever its meaning be, the emphatical passage neither enjoins nor encourages the administration of baptism to infants. Hence it appears, that the main foundation of Pædobaptism among the ancients was a great mistake; and as such it has long been deserted by the generality of Calvinistic Pædobaptists.

Reflect. III. That my reader may see in what an important point of light baptism is considered by the generality of modern Pædobaptists, and to convince him that it is with an ill grace any of them charge us with laying an unwarrantable stress upon it, the following extracts are produced, partly from public formulas of doctrine and worship, and partly from the writings of individuals. Thus then the church of Rome when speaking by the *Council of Trent*. "If any one shall say that baptism is, not necessary to salvation, let him be accursed . . . Sin, whether contracted by birth from our first parents, or committed of ourselves, by the admirable virtue of this sacrament is remitted and pardoned . . . In baptism, not only sins are remitted, but also all the punishments of sins and wickedness are graciously pardoned of God. . . . By virtue of this sacrament, we are not only delivered from those evils which are truly said to be the greatest of all, but also we are enriched with the best and most excellent endowments; for our souls are filled with divine grace, whereby being made just and the children of God, we are trained up to be heirs of eternal salvation also. . . . To this is added a most noble train of all virtues, which, together with grace, is poured of God, into the soul. . . . By baptism we are joined and knit to Christ, as members to the head. . . . By baptism we are signed with a character which can never be blotted out of our soul. . . . Besides the other things which we obtain by baptism, it opens to every one of us the gate of heaven, which before, through sin, was shut."†

Cyril, the patriarch of Constantinople, expresses his own faith, and that of the *Greek church*, respecting baptism, in the following manner. "We believe that baptism is a sacrament appointed by the Lord, which except a person receive, he has no communion with Christ; from whose death, burial, and resurrection, proceed all the virtue and efficacy of baptism. We are certain, therefore, that both original and actual sins are forgiven, to those who are baptized in the manner which our Lord requires in the gospel; so that whoever is washed 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,' is regenerated, cleansed, and justified."* Stapferus, when speaking of the *Greek church* says: "The Oriental Christians attributing too much efficacy to rites and ceremonies, it is no wonder if they teach the absolute necessity of baptism; that without it no one can become a real Christian; and that it cannot be omitted in respect of infants without endangering their salvation: so that, a priest being absent, and in case of necessity, baptism may be administered by a layman, or by a woman. For the same reason they also teach, that there is an equal necessity of the Lord's supper; which, therefore, they administer under both species to baptized infants."†

Let us now examine the Protestant confessions, respecting this affair. Thus, then, the *Confession of Helvetia*: "To be baptized in the name of Christ, is to be enrolled, entered, and received into the covenant and family, and so into the inheritance of the sons of God; yea, and in this life, to be called after the name of God, that is to say, to be called the sons of God, to be purged also from the filthiness of sins, and to be endued with the manifold grace of God, for to lead a new and innocent life."—*Confession of Bohemia*: "We believe, that whatsoever by baptism, is in the outward ceremony signified and witnessed. all that doth the Lord God perform inwardly; that is, that he washeth away sin, begetteth a man again, and bestoweth salvation upon him. . . . For the bestowing of these excellent fruits was holy baptism given and granted to the church."—*Confession of Augsburg*: "Concerning baptism they teach, that it is necessary to salvation, as a ceremony ordained of Christ; also, that by baptism the grace of God is offered."—*Confession of Saxony*: "*I baptize thee*; that is, I do witness that, by this dipping, thy sins be washed away, and that thou art now received of the true God."—*Confession of Wittenburg*: "We believe and confess, that baptism is that sea, into the bot-

* Gospel Worship, vol. i. p. 238. See Mr. Bradbury's Duty and Doct. of Bap. pp. 19, 20.
† Council. Trident. sess. vii. can. v. Catechism of Council of Trent, pp. 165, 175.

* Confess. Christ. Fidei, cap. xvi. A. D. 1631, ad calcem Syntag. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1651.
† Theolog. Polem. tom. v. p. 52.

tom whereof, as the prophet saith, God doth cast all our sins."—Confession of Sueveland: "As touching baptism, we confess, that it is the font of regeneration, washeth away sins, and saveth us. But all these things we do so understand as St. Peter doth interpret them, (1 Pet. iii. 21.)"*—Church of England: "Baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven . . . How many sacraments hath Christ ordained in his church? Two only, as generally necessary to salvation; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord"†—Westminster Assembly: "Before baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction, showing, that it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is a seal of the covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our union with him, of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal."‡ Such is the language of modern Pædobaptists in their public formulas.

The following extracts are from the writings of individuals of different communions. Thus that famous reformer, Luther: "There is in the baptism of infants, the beginning of faith and of a divine operation, in a manner peculiar to themselves."§ —Gerhardus: "The sacrament of baptism does not profit without faith; nevertheless it is the efficacious mean by which God of his grace works faith, regeneration, and salvation in the hearts of infants."|| —Buddeus: "All men should be baptized, who are to be brought to eternal salvation . . . No one can be saved except by faith, as our Saviour expressly declares. Now seeing infants cannot be brought to faith by the preaching of God's word; it follows, that it must be effected in another way, namely, by baptism: by which men are born again and so receive faith, as our Saviour declares. . . The effect of baptism, which has the nature of an end, is, in respect of infants, regeneration. . . That effect, therefore, which immediately results from baptism, consists in regeneration by which faith is produced in infants . . . In baptism a divine virtue is connected with the water, and with the action conversant about it; which is in a particular manner to be regarded . . . Baptism is not a mere sign and symbol, by which a reception into the covenant of grace is denoted: but by regeneration, which baptism effects, we are really received into that covenant; and so are made partakers of all the blessings peculiar to it. To which blessings (besides remission of sins, or justification, renovation, adoption into the number of God's

children, a right to the heavenly inheritance, and a certain hope of eternal life) pertains communion with Christ, and with his mystical body . . . Concerning the highest necessity of baptism, the thing itself will not suffer us to doubt; seeing it is expressly asserted, that without it no one shall enter the kingdom of heaven, (John iii. 5.)"*—Deylingius: "Baptism is the sacrament of initiation, and, as it were, the gate of heaven; in which a man is regenerated by the washing of water and the word of God, purged from the guilt of sin, and declared to be an heir of all celestial blessings . . . If Christian parents defer the baptism of their infants; or, seized by the spirit of Anabaptism, or of fanaticism, will not have them baptized at all—then by the authority of the consistory, or of the magistrate of the place, the infant must be taken from the parents, and when initiated by baptism returned to them."†—Vossius: "In infants, upon whom the word has no efficacy, there is room for the sacraments to generate faith in them; without which no one shall see eternal life . . . It is manifest, that in baptism we are born again, adopted, received into the covenant of grace; and upon that receive remission of sins, are renewed by the Holy Spirit, and made heirs of the heavenly kingdom."‡—Mr. Isaac Ambrose: "By baptism we are washed, we are sanctified, we are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."§—Dr. Fiddes: There is no "reason for excluding infants from baptism, as it is a means of reinstating them in the favor of God, or of conveying, in virtue of God's appointment, inward and spiritual grace . . . Baptism is a means of conveying both pardoning and sanctifying grace, to those who are qualified to receive it as they ought."||—Mr. Gee: "This sacrament of baptism doth confer on the person baptized the grace of remission, of adoption, and sanctification . . . It is granted, that baptism is ordinarily necessary to salvation; that God hath made it the instrument of remission, of regeneration, and of salvation to us."¶—Anonymous: "It [baptism] was ordained, that the baptized person might by that solemnity pass from a state of nature, wherein he was a child of wrath, into a state of adoption and grace, wherein he becomes a child of God . . . Baptism was instituted for a sign to seal unto baptized persons the pardon of their sins, and to confer upon them a right of inheritance unto everlasting life: but baptism hath this effect upon infants, as well as upon adult

* Theolog. Dogmat. l. v. c. i. § 5, 6, 7, 8, 10.

† De Prudent, Pastoral, pars. iii. c. iii. § 2, 15.

‡ Disputat. de Bap. Disp. de Sac. Efficac. § 46, 47; disput. iv. § 9.

§ Works, p. 196.

|| Theolog. Pract. b. ii. part li. chap. i. pp. 178, 181.

¶ Preservative against Popery, title vii. pp. 24, 33.

* Harmony of Confessions, sect. xiii. pp. 395–410.

† Catechism.

‡ Directory, article Baptism.

§ Apud Venem. Hist. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 107.

|| Loci Theolog. tom. iv. De Bap. sect. 136.

persons; for it washes them clean from original, as it doth men and women both from actual and original sin. I say, it washes them clean from original sin, and seals the pardon of it, and the assurance of God's favor unto them.*—Dr. Waterland: "Baptism alone is sufficient to make one a Christian, yea, and to keep him such, even to his life's end; since it imprints an indelible character in such a sense as never to need repeating."†—Dr. Whitby: "The end of baptism [is] the remission of sins, and the effect of it justification, or the absolution of the baptized person from his past sins."‡—Bp. Wilson: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. It was upon this declaration of the eunuch, that he was baptized by Philip; and if he was sincere, (which Philip could not tell, nor pretend to know his heart,) his sins were forgiven by that act of Philip, (Acts xxii. 16.) . . . It would be wicked to say, that the eunuch, by believing in Jesus Christ, would have had his sins forgiven, though he had not been baptized."§—Dr. Featley: "Βαπτισμα, from whence baptize is derived, significeth as well to *dye*, as to dip; and it may be, the Holy Ghost in the word baptism, hath some reference to that signification, because by baptism *we change our hue*. For as Varro reporteth of a river in Bœotia, that the water thereof turneth sheep of a dark or dun color into *white*; so the sheep of Christ which are washed in the font of baptism, by virtue of Christ's promise, though before they were of never so dark, sad, or dirty color, yet in their souls become white and pure, and, as it were, *new dyed*."||—The reader will here excuse a remark, by way of query. Would then the doctor have treated the Baptists in such an illiberal manner as he has done, if he had, either by dipping or sprinkling, thoroughly imbibed that excellent *dye* of which he speaks? Or would his calumniating pen have recorded the following sentence? "The resort of great multitudes of men and women together in the evening, and going *naked* into rivers there to be dipped and plunged, cannot be done without scandal."¶ What a pity it is, but the doctor had been soundly plunged in Varro's Bœotian river! It might have rendered his mind more white, and his language more fair, and then the Baptists would not have been so dirtily handled by him. Mr. Obadiah Wills expresses himself thus: "Baptism is God's *sheep-mark*, as Mr. Ford calls it, to distinguish those that are of his fold, from such as graze in the wild common of the world."** It is rather

dubious, however, whether the excellent mark will prove permanent; for this writer assures us, that "the covenant of grace is not absolute and saving to all that are once within it."* Mr. Burkitt also, speaking of infants under the notion of lambs, calls baptism "Christ's *ear-mark*, by which Christ's sheep are distinguished from the devil's goats."† Thus happily have these authors provided for the honor of baptism, when the disciples of Christ are considered under the notion of sheep; for it *washes* their fleeces and *marks* their ears.‡ What Pædobaptists may think of such language, from such pens, I cannot pretend to say; but there is reason to conclude, that were any of the Baptists to talk at this rate, their conduct would be exploded with the keenest ridicule.

Remarkable is the language of Dr. Scott, when showing the import of Matt. xxviii. 19. Among other things of a similar kind, he says: "By this commission, Christ's ministers are authorized and constituted the legal proxies of a Holy Trinity, in the stead of those blessed persons, to seal the new covenant with the baptismal sign to those whom they baptize; and thereby legally to oblige the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to perform the promises of it to all those baptized persons who perform the conditions of it. . . . When once we have struck covenant with him [God] in baptism, we have him fast obliged to us to perform his part of the covenant, whenever we perform ours."§ *Proxies* of the Holy Trinity—*Legally oblige* the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—*God fast obliged* to us. Peter tells us of some who spake "great swelling words of vanity;" and it seems as if the doctor had copied after them. Mr. George Whitefield, remarking on John iii. 5, asks and answers in the following manner: "Does not this verse urge the absolute necessity of water baptism? *YES*, where it may be had; but how God will deal with persons unbaptized we cannot tell."|| Mr. John Wesley, among various other things of a similar kind, says: "If infants are guilty of original sin, in the ordinary way they *cannot* be saved, unless this be washed away by baptism."¶ These extracts bring to remembrance an observation of Buxtorf, relating to the opinion of Jewish rabbis about the efficacy of circumcision. "It is almost incredible," says he,

* Inf. Bap. Asserted and Vindicated, p. 199.

† In Mr. Keach's Rector Rectified, p. 98.

‡ Mr. Bingham tells us, from Clemens Alexandrinus, that some of the ancient heretics, "when they had baptized men in water, also made a mark upon their *ears* with fire; so joining water baptism and, as they imagined, baptism by fire together." Orig. Eccles. b. x. chap. ii. § 3. The Jacobites and others of the Oriental Christians make, with a hot iron, the figure of a cross on the foreheads of persons baptized. Vid. Hoornbeekii Miscel. Sac. l. i. c. xvii. § 16. Now these are marks indeed.

§ Christian Life, vol. iii. pp. 236, 238. Edinb. 1754.

|| Works, vol. iv. pp. 355, 356. § Preservative, p. 160.

* Cases to Recover Dissenters, vol. ii. pp. 444, 445.

† Discourse of Fundamentals, p. 43.

‡ Note on Acts viii. 37. § Ibid. Acts. viii. 41.

¶ Dippers Dipt, p. 41, edit. 7. ¶ Ibid. p. 39.

** Inf. Bap. Asserted and Vindicated, p. 273.

"how highly they extol circumcision; how arrogantly and impiously they are frequently boasting of it; while they despise and condemn us, and all that are uncircumcised. Among innumerable other things they say, 'That circumcision is the cause why God hears their prayers, but overlooks and neglects ours, we being uncircumcised.'"^{*} A pernicious opinion, doubtless deserving the keenest censure. Nor was it without reason that Mr. Walter Marshall gave the following caution: "Beware of making an idol of baptism, and putting it in the place of Christ."[†]

The necessity of this caution will farther appear, by the following extracts from Mr. Matthew Henry's Treatise on Baptism, lately published. When speaking about the ordinance itself, its obligation, and the privileges of baptized persons, he has the following remarkable words: Such are the privileges which attend the ordinance, that if our Master had bid us do some great thing, would we not have done it, rather than came short of them? much more when he only saith unto us, *wash and be clean*; wash and be Christians . . . The gospel contains not only a doctrine but a covenant, and by baptism we are brought into that covenant . . . Baptism wrests the keys of the heart out of the hands of the strong man armed, that the possession may be surrendered to him whose right it is . . . The water of baptism is *designed* for our cleansing from the spots and defilements of the flesh. . . . In baptism our names are engraved upon the breast-plate of this great High Priest . . . This then is the efficacy of baptism; it is putting the child's name into the gospel grant . . . We are baptized into Christ's death; i. e. God doth in that ordinance, seal, confirm, and make over to us, *all* the benefits of the death of Christ . . . Infant baptism speaks an hereditary relation to God, that comes to us by descent . . . Baptism seals the promise of God's being to *me* a God, and that is greatly encouraging; but *infant* baptism increases the encouragement, as it assures me of God being the God of my fathers, and the God of my infancy."[§]

^{*} Apud. Basnagium, Exercit. Hist. Crit. p. 591.

[†] Myst. of Sanctificat. direct. xiii.

[‡] Whether Mr. Henry confines the cleansing efficacy of baptismal water to the pollution of actual sin, or whether he considers its admirably purifying virtue as extending to innate depravity also, is not very clear. If he includes both ideas, he attributes more to baptism than Ambrose did; who represents actual sin as taken away by baptism, but hereditary depravity, by *washing of the feet*. Apud Venem. Hist. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 122.

[§] Treatise on Bap. pp. 12, 40, 42, 43, 59, 130, 170, 193, 201. Mr. Bradbury says, That your children shall be sanctified "from their mother's womb, upon their being received in this ordinance, is making the blessing of the new covenant come by the will of men, and of the will of the flesh, and not of God. But 'be not deceived; God is not mocked.' Do not think so idly of those favors that come by his Spirit." Duty and Doctrine of Baptism, p. 19.

Such are the language and sentiments of Mr. Henry, respecting the utility of baptism! Upon which I would here observe, that we should not have been much surprised, if after all this he had asserted, with the Council of Trent, that baptism "opens to every one of us the gate of heaven, which before, through sin, was shut;"^{*} or if he had maintained, with many of the ancient fathers, and with Mr. Dodwell of late, that it is by baptism the soul is rendered immortal.[†] But as our brethren often refer us to the ancient rite of circumcision, and to the writings of the Talmud, for instruction about the proper subjects of baptism; so, who can tell, but the opinion of Jewish rabbies, concerning the utility of circumcision, may be of use to direct our enquiries in regard to that of baptism? and then, perhaps, we may have all Mr. Henry says confirmed in a few words. Well, you have their opinion, as expressed by one of them, in the following extract: "So great is the virtue of the precept concerning circumcision, that no circumcised person goes down to hell or to purgatory."[‡] But what would our opposers have said, had a posthumous work of the late Dr. Gill, for instance, appeared, if it had been fraught with such high-flown expressions as those of Mr. Henry, concerning the vast importance and various utility of baptism? They would have spoken, there is reason to think, in some such manner as this: "The doctor might well plead for his beloved immersion with all his learning and zeal, while he imagined that such were its blessed effects: for, surely, he never could suppose that a *little* water was equal to these advantages. It appears, however, that while he bends his force to maintain a darling practice, he grossly intrenches on the honor of divine grace, for which he affected to be thought an able, and a warm defender; that same favorite plunging of his being represented by him, as little short of a substitute for electing love, atoning blood, and sanctifying influence. For, after having written many a long page against the Arminians, it now appears, that he considered the solemn dipping of a person in water, as putting his name into the gospel grant; as wresting the key of his heart out of the hands of Satan; as putting him into the covenant; as writing his name on the breast-plate of our great High Priest; as cleansing him from the defilements of the flesh; as making him a Christian; as sealing, confirming, and making over to him, all the

^{*} Catechism of the Council of Trent, p. 175.

[†] "Many of the primitive fathers in the church explicitly maintained the natural mortality of the soul, which, according to them, was only exempt from dissolution by baptism." Dr. Blacklock's Paraclesis, p. 293.

[‡] Apud Witsium, Miscel. Sac. tom. ii. exercit. xxi. § 9.

benefits of our Lord's death—and finally, as sealing the promise to him of God being to him a God. Admirable plunging, truly! Who, on such grounds, would not be dipped, aye, and dipped again? Had but the doctor soundly proved all these *ipse dixits*, we should no longer have objected against immersion, as being either dangerous or indecent; but have cheerfully submitted to it, though in the cold of Russia and in the presence of ten thousand spectators." Such, I presume, would have been the remarks of our opponents upon it. The reader perceives, however, that it is not Dr. Gill, that it is not any *Baptist*, but Mr. Henry, who talks at this wonderful rate. So far, indeed, are the Baptists in general from attributing more efficacy to the divine appointment than their opposers do, that it is manifest, from the preceding quotations, their expectations from it are abundantly less. Nay, the very learned Buddeus, who was a person of immense reading, and well acquainted with their sentiments upon the subject, charges them with greatly depreciating the ordinance, in point of utility. His language is, "Their principal error consists in considering baptism as a *mere sign*, or symbol, and not as an *efficacious mean*, of obtaining grace."^{*}

Though I am far from considering Mr. Henry as avowing the natural consequences of his own positions, and equally far from charging them upon him; yet I cannot but view the positions themselves as unwarrantable, extravagant, and of a dangerous tendency. They remind me of the virtues attributed, both by ancients and moderns, to the sign of the cross. Thus, for example, Cyprian: "In this sign of the cross, there is salvation to all who have this mark in their foreheads."[†]—Ambrose: "All prosperity is in one sign of Christ. He that sows in it, shall have a crop of eternal life; he that journeys in it, shall arrive at heaven at last."[‡] Once more: A Roman Catholic author teaches how "the most ignorant persons may become true believers, by making the sign of the cross."[§] Now I feel myself no more disposed to believe that baptism is the mean of conveying to infants, or to adults, all those capital blessings of which, among a thousand others, Mr. Henry speaks, than I do to receive this doctrine concerning the sign of the cross; or to adopt the notion of ancient Pagans, when they teach, that the use of salt and water purifies the heart;|| or to imagine, with some of the Roman Catholics, that baptized bells have a mighty efficacy to

frighten away devils from their vicinity.* Yet, calculated as the language and sentiments of Mr. Henry are, to excite in the breasts of ignorant persons a deceitful dependence on the baptismal rite, it is manifest from ecclesiastical records, that things of a similar kind, and often, if possible, more grossly erroneous, have been asserted by Pædobaptists in every age, from the time of Cyprian to the present day. And, indeed, when it is considered, that an unwarrantable opinion about the necessity of baptism, seems to have laid the foundation for baptizing infants, it is no wonder that Pædobaptists, both ancient and modern, should frequently represent that practice as vastly important. To a dangerous mistake of this kind, the espousers of infant baptism are apparently more liable, than such as baptize those only who make a profession of repentance and faith; for no Baptist minister, without notoriously confronting the grand principle on which he proceeds in administering the solemn rite, can ever teach that baptism is a mean of producing those great effects which Mr. Henry and a thousand others have mentioned. To maintain, with a resolute perseverance, that the laws of Christ relating to a positive institution should be strictly observed, is one thing; to insist upon it, or to insinuate that baptism, to whomsoever administered, is the medium of procuring those blessings to which we advert, is another. The former is our indispensable duty; the latter is pregnant with dangerous consequences.

Reflect. IV. That baptism is of real importance to the church of Christ, and that believers, in a cheerful submission to it, have reason to expect a blessing, we firmly maintain; but that infant baptism is big with *much greater* advantages than adult baptism, as Mr. Henry insists, we cannot admit. His words are as follow: "That which shakes many in the doctrine of infant baptism, is the uselessness (as they apprehend) of the administration, and the mighty advantages which they fancy in adult baptism. But before they conclude thus, they would do well to answer Dr. Ford's proof of this truth, That there is *much more* advantage to be made, in order to sanctification, consolation, and several other ways, of the doctrine and practice of infant baptism, than of that doctrine and practice, which limits baptism to personal profession at years of discretion."[†] Though there are few assertions in this respectable author's treatise, that have less pretence to evidence from scripture than the passage here produced, yet he speaks with an uncommon degree of assurance. This reminds me of what I have somewhere seen remarked con-

* Theolog. Dogmat. l. v. c. i. § 21.

† In Mr. Polhill's Discourse on Schism, p. 62.

‡ Ibid.

§ In Mr. Clarkson's Pract. Div. of Papists, p. 118.

|| See Mr. Weston's Reject. of Christ. Miracles, p. 367.

* In Hist. Popery, vol. i. p. 255.

† Treatise on Baptism, p. 179.

cerning Ballarmine. That zealous cardinal, it has been observed, when he had the least appearance of reason, or of scripture, for what he was going to say, commonly assumed the most confident airs, and was pretty sure to introduce it with a *proculdubio*.* Now, though we cannot accept of Mr. Henry's challenge to answer Dr. Ford's arguments in defence of this bold position, because we do not know what they were; yet we will suggest a few thoughts against the position itself, and leave the reader to judge.

What then can be the reason of infant baptism being much more advantageous than adult baptism? Mr. Baxter himself shall answer for us, by giving a general negative to the bold assertion. "Upon my first serious study," says he, "I presently discerned that infants were not capable of every benefit by baptism, as are the aged."† To be more particular. Is infant baptism of greater advantage than that of adults, because it is *more solemn*? If we appeal to Dr. Wall, his answer will be: "The baptism of an infant cannot have all the solemnity, which that of an adult person may have. The previous fasting and prayer, the penitential confessions, the zeal and humility and deep affection of the receiver, may be visible there, which cannot be in the case of an infant."‡ Is it because infants are *better capable* of reflecting on the nature, the design, the obligation of baptism, than adults; or because they are more proper subjects of ministerial exhortation? None will pretend the one or the other. Peter speaks of baptized persons having *the answer of a good conscience towards God*; and Mr. T. Bradbury tells us, "that the benefit which arises from this ordinance is owing to the answer of a good conscience."§ Is it, then, because infants have a *better conscience*, and make a *better answer*, than believing adults? That cannot be; for as the minds of mere infants are not capable of comparing their own conduct with the rule of duty, they have, properly speaking, no conscience at all. Our Brethren, indeed, frequently speak of *covenanting* with God in baptism: but mere infants are totally ignorant; and Mr. Baxter tells us, "It is a known rule in law, that *consensus non est ignorantis*."|| The language of common sense, as well as of casuists, is: "That infants are not capable of contracting,"¶ either with God or man. Is it be-

cause the conscience of a person is more tenderly affected, by considering what was done for him, while *incapable* of moral agency, than by reflecting on what was done by him and upon him, with the full consent of his will? To suppose any such thing insults the understanding and feelings of mankind. For as Bp. Sanderson observes, "In personal obligations, no man is bound without his own consent; and a spiritual obligation which is in the conscience, must necessarily be personal, as every one's conscience is his own; and such an obligation cannot pass into another person."* Children, when arrived at years of discretion, may be told that they covenanted with God when baptized in their infancy; but as engaging to be the Lord's is a personal thing, and as they could have no idea of such transaction at the time of their baptism, so they cannot have any recollection of it: consequently, their consciences cannot feel an obligation in that respect, as those of baptized believers may and ought. The writer of these pages takes it for granted, that the register of a certain parish bears testimony to his having had something done for him in his infancy, called baptism, attended with all the formalities of proxies, of thanksgivings for his being then regenerated, and so on; but he knows nothing about it, except by report. Nay, though he had no doubts concerning the validity of his infant sprinkling till he was grown up; and, through divine goodness, he had abiding impressions upon his mind, relating to his best interests, from the earliest period of his present remembrance; yet he does not recollect a single instance of his conscience feeling itself under any obligation, in virtue of those transactions. He considers it as very strange, and quite unprecedented in the sacred volume, that any one should have a positive rite administered to him according to divine appointment, a rite which must not be reported; and that the recipient, through the whole of his life, should entirely depend upon testimony for all that he knows about the fact. This, it is plain, was not the case of those infants that were circumcised. They had no occasion to enquire of a parent, or of a senior, or of a register, whether the sign of circumcision had passed upon them; because, from the earliest dawn of reason, to the latest period of life, the unequivocal mark was retained in their own persons.

Farther: It is of importance here to observe, what our opposers themselves, I think, will allow, That the proper standard

* Antisozzo, p. 545.

† Plain Scrip. Proof, Pref. p. 2.

‡ Defence of Hist. Inf. Bap. 404.

§ Duty and Doct. of Bap. p. 9.

|| Disputat. of Right to Sac. p. 9.

¶ Dr. Ames, De Conscientia, l. v. c. xlii. § 2. Limborch informs us, that Peter Aterius, an eminent minister among the Albigenses, was accused and condemned by the Court of Inquisition, for saying, among other things,

* That water baptism performed by the church is of no

use to children, because they do not *consent*; nay, they *weep*." Hist. Inquisit. l. i. c. viii. p. 31.

* De Juramenti Obligatione, prælect. iv. § 3.

of usefulness, in regard to any positive rite, is, not our own fancies, or feelings, or reason, but divine revelation; and that even an unscriptural ceremony may, through the kindness of Providence, become the occasion of spiritual advantage to one or another. For, without intending an invidious comparison, and merely for the sake of argument, it may be asked, Whether it can be asserted with prudence, that none of the Papal superstitions were ever improved by Providence, as occasions of lasting spiritual benefit to any one? But yet, as Mr. Stoddard observes, "If men act according to their own humors and fancies, and do not keep in the way of obedience, it is presumption to expect God's blessing. 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'"^{*} I will add, in the words of that great man, Mr. Jonathan Edwards: "Though we are to eye the providence of God, and not disregard his works, yet to interpret them to a sense, or apply them to a use, inconsistent with the scope of the word of God, is a misconception and misapplication of them. God has not given us his providence, but his word to be our governing rule. God is sovereign in his dispensations of providence. He bestowed the blessing on Jacob, even when he had a lie in his mouth: he was pleased to meet with Solomon, and make known himself to him, and bless him in an extraordinary manner, while he was worshipping in a high place: he met with Saul, when in a course of violent opposition to him, and out of the way of his duty to the highest degree, going to Damascus to persecute Christ; and even then bestowed the greatest blessing upon him, that perhaps ever was bestowed on a mere man. The conduct of divine Providence, with its reasons, is too little understood by us, to be improved as our rule."[†] Candid and cautious is the following declaration of Dr. Owen: "I do not know how far God may accept of churches in a very corrupt state, and of worship much depraved, until they have new means for their reformation. Nor will I make any judgment of persons, as unto their eternal condition, who walk in churches so corrupted, and in the performance of worship so depraved."[‡] Farther: Were the dupes of Papal superstition, or our Brethren of the English Establishment asked what advantage they have, in comparison with us Dissenters; they, very likely, would answer with Paul in another case, "Much, every way." They would also, no doubt, mention a variety of particulars, to prove that their forms and rites are far bet-

ter adapted to exercise devotional dispositions; and so to promote sanctification, consolation, and so on than those of Dissenters. But would Mr. Henry have considered such pretences as any kind of proof, that those forms and ceremonies are warranted of God? No, he would have been ready to say, "Show us your authority for them in our only rule of religious worship, and then tell us how useful they are."

These things being observed, we add: If infant baptism be so very useful, the apostles must have known it as well, and have esteemed it as highly, as our author himself. But have they *acted* as if they thus knew and esteemed it? Their immortal writings make a considerable volume; and in that heavenly volume they have recorded their own faith and their own practice. Conscious of being amanuenses to the Spirit of wisdom, they intended that sacred book should be considered as a body of doctrine and a complete code of law for the church in every succeeding age. This being the case, it is quite natural to think, that infant baptism should make a capital figure in such a system of theological doctrine, of spiritual privilege, and of religious duty, if they had known and viewed it in that very advantageous point of light which Mr. Henry did. That they expressly mention the baptism of adults, is allowed by all; and that their baptism, is represented in the New Testament as instructive and useful, is denied by few; consequently, if the baptism of infants be *much more* adapted to promote sanctification and consolation than the baptism of those who profess faith, it is but reasonable to suppose, that the apostles would insist upon it in a degree proportional to its greater importance. But is it a fact, that Pædobaptism itself, and the benefits resulting from it, make such a conspicuous figure in the apostolic writings? That the apostles mention baptism, and informs us of great numbers who were baptized, are facts; but where do they mention infant baptism? That they mention the ordinance as containing matter of instruction, motives to holiness, and grounds of exhortation, in reference to baptized believers, is a fact;^{*} but where is Pædobaptism represented by them, as containing any of these things, with regard to children when they grow up? That they mention baptism as affording grounds of reproof to disorderly professors, is a fact;[†] but where do they mention Pædobaptism as ministering reproof to Christian parents for neglecting the education of their children? That they exhort and caution believing parents respecting their children, is a fact; but where do

^{*} In Mr. Jonathan Edward's Enquiry into Qualif. for Communion, p. 117.

[†] Ut supra, p. 131.

[‡] Enquiry into the Orig. of Churches, p. 168.

^{*} Rom. vi. 1-5; 1 Cor. i. 12-16, and xv. 29; Col. ii. 12; 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[†] 1 Cor. i. 12-16.

they fetch their motives from infant baptism? That they exhort and charge children to be dutiful to their parents, is also a fact; but where do they remind children of their filial obligations being enforced by having been baptized in their infancy, or exhort them on that ground? Yet, had Pædobaptism been then practised, and had it been attended with such vast advantages as our author pretends, it might perhaps have been as pertinently urged as the latter part of the fifth command, on account of its being more precisely agreeable to the gospel dispensation.* Mr. Henry it is plain, did not fail to exhort both parents and children on the ground of infant baptism. No, he treats it as a capital source of motives, by which to enforce the performance of both parental and filial duty, though the apostles have not said a word about it in any of their exhortations. Candor forbids my supposing, that he thought himself, either more wise in the choice of his arguments, or more zealous in the application of them to practical purposes than those ambassadors of Christ: but yet every one may see a remarkable difference between their conduct and his, in this respect; which difference must have had an adequate cause. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that either the inspired writers knew nothing at all of Pædobaptism, or had a very mean opinion of it; for it seems unaccountably strange, that they should all have approved the practice, and yet all agree, on such a variety of occasions, in saying nothing about it. But supposing it was practised by them, and that they considered it as *much more* advantageous than the baptism of believers, their conduct is yet more amazingly strange; because they expressly apply the latter to practical purposes, though entirely silent about the former: an example this, which our opponents are not inclined to imitate. Peruse the writings of modern Pædobaptists, and you plainly perceive the advantages resulting from baptism, almost entirely confined to that of infants. Consult the apostolic records, and you find them all connected with the baptism of adults. We may now venture an appeal to the reader, whether he would not suspect any unknown author of being a Baptist, were he to find him treating on all the various topics lately enumerated, and yet perceive that he is quite silent about infant baptism?

The following passages from learned Pædobaptists, *mutatis mutandis*, will here apply in all their force. Anonymous: "The signing one's self with the cross hath neither command nor example in scripture, nor any promise of any special grace or benefit, to be thereupon conferred; there-

fore, there is no reason to expect any such extraordinary virtues or assistance from using the same."*—Mr. Chillingworth: "Give me leave to wonder, that so great a part of the New Testament should be employed about antichrist, and so little, and indeed none at all, about the vicar of Christ."† —Dr. Cave: "The places [of scripture] usually alleged to make good their claim [of Papal supremacy,] are so far-fetched, and so little to their purpose, that they contain alone a strong presumption against them; and their own authors sometimes speak of them with great distrust. Here, if any where, sure, we may safely argue, without daring to prescribe rules to the most High, That in a matter of so great moment, had it been designed, it would have been most explicitly delivered, and solemnly inculcated."‡ —Bishop Stratford:—"Were it so good and profitable to invoke the saints, as the Council of Trent teaches, it is strange that so great a lover of mankind as St. Paul, when he so frequently commands us to pray, and hath left us so many directions concerning prayer, should wholly forget to teach us this lesson. Can it be supposed a worship so pleasing to God, when God hath not given us the least intimation in his word that it is so? For that it hath no foundation in scripture we may be assured, when so great a man as cardinal Perron acknowledges, that neither precept nor example is there to be found for it; and when other learned doctors of that church, not only confess the same, but also give us several reasons why no mention is made of it, either in the Old or New Testament."§ —Turretinus: "The invocation of saints has neither precept, nor promise, nor example in scripture on which it rests; and, therefore, it is no other than vicious and condemnable will-worship. The invocation of God is abundantly urged; but the invocation of creatures is no where mentioned."|| —Chemnitius: "There is not in all the holy scripture any passage which teaches the invocation of saints; no command is found that requires departed saints to be invoked; there is no promise that such invocation shall be acceptable to God, and efficacious; that is, heard, so as to obtain grace and assistance; there is no example in scripture of departed saints being invoked by godly persons; there is no threatening in scripture, nor any example of punishment, against them who do not invoke the saints."¶ —Once more: Archbishop Tillotson says: "Does either our Saviour, or his apostles, in all their particu-

* Hist. of Popery, vol. i. p. 110.

† Reliq. of Protest. p. 450.

‡ Preservative against Popery, title i. p. 137.

§ Ibid. p. 28.

|| Institut. loc. xi. quest. vii. § 12.

¶ Exam. Council Trident. p. 611.

* See Eph. vi. 1, 2, 3.

lar directions concerning prayer, give the least intimation of praying to the virgin Mary, or making use of her mediation? And can any man believe, that if this had been the practice of the church from the beginning, our Saviour and his apostles would have been so silent about so considerable a part of religion? insomuch that, in all the epistles of the apostles, I do not remember that her name is so much as once mentioned. And yet the worship of her is at this day, in the church of Rome, and hath been so for several ages, a main part of their public worship; in which it is usual with them to say ten *Ave Marias* for one *Pater Noster*; that is, for one prayer they make to almighty God, they make ten addresses to the blessed virgin . . . He that considers this, and had never seen the Bible, would be apt to think, that there had been more said concerning her in scripture, than either concerning God or our blessed Saviour; and that the New Testament were full from one end to the other of precepts and exhortations to the worshipping of her: and yet, when all is done, I challenge any man to show me so much as one sentence in the whole Bible that sounds that way; and there is as little in the Christian writers of the first three hundred years.* *Ten* addresses to the virgin Mary for one to the divine Majesty says our learned author. So we may say, *ten*, or rather a *hundred* infants are sprinkled in these kingdoms, for one person that is immersed on a profession of faith; and, to our great discouragement, Mr. Henry tells us, that when an adult is baptized on such profession, it is far from being so advantageous to him, as pouring or sprinkling is to an infant. Now, "he that considers this, and had never seen the Bible, would be apt to think that there had been more said con-

cerning [Pædobaptism] in scripture, than [about the baptism of adults;] and that the New Testament was full, from one end to the other, of precepts and exhortations to the [practice of infant sprinkling:] and yet when all is done, I challenge any man to show me one sentence in the whole Bible," by which it is either enjoined or exemplified. How much, alas, is our complaint like that of Tillotson, "Ten Ave Marias for one Pater Noster!"

Once more: Mr. Pierce and Dr. Priestly tell us, that various and great advantages would probably attend the revival of infant communion among us, and labor to restore the practice in this country from that consideration. Were Mr. Henry now living, we might, therefore, venture to return his challenge, by saying; Let him answer the arguments produced by Mr. Pierce in favor of that hypothesis, without subverting his own for the utility of infant baptism for it is plain to us, that most of the principles on which he proceeds to prove the benefits of Pædobaptism, would equally apply to infant communion. In a word; either the baptism of infants has been sadly misrepresented by the generality of those who have pleaded for it, since the time of Cyprian; or it is calculated to do immense mischief to the souls of men, by leading persons to imagine, that they were born again, cleansed from sin, interested in all the benefits of our Lord's death, and made heirs of heaven by what was done for them, while destitute of reason—done for them, in many cases, by ungodly priests and profligate sponsors. For, as Dr. Owen has well observed, the father of lies himself could not easily have invented a more deadly poison for the souls of sinners; as they are taught, by these unscriptural dogmas, to rest satisfied with a supposed regeneration by their baptism.*

* Preservative against Popery, title iii. p. 233.

* Theologoumena, l. vi. c. v. § 3. Brem.

AN EXAMINATION
OF
DR. DWIGHT'S DISCOURSES
ON
BAPTISM,
CONTAINED IN
HIS SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND
DEFENDED.

BY F. L. COX, D. D. LL. D.

OF LONDON.

EXAMINATION.

THE celebrity of the writer, not the force of his arguments induces me to notice distinctly, but briefly, the erroneous statements of Dr. Dwight, on the subject of baptism. They occur in the volumes, entitled "Theology," which have obtained an extensive circulation in this country; but, in remarking upon them, so far am I from any desire to detract from the general merits of the publication, that I hail its appearance, and rejoice in its popularity.

The discourses in question comprehend a view of the reality and intention of baptism; the objections against infant baptism; the direct arguments in its favor; the subjects; and the mode of its administration.

In the first of these sermons, there are many just and important sentiments, and only one passage that requires particular animadversion. The Doctor states, that "when children die in infancy, and are scripturally dedicated to God in baptism, there is much, and very consoling reason furnished, to believe that they are accepted beyond the grave." He further says, "there is I think, reason to hope well concerning other children, dying in infancy; but there is certainly peculiar reasons for Christian parents to entertain strong consolation with regard to *their* offspring."

Will it be believed, that the only passages Dr. Dwight adduces, in support of his theory, are in *direct opposition* to it? Yet such is the fact; and how so sensible a divine could have been betrayed into such an inconsistency, seems really inexplicable;

unless it be imputed to the grossest prejudice. He quotes from Matt. 16. "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, thou hast perfected praise;" which is our Saviour's application of the prophecy in the eighth Psalm, to the circumstance of the children in the temple, crying "Hosannah to the Son of David." What application have these passages to the *baptism* of infants, or to their *dying in infancy*? Dr. Dwight, indeed, has attempted to excite in his reader's mind the idea that there is some relevancy, by insinuating that "it is, perhaps, improper to say, that praise is perfected on this side of heaven." How can it be improper to say so when Christ has himself declared, that it was the case—that, in whatever sense the term is to be understood, it was *perfected* in the celebrations of the children in the temple? Besides, whether perfected in heaven or on earth, were these exulting children *infants*, and were they the *baptized* offspring of *believing* parents? Dr. Dwight also adduces: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Did they come to be baptized? Surely not, but to be "*blessed*." Were these little children the offspring of *believing* parents, and is the language *exclusive* in its meaning, or *discriminating* in its terms? Were they not a promiscuous assemblage? And admitting that the words are applicable to the state beyond the grave, do they not comprehend all children, children *as such*, children of every class? The only other citation is, "The promise is to you and to your children;" and the com-

ment is sufficiently curious: "*If this promise is extended in any sense to those who die in infancy, and conveys to them any blessings, they must be found beyond the grave.*" Whether any one ever thought of so extending it, or whether the Doctor intended his doubt to be taken for proof, we cannot tell; in either case, the statement does not merit a formal refutation. Where then is the "*peculiar reason,*" for the exclusive consolation which Christian parents may, it is supposed, entertain? And why, if baptism is to confer the heavenly glory, is there *reason* to "*hope well*" of "*other children*?" Really, the confusion that pervades this whole paragraph, is such, that had it been found in the work of a judicious and sensible divine of a distant age and another language, few critics would have hesitated in pronouncing, from intrinsic evidence, upon its spuriousness!

The next discourse relates to the proper subjects of baptism; these are, it is said, "*all those who believe in Christ, and publicly profess their faith in him,*" and "*the infant children of believers:*" the latter doctrine, it is added, has been extensively disputed and denied; Dr. D. therefore proposes to state, and answer the objections against it. I shall not now inquire, whether he has omitted to mention any of the objections, but examine his replies to those which he has introduced. For the sake both of brevity and perspicuity, I shall adopt a methodical arrangement of the objections, the Doctor's answer and my own reply.

Obj. 1. "It is stated by the opposers of this doctrine (Infant Baptism,) that it is not enjoined by any express declaration in the Scriptures."

Dr. D's Answer. There are many duties incumbent on us which are neither expressly commanded nor declared in Scripture. The principle on which the objection is founded is, "*nothing is our duty which is not thus commanded or declared in the Scriptures.*" According to this, woman are under no obligation to celebrate the Lord's Supper, parents to pray for their children, mankind to observe the Sabbath, rulers to defend the country, or to punish crime. It is impossible the Scriptures should specify all the doctrines and duties necessary to be believed and practised.

Reply. Dr. Dwight has confounded in his argument, the obvious distinction between a positive duty and a moral obligation. A moral duty is *commanded* because it is *right*; a positive institute is only *right*, because it is *commanded*. All moral duties arise out of general principles; the principles being given, the diversified application of those principles does not require to be stated in detail. For instance; the kind offices of the good Samaritan were not performed from obedience to any specific com-

mand; but his sympathies being excited by distress, his duty arose out of the principle involved in the general precept, "*Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.*" On the other hand, all positive institutions are founded on express scriptural directions; so that the obligation to observe them can be traced to no other source than simply the expression of the divine will. Consider for a moment the flexibility of Dr. Dwight's argument, and how a Protestant would be annoyed by it were it in the hands of a Papist. The latter would require nothing more of his Protestant antagonist, than the admission of a principle which should confound this distinction. Once admit the inferential reasoning with regard to positive institutes, which is legitimate as applied to moral duties, and you open a door wide enough to admit all the mummeries of Popery.

Obj. 2. "There is no certain example of infant baptism in the Scriptures."

Dr. D's Answer. There is no instance in which it is declared in so many terms that infants were baptized. There are instances in which the facts involved: *house* and *household* denote children.

Reply. If according to the doctor's concession, there is no instance in which it is declared infants were baptized, the objection is valid; for of course there *could be* by his own showing, no *example* of infant baptism. If it were even *involved*, there is still no *example*; it is only *inference*, and an inference which has nothing to sustain it; for that *house* and *household* necessarily denote children we deny, both on critical and historical grounds.

Obj. 3. "Children cannot be the subjects of faith; and faith is a necessary qualification for baptism."

Dr. D's Answer. John the Baptist was filled with the Holy Ghost from the womb; and was "*unquestionably a subject of faith in such a manner, that, had he died in infancy he would certainly have been received to heaven.*"

Reply. The doctor has confounded the distinction between faith and holiness. An infant may be sanctified from the womb, but cannot believe. The remark therefore, amounts to nothing, as directed against the principle which requires *faith*, not *holiness*, as prerequisite to baptism.

Obj. 4. "Infants cannot make a profession of faith; and such a profession is a necessary qualification for baptism."

Dr. D's Answer. That a profession of faith is necessary in all instances cannot be proved. Cornelius and they that were with him made no such profession and none was demanded by Peter, Acts xi.

Reply. Of the persons in question it is said that they *spoke with tongues*, and *magnified God*. The Doctor has not in-

formed us how those who spake with tongues and magnified God, were *silent* and *passive* recipients of baptism! Suppose, however, it were proved that a *profession* of faith was not demanded, did the apostles dispense with the *possession* of that principle! It is for the possession of faith we contend, and for the *evidence* of that possession. The objection is not fairly stated: we demand either profession or evidence in all cases; the latter is generally given by means of the former, as well as by the general conduct of the individual. But infants are incapable either of professing or giving evidence of that of which they cannot be the subjects.

Obj. 5. "Persons baptized in infancy prove that they were improper candidates for this ordinance by the future degeneracy of their conduct."

Dr. D's Answer. The real amount of this objection is that no persons can be proper subjects of baptism, to the human eye, who, after their reception of this sacrament, prove themselves to be unregenerated. The objection fails because it proves too much. If we are required to baptize none but those who are regenerated, it is necessary we should know whether the candidates are regenerated or not.

Reply. It is necessary that we should have satisfactory *evidence* of the regeneration of the candidate for baptism prior to the performance of the rite; to *know* what is the state of the heart is the exclusive prerogative of Deity. With respect to those who have arrived at the period of personal responsibility, evidences may be obtained, according to our Saviour's declaration, "By their fruits ye shall know them:" *they* are capacitated to repent, and to "bring forth fruits meet for repentance." But what can be said of unconscious infants, who are altogether incapable of supplying evidence of any kind that they are the proper subjects of baptism, if the sanctification of their incipient powers be a prerequisite to the administration of this ordinance? They are heirs of a depraved nature; and what evidence can any one give that he is, or ever will be the subject of that grace which alone can sanctify the soul? That all are not renewed in infancy is lamentably evinced by the subsequent lives of thousands with regard to whom the symbolical representation of their regenerate state is awfully premature. That some may be sanctified from the womb we do not question; but we possess no means of distinguishing between them and others; the difference, wide as it is, can only be evident to him in whose purposes of sovereign mercy they are included. This, however is not the condition of adults, who are both capable of professing their faith in Christ, and of proving the genuineness of their profession by the purity of

their conduct. That these signs may, in some instances, be counterfeited is nothing to the purpose. In fact Dr. Dwight has confounded the distinction between being misled by *false evidence*, and acting *without any evidence at all*. A jury may be deceived, and often have been, by false and perjured witnesses; but who would thence infer the safety of condemning men without evidence? The application of the principle of Dr. Dwight's argument to judicial proceedings will at once illustrate its fallacy. It would be a singular position, indeed, that the *absence of all evidence* is a sufficient ground of action. The question, therefore, returns: Would the apostles have baptized any one *without even the slightest evidence that the candidate was the subject of that moral transformation which the rite of baptism was designed to symbolize*? Let our opponents seriously consider and candidly answer this question.

Obj. 6. "All baptized persons are, by that class of Christians to whom I have attached myself, considered as members of the Christian church; yet those who are baptized in infancy are not treated as if they possessed this character. Particularly they are not admitted to the sacramental supper, nor made subjects of ecclesiastical discipline."

Dr. D's Answer. The conduct and opinions of those with whom I am connected are, in a greater or less degree, erroneous and indefensible. If baptized infants are members of the Christian church, we are bound to determine and declare the nature and extent of their membership. That they are members of the church I believe. All persons are baptized *not in but into* the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; that is, they are introduced into the family of God, and are called *godly*. *Christians, spiritual, sons and daughters of God, and children of God*, throughout the scriptures. All persons baptized, therefore, are members of the Christian church. Still they are not members in the sense commonly intended by the term. The word *church* has various significations; denoting the *invisible* kingdom of Christ, consisting of all who are *sanctified*; the *visible* kingdom consisting of all who have publicly professed religion, and their baptized offspring; *any body of Christians*, holding the same doctrines, and united in the same worship and discipline; and Christians who worship together in the *same place*. Hence, when persons baptized in infancy, are said to be members of the church, the word cannot be used in all these senses, and therefore something beside baptism, or a profession of religion, is necessary to constitute a membership of any particular church. When persons are dismissed from one church to another, they

are not members of any particular church till they have united to the other church in form. A minister by his ordination, is constituted not a minister of a particular church, but of the Christian church at large: hence, a person may be a member of the church at large, and not a member of a particular church. When the eunuch was baptized, he became a member of the church general only, not of a particular church. Thus persons baptized in infancy, are members of the *church of Christ*, that is, of the *church general*. Baptism renders any person capable of membership in a particular church, if he is disposed, and otherwise prepared; but neither this, nor his profession of religion will constitute him such a member; this is to be done only by means of a covenant between him and the church. Persons baptized in infancy, are baptized on the ground of that profession of religion which their parents have made—whenever they themselves make the same profession, they become entitled to communion at the sacramental table. I have, therefore, shown that a profession of religion is necessary to constitute us members of the church of Christ, and that what may be called a church covenant is indispensable to constitute us members of particular churches.

Reply. At the very outset of this statement, our opponent is guilty of the most glaring sophism. He dexterously changes the term, *baptized infants*, to *persons*, adding, they are introduced into the family of God, and are called godly, christians, spiritual, sons and daughters of God, and children of God. But who are so introduced, and so called? Baptized infants, or persons? Dr. Dwight himself, at the conclusion of the passage, denies that the former are introduced into the family of God, for he declares, that baptism only renders a person *capable of membership if he is disposed*. Perhaps, it may be said, that he limits the statement here to a *particular church*: be it so; will our Pædobaptist brethren admit, that baptized infants are introduced into the family of God? Here is, in fact, another sophism, lurking under a change of expression; for the argument would fail, even upon his own principles, unless the phrases, *church general*, and *family of God*, were to be deemed synonymous. But even a profligate may be a member of the *church general*, if baptized in infancy using the term in the vague sense in which our author employs it; for, according to him, that is sufficient to constitute such membership; but, is a profligate therefore introduced into the *family of God*? If not, then baptized infants are not so introduced, although adult *persons* may, by giving evidence of their piety: in this case, however the two phrases have different significations, and yet are applied to the same

thing. Besides, are *baptized infants* denominated *godly, Christians, spiritual, sons and daughters of God, and children of God*? Our opponents will not contend it; consequently, though *persons* (or individuals in the exercise of their understanding, and under the influence of genuine piety,) may be so designated, the description is totally inapplicable to infants.

We may further demand, what is the *church general*, as distinct from the collective bodies of particular churches? In what conceivable sense can it be said, that a person belonging to no one of the churches that constitute the church general, nevertheless is a member of that church general? And what is the church general if it be not the family of God? And yet, it is presumed, that an individual may be actually a member of this family, and yet not qualified to be a member of it! If any thing is here maintained, it is that a person may be a member of the family of God, and not a godly person; which is certainly not a very intelligible statement for so distinguished a divine.

Dr. Dwight, and many of our Pædobaptist friends, continually *assume* that an infant is a member of the visible church, or church general; but where do they find the proof? It is assumed, as necessary to the support of Pædobaptism, and of Episcopalianism, of which the former is an essential pillar, and without which a national church could not easily be founded. On the other hand, we assume nothing in our argument without positive demonstration and demonstration which even our opponents admit to be conclusive in its nature. For instance, we assert and substantiate by an evidence which all parties acknowledge to be valid, that *adults were baptized*, and that they were baptized *upon a declaration or an evidence of their faith*. The narrative of the eunuch, and the rest of the cases in the Acts are precisely in point, and will be admitted as proofs of this statement! if our brethren proceed to aver, that infants were also baptized, of course without profession, and when incapable of it, and made members of the visible church, the *onus probandi* devolves upon them, and it is a burden which they cannot sustain. If, in the New Testament, *persons* of any class, baptized children or adults, are represented as members of the church, either general or individual, *while destitute of faith in Christ*, let the paragraph be cited; for ourselves we distinctly affirm, *it is no where to be found*; and if it be not, Dr. Dwight's whole statement is sophistical and utterly fallacious!

Having thus noticed several objections without refuting them, our author proceeds to "direct arguments for infant baptism." Three are specified; of which the first

relates to the Abrahamic covenant. The reasonings here are similar to those of Dr. Wardlaw and others.

The second consideration adduced is, that "all the observations made on this subject in the New Testament accord with his view of it, and confirm the doctrine of infant baptism." What are these? The expression of Christ, in Mark ix. 31, to "receive a child in the name of Christ," is, he affirms, "to receive him because he belongs to Christ," which is "no other than that of receiving infants into the church." His own brethren differ from him in this interpretation; besides, the expression is not as here quoted, but "whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name; and the *Syriac, Arabic, and Persic* versions, agree in rendering it *one like to this child*. Our Lord also refers afterwards expressly to "one of the little ones who believe in him." Two other passages, (Mat. ix. 13—15; and Acts ii. 38, 39,) have been often explained, and seen perfectly plain. How Christ's *blessing* them in the former case, and speaking of the *posterity* of the Jews in the latter, implies either *baptism* in the one instance, or *infants* in the other, is inconceivable! Mr. M'Lean has most forcibly argued, with regard to the former passage, that so far from countenancing infant baptism, it is a clear example to the contrary. "Here are children brought to Christ, declared of his kingdom and blessed, and thus became visible subjects; yet we read nothing of their baptism. We are sure that Christ did not baptize them, for he baptized none, (John iv. 2.) and it is certain his disciples had not baptized them formerly, else they would not have forbid their being brought to Christ; nor did our Lord command them then to baptize them, though he declares them of his kingdom, and blesses them. Hence we learn, that infants may be acknowledged to be of the kingdom of God without baptizing them." The only remaining example is taken from 1 Cor. vii. 14. "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife by the husband, else were your children unclean; but now are they holy." It denotes, says our author, that the unbelieving parent is so purified, by means of his relation to the believing parent, that their mutual offspring are not unclean, but may be offered to God; or, as he before explains it, may come into his temple. The children of believing parents may therefore be offered to God in *baptism*. The Doctor has evidently here lost sight of the distinction between the legal and evangelical senses of the term holy. The unbelieving parent is *purified* by the *believing* one! Is this a doctrine to be found in scripture? Does it accord with

the universal representation throughout its hallowed pages of the *personal* nature of religion? How is an unbeliever *purified* by a believer? The apostle moreover, is not writing upon the subject of baptism, but obviating the scruples of Christians about the continuance of their marriage relation with infidels. The children, he says, would not be *holy* unless the parents were so; the holiness mentioned therefore must be of the same nature in both cases, and the meaning is, the marriage continued to be lawful, and neither party should be discarded on account of the Christianity of the other, because this would produce endless difficulties and litigations with regard to posterity. The argument is, "You must not put away your unbelieving wives, if they are willing to remain with you, otherwise you must also discard your children, as the law of separation from the heathen obliged the Israelites to do with regard to the children who were conjoined with the unclean party (Deut. vii. 3. Ezra x. 3.) Under the Gospel dispensation, both the unbelieving party and the children are to be retained."

Dr. Dwight also maintains, as a third *direct* argument, that infant baptism was uniformly practised by the early Christians. It is singular enough, that Dr. Dwight, and others, who profess to trace infant baptism to the *apostles*, quote only incidental allusions from one or two writers of at least a *century or more afterwards*, and from passages of questionable authenticity and doubtful meaning!

In the last discourse upon the subject (Sermon 159) there is little to require particular animadversion; the former part of it consists, in fact, of a repetition of the sentiments already discussed; the latter part respects the *mode* of administration. The point of difference regard the assertion, that "water may be administered indifferently, either by sprinkling, affusion, or immersion." He affirms, that "*the body of learned critics and lexicographers* declare, that the *original meaning* of *Baptizo* and *Barro*, is to *tinge, stain, dye, or color*, and that when *immersion* is meant, it is only a secondary and occasional sense." This is passing strange, and I confess, that the only way in which, upon the principles of Christian charity, I can account for so untrue a statement is, by concluding that Dr. Dwight *never examined them!* Let any one look at *Scapula*: the first meanings are *mergo seu immergo*, to *dip*, to *plunge*: let him consult *Stephanus, Hederic, Suicerus, Schleusner*, all the authorities. I demand only a *simple inspection* of them, as an answer to this strange and erroneous representation.

I pass over several citations, which are refuted in the discussion of Mr. Ewing's

statements, and I omit to comment on the remarks, that it is *incredible* that John should have immersed the people, and *impossible* that Peter and his companions should have done so on the day of Pentecost, as really unworthy of a serious refutation.

"Christ has expressly taught us," says the Doctor, "that immersion is unessential to the administration of this ordinance." The attempted proof of this assertion is founded on the narrative in the thirteenth chapter of John, respecting the condescension of Christ in washing the feet of Peter; particularly the words of our Lord, "He that is washed, needeth not save to wash his feet; but is clean every whit." The argument is, that symbolical washing, that is, sanctification, of which the act in the present instance is considered to have been the sign, is *perfect*, although applied only to the feet; as perfect as if applied to the hands and head; but the expression extends to every other symbolical washing, and therefore to baptism.

A remark or two will suffice to show the entire fallacy of this statement.

1. Christ has not *expressly* taught us any thing, in this passage, upon the subject of baptism, if by the word *expressly*, we are to understand "in *direct* terms," which is its essential signification. If any thing is taught, it is obvious by *implication* only; but that the implication is, that "immersion is not essential to baptism," cannot be maintained.

2. Were it admitted, that any thing is taught by inference respecting baptism, the fair deduction would be in favor of the sentiment which Dr. Dwight opposes. There is an allusion in the narrative to washing the whole body, and to washing the feet; but, in either case, the washing is of a kind to imply immersion. Bathing, the practice alluded to in the former case, will be allowed to have been performed, by immersion; washing the feet is also an act of immersion, as commonly performed, and as specifically represented in this passage. Jesus "poured water,"—not upon the feet, but—"into a basin, and began to wash the feet of the disciples." If this action, therefore, be considered as symbolical of baptism, so far as the mode is concerned, it would require immersion.

3. There is a lurking sophism in the use of the expression, "symbolical washing." It may be true, that the washing represented *sanctification*, or rather sincerity of heart; but, it is not said, to represent *baptism*; it was not therefore baptism.

If there were any propriety in the phrase, "symbolical washing," or any such significance in the conduct of our Lord as would sustain the Pædobaptist objection, this must have been the performance of an

ordinance, not a simple expression of humility.

It was in every sense a *common washing of the feet*, and not a *symbolical rite*: intended solely to give a practical exhibition of the spirit which it became the disciples to cultivate: "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." From the cleansing nature of the water, the Saviour takes occasion to advert to the general purity of his followers, and to the lamentable exception which existed in the particular case of Judas. But are we justified in denominating this action a "symbolical washing," because our Lord availed himself of the favorable opportunity of allusively communicating some important truths? And if we were, has this any connection with the rite of baptism? The argument of Dr. Dwight would amount to this: "because Jesus washed the feet of the disciples, and because washing the feet was as good an emblem of sanctification as washing the whole body, therefore baptism may be administered by sprinkling or pouring!" Is it possible to conceive of any statement more illogical and inconclusive?

If, however, it were even conceded, that there is an allusion to baptism, it might admit of another inference which would not be at all gratifying to our opponents, but which would certainly be much more natural and obvious than that which Dr. Dwight endeavors to establish. The inference would be, not, as he says, that immersion is unessential to baptism, but that *washing the feet is essential*. We might demand of our opponents, why they *pour*, and *sprinkle*, and do not *wash*? And why they pour or sprinkle, or simply touch with a drop of water *the face*, and not *the feet*, or *the hands*? Where is their *symbolical washing*, when they *never attempt to wash at all*?

The last citation intended to substantiate the Pædobaptists doctrine of the mode of administering baptism, is from the thirty-sixth chapter of Ezekiel: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; and will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes." "*It cannot be denied*," says Dr. Dwight, "that this is symbolical language, in which God thought it proper to denote regeneration, by the affusion of the Spirit upon the soul." But it is obvious, that so far from representing the *affusion* of the Spirit upon the soul, God is declared to *put* his Spirit within his people. Whatever interpretation be given, it must be admitted, that *pouring upon*, or *sprinkling*, are very different acts from *putting in*, or *implanting*. Instead of this statement, being *undeniable*, one would suppose it to be *impossible not to perceive* its entire inconclusiveness and fallacy.

